

INSCRIPTIONS AND PEOPLE: NUANCED READINGS ON CULTURAL INTERACTION BETWEEN GREEKS AND ITALIC POPULATIONS IN MAGNA GRAECIA*

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Abstract

This article focuses on the exchanges between Greeks and Italic peoples in Magna Graecia. Forms of expression borrowed from the Greek model are analysed through some case studies, such as the Tortora *horos* and the monetary issues of Italic communities. Nevertheless, these uses do not necessarily represent the adoption of Greek values, as is shown by the disapproval of homosexual behaviour such as the ostrakon of Pisticci. Conversely, the inscription on the olpe of Fratte indicates the spread of the pederastic practice in the Etruscan environment of Campania. The aim is to tackle textual sources and artefacts, with nuanced analyses of the modalities of cultural interaction between Greeks and locals.

Introduction

For the study of the interaction between texts and material culture, the relatively recent approach of historical archaeology provides a particularly relevant framework.¹ An in-depth development of its methodological contribution is unnecessary here, but it would be interesting to recall its major attributes. Indeed, historical archaeology was strongly inspired by anthropology and the social sciences and concentrated originally on the study of American society formed after the conquest by Europeans. Thereafter, the possibilities of applying this approach have been extended to any historical context that allows the confrontation between written sources and material culture.² Without establishing a hierarchy between the two types of sources,³ its main contribution consists in deconstructing the archaeological objects according to a literary method of text interpretation, analysing each detail separately, and then

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¹ Orser 2000; 2002. See also Meskell 2001; Lawrence and Shepherd 2006.

² Funari 1999; Funari *et al.* 2005; 2010.

³ Small 1995a; 1999; Dyson 1995; Johnson 1999. For the archaeology of the classical Greek world, see concrete examples in Ober 1995; Small 1995b.

reconstructing the whole with a thorough understanding. The aim is to highlight themes such as class exploitation, differences in status and gender. Consequently, emphasis is given to the power relations between social groups and individuals, the mechanisms of domination and resistance.⁴ In this respect, it is now accepted that archaeological remains allow us to apprehend traces of the lowest social strata, in particular by careful analysis of everyday objects, especially pottery.⁵ In our specific case, it is also a question of apprehending the relations of interethnic interaction between Greeks and Italic populations.

Our point of departure consists of an epigraphic document with a certain will to delimit a space. If the very idea of an inscribed stone with a reference to a limit seems obvious, the analysis is much more complex. In this regard, J. Ober⁶ argues for the utmost caution in interpreting the material signs of boundaries, which must be systematically contextualised. Indeed, the best-known example is the two boundary stones of the Agora of Athens, discovered in 1938 (Agora I 5510 = *IG* I³ 1087) and 1967 (Agora I 7039 = *IG* I³ 1088) and found *in situ*, the first immediately east of the Tholos, where the western route of the Agora is forked. The stone carries, on the upper and eastern sides, a short text: 'I am the boundary of the agora' (ὁρος εἰμὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς). The two inscriptions are dated around 500 BC.⁷

The demarcation function of the Agora seems very clear, which was important for several reasons. First, it served to delimit the domain of the public space of the central square and prevented any private appropriation. Secondly, these boundary stones were used to indicate the limit not to be crossed by several categories of persons whose access to the Agora was forbidden, in particular murderers or those suffering from *atimia*, that is to say deprivation of citizenship rights.⁸ As the Agora

⁴ Note the possibility of using approaches such as the 'Third wave feminists' (Meskell 2001) or gender studies (Scott 1986).

⁵ See commentary on the use of the methods of historical archaeology in other historical periods in Lawrence and Shepherd 2006; and especially for this transposition to the colonial movements of the Greeks, Phoenicians and Romans: Cunliffe 2006.

⁶ Ober 1995, especially 96: 'Looking at how several texts treat *horoi*, and examining the *horos* as an "artifactual text" – as a text that is an artifact, and at the same time an artifact that is a text – should help to elucidate some methodological problems involved with moving back and forth between texts and artifacts, history and archaeology.'

⁷ Shear 1939; Thompson 1968; commentaries in Lalonde *et al.* 1991, H. 25 and H. 26, p. 27, pl. 2. One should include a third *horos* (Agora I 5675 = *IG* I³ 1089), fragmentary ([ὁρος εἰμὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς]), but which must restore the same text and the same chronology (Shear 1940; Lalonde *et al.* 1991, H. 27, p. 27). On these boundary stones, see recent comments by F. Longo in Greco *et al.* 2014.

⁸ According to Hansen's interpretation (Hansen 1976), several literary passages indicate the characteristics of sentences of *atimia* such as the prohibition of access to the Agora, understood as the market place, and to sanctuaries (Lysias 6 *Against Andocides* 9 and 24). See also Demosthenes, 22. 77; 24. 60; Aeschines, 1. 164; 2. 148; 3. 176.

was the public square dedicated to political and economic activities, this prohibition of access had consequences not only for a citizen who could no longer participate in the decisions of the community but also for other social categories, especially foreigners prevented from buying or selling at the market. Nevertheless, by the end of the 5th century, the first boundary stone (Agora I 5510) was already buried and no longer served to delimit the space of the Agora, while the second (Agora I 7039) was covered in the 3rd century BC.

First, in the case of the limits of the Agora, in order for the statement to be functional, the stone must remain at the very location of the limits it indicates and the reader must be able to identify what represents the space that is delimited, in this case the Agora. Moreover, this document also conveys an order, at least a warning: the passer-by must be aware of the consequences if he exceeds this limit, as in the case of someone who would not have the right to enter the Agora. Here, the message is implicit, but remains clear enough. It is relatively easy to identify the space limited by the boundary; we know that the authority which defined the limits was the city of Athens, or more precisely the community of Athenian citizens, the *demos*; finally, one can assume a broad knowledge of the conditions of access to the Agora and the penalties for those who transgress them. From the comparison with the literary evidence at our disposal, the contemporary researcher is thus able to grasp most of the attributes borne by these boundary stones. The same conditions apply to the boundaries of sanctuaries: the conditions of access, the rituals foreseen at the entrance and the penalties for the transgressions ought to be known by a very large part of the population.

In other cases, on the other hand, the many boundary stones bearing simply the mention *horos* constitute a much more complex issue. Here, even if the stones had remained in place, the majority of the information is implicit and elusive to contemporary researchers: what is delimited, the responsible authority, the rules of access to that space, whatever it may be, and any penalties for their infringement. In the case of these rather laconic boundary stones, they may be public, sacred or private domains, and therefore delimitations relating either to a space accessible to the majority or to the properties of individuals. Moreover, nothing prevents a stone bearing the inscription *horos* from being moved and, with the same text, the space it delimits may change. This example clearly shows that, even in the case of a mention so directive and so-called simple, the message it conveys depends on a much more complex context than chronology and location alone. Finally, an anepigraphic stone (without any inscription) could also delimit spaces. In this case, all the information is lost to us since it is practically impossible to recognise the functions of a stone without any particular mark, even if its shape may relate to boundaries.

Native Inscription in Tortora

The purpose of these introductory remarks is to emphasise the difficulties of interpreting epigraphic documents which seem, *a priori*, to carry a clear message. In the case of inscribed items from non-Greek communities and in contact with the Greek settlers in Southern Italy, these precautions are reinforced (Fig. 1).

As far as the epigraphic evidence in Magna Graecia is concerned, the available documentation is very restricted. However, a boundary stone discovered in 1991, at Tortora in the Noce valley near the ancient city of Laos, deserves our attention.⁹ The fragmentary rectangular limestone weighs about 100 kg, is 67 cm high, 37 cm wide and 21 cm deep, and carries a text, written in the Archaic Greek alphabet, distributed on the four lateral sides, with five lines on the larger sides (A and C) and three lines on the short sides (B and D), including an unreadable surface (D) and two lines on the upper side (E):

A: [5]ει[.]οφιιοι[15–22]
 [14–21]φεικεδ[.]κ[.]ρε[1–2]
 [1–2]ισθμαδαματεσε[15–18]
 [1?]επυσμοιαυνοιφι[14–19]
 [13–19]ντρο[.]δοσερφα[1–2]
 B: [2]ενς[.]ειφοβετι[.]τοα[.]ιρνενι[19–24]
 [19–24]οιφολαισυμοσφφοδο^{vac.1}φρι[1?]
 φτο[1–2]αστεσ[.]ιτερμανι[18–23]
 C: [1?]τοφτιδνεπιεσε[14–18]
 [15–18]σ[.]εδφολοσφφοδ^{vac.3}
 νεπιστα[.]ιοσφτοδ[15–19]
 [17–20]αα[.]ιρνενια^{vac.7}
 E: [4–5]νια[.]ε[.]ιι[?]υ
 [.]αμ[.]υοοφ[6–9].

The text is written in vertical lines, in *boustrophedon*, and was dated to the end of the 6th century BC. The object was found in the locality of San Brancato, in Tortora, about 150 m from a native necropolis, but it does not seem to have a direct relationship with it. The dimensions of the stone suggest an original location certainly near the area of its discovery, on a small height of the plateau of San Brancato. Surface surveys have not yielded any structure, but the archaeological material affirm the existence of an Archaic habitat situated between the necropolis and the place of discovery of the inscription.

⁹ My remarks are based on the critical edition of the inscription in Lazzarini and Poccetti 2001. For the context of the discovery, see La Torre 1995, 29–31.

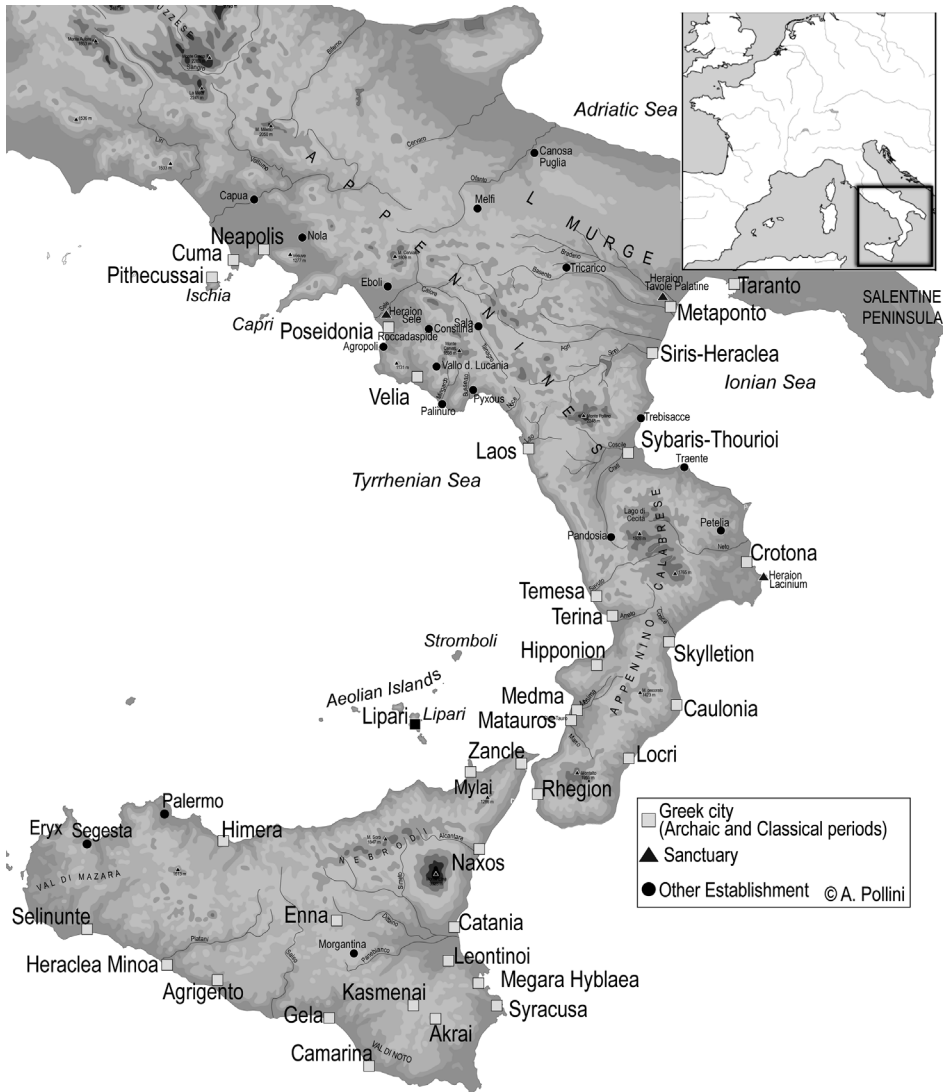


Fig. 1: Map of Magna Graecia and Sicily, with indication of Greek colonial cities (© Airon Pollini).

Although the restoration of the text is very complex, some remarks are nevertheless possible. First, local people used the Greek alphabet without substantial modifications to write an Italic language that resembled the same root of what later became Oscan. On the one hand, the cultural interaction between Greeks and locals is perceptible in terms of the use of the alphabet since the Archaic

period and, on the other hand, the Samnite conquest of the end of the 5th century may, under the linguistic aspect, be nuanced; thus, intense cultural relations between the populations of the centre and the south of the Italian Peninsula can be identified at least a century earlier. Secondly, in terms of content, without understanding the whole fragmentary text, a few lemmas have been identified. On side C line 3 and on side B line 3, the use of the imperative in *-tōd* (restored from $\kappa\tau\omicron[1-2]$ on the B side) would be characteristic, in Latin and in the Italic languages, of the normative provisions of public legislative texts or prescriptions in a religious contexts, where no relation is established with a deliberative institution. Then, the lexical element $\tau\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\nu[--]$ belongs to the family of *terminus* in Latin or to $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha$ / $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\omega\nu$ in Greek and certainly refers to the stone itself as a boundary, in particular by the correlation with the deictic $\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota$ (by segmentation of $\alpha\sigma\tau\ \epsilon\sigma[\epsilon]\iota$), which would reinforce the self-referencing function of the boundary stone. Finally, in line 1 of face C, on the lexical level, $\tau\omicron\tilde{\tau}\iota\delta$ can be linked to the term *toutā-*, which refers to the ethnic and political organisation of Italic communities.¹⁰ The editors have restored a prepositional compound that could bind to *toutā-* in order to indicate ‘inside, outside, around, in front, behind or near the *toutā-*’,¹¹ that is to say, the inhabited centre of the community. Here, there is probably a strong sense of identity in the affirmation of the social group as an autonomous entity.

If the full message of the text is too obscure for our understanding, it is interesting to point out the existence of a boundary marker which certainly indicated a limit relating to the local community which expresses its autonomy. It is impossible to state precisely the type of space that is delimited, but it is plausible to assert that it is a domain that is either public or sacred; in any case the elements restored rule out the possibility of a private or a funeral space. The identification of an imperative sentence corroborates the interpretation of a boundary stone which exposes, in a public or sacred place, a content of normative dispositions in relation to a delimited space.

Any additional comments on these issues would be totally hazardous. However, it is an exceptional document which shows a desire for a political and identity definition of a public or sacred space of a local community at the end of the 6th century BC. For this purpose, it uses a means certainly borrowed from Greek practices: the use of inscribed stones and the use of the Greek alphabet.

¹⁰ On the term *toutā-/touto* and its relation to the definitions of the communities of Central Italy, see Bourdin 2012.

¹¹ Lazzarini and Poccetti 2001.

Coins and Alliance

From the perspective of the analysis of the cultural interaction between Greeks and locals, a case study composed of numismatic documentation deserves to be mentioned. It consists of a number of coins bearing the symbol of the Greek city of Sybaris, the bull, but with ethnic groups that refer to other communities: *Sirinos* and *Pyxoes*; *Ami* or *Asi*; *Lainos*; *So...*; and *PallMol*. The interpretation of numismatic evidence is difficult and attempts have been made to identify the places or peoples reported by these coins as references either to other Greek cities under Sybarite influence, such as Siris or Laos, or to local centres such as Pyxunte, Aminaia (Francavilla Marittima?), Sontini,¹² Palinuro and Molpa.¹³ Not only the identification of ethnic groups is difficult, but the chronology of these issues is not certain either. Two phases have been proposed: a first series for the *Sirinos-Pyx* legend in the last third of the 6th century, and a second series for the legends *Sirinos-Pyxoes*, *Ami*, *So...* and *PallMol* around 510 BC.¹⁴ Regardless of the precise location indicated by these coins, numismatics corroborates the notion of a sphere of influence of the Greek city of Sybaris, which includes several centres with important contacts with the Achaean city. On this point, coinage and the adoption of an iconography coming from Sybaris may be a sign of a strong interaction between the Greek colonial city and several autonomous local communities. Despite all the caution required by this numismatic documentation, it constitutes the main material source for the affirmation of the 'empire' of Sybaris,¹⁵ in the sense of an organisation that could be comparable to the model of 'district-based' Eastern hegemonies, which implies contacts and a particular hierarchy of relations, but also a great autonomy of the locals.¹⁶

In this sense, the analysis should be completed by the inscription found in the sanctuary of Olympia bearing an alliance between Sybaris and the Serdaioi, with the guarantee of Poseidonia.¹⁷ If it seems rather simple to read this inscription, its

¹² Sontini is mentioned by Pliny the Elder *NH* 3. 15 (11). 98.

¹³ Greco and Gasparri 1995; Greco 1992, 381; De Juliis 1996, 340; Parise 2001; more recently, Horsnaes 2011.

¹⁴ Taliercio Mensitieri 2001. See also Dubois 2002, 40–54, no. 13

¹⁵ Greco 1992.

¹⁶ The main source is the passage by Strabo (6. 1. 13) concerning the power of the city of Sybaris, which would rule over four nations and would have 25 subject cities: ὡς τεττάρων μὲν ἐθνῶν τῶν πλησίον ὑπῆρξε, πάντε δὲ καὶ εἴκοσι πόλεις ὑπηκόους ἔσχε. Bugno 1999, especially 26.

¹⁷ ἀρμόχθεν οἱ Συβαρῖ-
ται καὶ οἱ σύνμαχοι καὶ οἱ
Σερδαῖοι ἐπὶ φιλότατ-
ι πιστᾷ καὶ ἀδόλοισι ἀε-
ίδιον. πρόξενοι δὲ Ζε-
ὺς καὶ Ὀπύλον καὶ ἄλλοι θε-
οὶ καὶ πόλις Ποσειδα-
νία.

interpretation is not. Indeed, discussions were first developed about the possible identification of these Serdaioi and the relationship with the ‘empire’ of Sybaris, then about the chronology of the treaty.¹⁸ According to the majority of commentators, it is most plausible to situate this *ethnos* on the Tyrrhenian coast, certainly south of Velia, perhaps near Laos. As far as chronology is concerned, there is nothing that enables a definite determination whether the treaty was established by the Sybarites before its destruction by the neighbouring city of Croton in 511 BC, or rather by the refugees who maintained their denomination as Sybarites.¹⁹ This latter chronology would imply that the alliance with the Serdaioi was linked to the installation of the Sybarites in Laos and Skidros, possibly on a territory granted by this Italic community.

The discussion may be enriched by 17 coins (MERD-ΣΕΡΔ) attributed to a Serdaioi issue, whose stylistic analysis brings them closer to Poseidonia’s coins, despite the different metal standards. The proposed chronology falls within a range between 510 and 490 BC²⁰ and therefore contributes to the hypothesis of the low chronology for the treaty. In any case, we follow M. Lombardo’s observation on the need to analyse documents within their chronology and in a dynamic form.²¹

In all cases, and regardless of divergences in the exegesis of the sources, the documentation clearly indicates forms of strong cultural interaction between Greek settlers and local communities. The evidence on the ‘empire’ of Sybaris exhibit the use of identity affirmation codes, such as the monetary issue and the ethnic apposition, in addition to the Greek alphabet, according to a Greek model, but used by local communities.

SEG 22, no. 336, Museum of Olympia, B. 4750. ‘The Sybarites and their allies and the Serdaioi made an agreement for friendship faithful and without guile forever. Guarantors, Zeus, Apollo, and the other gods and the city of Poseidonia’, translation by Meiggs and Lewis 1969. Cf. Fornara 1994; Van Effenterre and Ruzé 1994, 174–77, no. 42; Dubois 2002, 36–40, no. 12; Bertrand 2004, 36–37, no. 8; and *Nouveau Choix* 2005, 95–97, no. 16; Vlassopoulos 2013. See the interpretation of the vocabulary of this inscription in Giangiulio 1992; Bugno 2001.

¹⁸ Greco 1990. See a review of the discussions in Polosa 2000. More recently, see Lombardo 2008; Greco 2013.

¹⁹ M. Lombardo underlined, on the one hand, that the palaeographic analysis of the forms of letters argued for a chronological range between the last decade of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century BC. Moreover, also accounting for historical reasoning, he proposes a chronology after the defeat of 511/10 BC (Lombardo 2008). See also Dubois 2002.

²⁰ From stylistic aspects and because of the technique of double relief (Brousseau 2010).

²¹ Lombardo 2008.

Condemnation of Pederasty in Pisticci

In the hinterland of the Greek city of Metapontum, close analysis of the material culture from Pisticci²² also allows commentaries on the interaction between Greeks and locals in Southern Italy.

The local centre of Pisticci shows signs of an important and continuous presence since the Iron Age and throughout the 6th century, without direct intervention by the Greeks. The establishment follows a polycentric pattern, known elsewhere in the Italian hinterland, with at least three habitat areas and their associated necropolis. An area of habitat in S. Maria del Casale has a necropolis, with several nuclei of tombs distributed throughout the chronological range of occupation of the site. In the place called S. Leonardo in particular, the furniture of the tombs consists of local pottery, fragments of bronze spears and iron swords in male tombs, and rich bronze ornaments for female burials. Between the 7th and 6th centuries, local pottery, with geometric decoration and without decoration, as well as ceramics of Greek colonial production are associated with a large number of Greek vases of import, especially in the areas of Via Di Giulio and Martino Soprano. In the second half of the 6th century, stronger Greek influences were established, and, on the slopes of the hill, numerous fragments of black- and red-figure vases were found, as well as bronze objects. Finally, a large number of tombs located in various areas of the modern centre of Pisticci cover a broad chronological range, from the 5th to the 4th century BC. In the turn of the century, the Greek vases of import, especially Attic, were replaced by vases of local colonial production,²³ including objects of Apulian origin.

The local presence in Pisticci is important enough for M. Osanna²⁴ to support the impossibility of a Greek occupation, not only at this site but also throughout the surrounding area. Thus, an ancient hypothesis that identified here a *phrourion* is now completely discarded.

This hypothesis of a fortification was based on the discovery of an ostrakon, dated in the 6th century BC, on which one reads *κατάπυγ[ον]* or *καταπύγ[ων]*²⁵ (given to unnatural lust, lecherous, lewd, according to Liddell and Scott), in

²² The territory between Pisticci and Ferrandina in Basilicata is the object of research by the University of Milan, under the direction of M. Castoldi. Osanna 1992, 247; Barberis 1999; Castoldi 2007; Bottini and Lecce 2013.

²³ Related to this point, it is interesting to recall that the first known painter of the Metapontum region is the Painter of Pisticci, despite the impossibility of determining precisely his origin (cf. Denoyelle 1997). See also Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009.

²⁴ Osanna 1992, 247.

²⁵ On the discussion of restoration *κατάπυγ[ον]* or *καταπύγ[ων]*, see Manganaro and Merkelbach 1996; Bain 1997, no. 16.

the Achaean alphabet, interpreted as an allusion to pederasty.²⁶ It is important to emphasise that the existence of an object inscribed in Greek and certainly bearing a reference to the practice of pederasty should not lead directly to the identification of a nucleus of Greek population, *a fortiori* of a group of *peripoloi* in a fortress.²⁷

Graffiti reading *κατάπυγος*, with the word alone as here or mentioning a person's name, are well known in Greece, and the earliest known example comes from a small Geometric cup from Hymettos.²⁸ Lombardo enumerates a total of 14 examples of this kind of graffito, ranging from the 7th to the 3rd century BC. In Magna Graecia and Sicily, one may count three occurrences: one from Cumae, one from an unknown provenance from Apulia and one from Akrai in Sicily.²⁹

Indeed, cultural interactions between Greeks and local peoples may take many forms. A. Small³⁰ rightly stresses that some interactions occurred in the upper strata of the society, between local elites and higher-level Greek colonists, as was probably the case in the context of wine consumption³¹ and of pederastic relations.

The most interesting element here is the condemnation of a certain practice quite common in the Greek world but made according to the codes of expression of a Greek model. It is important to note that the condemnation was addressed to one single individual and not necessarily for the whole Greek set of cultural elements. The same kind of reprimand is well attested in the Greek world, as we recalled before, inviting us to use a very nuanced interpretation of this document.

This document allows anyway some conclusions. The use of an ostrakon, the alphabet and even the Greek language does not imply the adoption of a particular practice. Thus, one sees here the use of codes borrowed from a culture to condemn a practice that is often associated with it. A further possibility is to consider the use of a Greek mode of expression to condemn an individual who could be accused of being too close to Greek colonists, of adopting some Greek practices, such as a pederastic relation.

²⁶ *Editio princeps*: Tagliente and Lombardo 1985. See also *SEG* 35, 1032; *SEG* 54, 955; Arena 1996, no. 80; Dubois 2002, no. 73.

²⁷ Tagliente and Lombardo 1985; Bottini and Lecce 2013.

²⁸ Blegen 1934, cat. no. 1.

²⁹ Arena 1994, no. 23; *SEG* 40, 908; *SEG* 46, 1250. For a thorough discussion on the Sicilian occurrences of inscriptions with sexual content, see Manganaro and Merkelbach 1996.

³⁰ Small 2004.

³¹ The example of the various forms of wine consumption, either the Greek form of the *symposion* or several other forms used in South Italian local contexts, can constitute a good reference. See, for example, Esposito 2015a.

Homoeroticism between Greeks and Locals in Fratte

Another document conveys an opposite message and shows the evidence of a pederastic practice by people of different ethnic origins.³² Thus an inscription from a tomb of Fratte in Campania can lead to a more nuanced analysis.

Indeed, the tombs of the site of Fratte³³ represent good evidence of the hold of the Greek city of Poseidonia in Campania. This Greek influence is perceptible not only in trade, but also in cultural and even private contacts. The discovery in 1963, in Tomb 26, of an inscription in the Achaean alphabet on a small olpe dated in the first quarter of the 5th century, is meaningful. The careful study of the vase itself made it possible to identify its place of production as being the neighbouring Greek city of Poseidonia and it was engraved before firing in a Poseidonian workshop.³⁴ In addition to the simple presence of Greek ceramic material in the tombs of Fratte, this inscription also informs us about personal relationships between people of different ethnic groups.

The text in the Achaean alphabet is comparable with the dialectal inscriptions of Poseidonia³⁵ and reads as follows:

απολλοδορος·ξυλλας·εραται·βολχας·απυγιζε·απολλοδορον·
ονατας·νιξος·εραται·Ηυβριχος·παρμυνιος·ηραται·

Considering the early date of the inscription, L. Dubois corrects <ε>ραται instead of ἥραται on the last line. According to the author, it would be very improbable that the *eta* had already both functions of aspiration, as in Ηύβριχος, and as the long vowel at this early date. It would be more probable to imagine a spelling error. According to this interpretation, one reads two sentences: ‘Apollodoros loves Xylla / Volchas sodomises Apollodoros’ and ‘Onatas loves Nixo / Ybrichos loves Parmynis’.

The study of onomastics shows the presence of four or five males (Apollodoros twice, Volchas, Onatas, Ybrichos and probably Parmynis), whereas Xylla and Nixo

³² For comparison, one may refer to a passage by Dio Chrysostom on Olbia in the Black Sea (*Borystheniticus Or.* 36. 8): διὰ πάντα δὴ ταῦτα εὐδοκίμει παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, οὐχ ἥμισυ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κάλλους, καὶ εἶχε πολλοὺς ἐραστάς. πάνυ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο ἐμμεμένηκεν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως, τὸ περὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας τοὺς τῶν ἀρρένων· ὥστε κινδυνεύουσιν ἀναπεῖθαι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐνίους οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ σχεδόν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἂν ἐκεῖνοι τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀποδέξαιτο, βαρβαρικῶς καὶ οὐκ ἄνευ ὕβρεως. ‘For this practice has continued on among them as a heritage from the city of their origin – I refer to the love of man for man – so much so that they are likely to make converts of some of the barbarians, for no good end, I dare say, but rather as those people would adopt such a practice, that is to say, like barbarians and not without licentiousness’ (translation, Loeb edition).

³³ Greco and Pontrandolfo 1990.

³⁴ Pontrandolfo 1987.

³⁵ Arena 1996, no. 33; Dubois 2002, 72–73, no. 28.

must be feminine names.³⁶ Apollodoros, present twice, and Onatas are Greek names, more or less common, and L. Dubois also includes Ybrichos, identified it as a hypocoristic Greek name. The names of the women (Xylla and Nixo) as well as Parmynis are absent from the Greek onomastic repertoire. These three references are certainly Italic names transcribed in the Greek way, and Volchas surely refers to an Etruscan name. Indeed, *Φολχας* corresponds to the Etruscan *gentilis* or given name Velxaie. Parmynis (either the masculine *Πάρμυνης* or the feminine *Παρμυνίς*) could be a local pronunciation or spelling for the Greek names *Παρμονίδες* or *Πάρμων*.

In addition to the ethnic origin of the characters, this olpe indicates cultural elements of wide circulation in the Mediterranean: the consumption of wine, since this vase form is associated with the Greek *symposion*, as well as the practice of pederasty. The olpe is a relatively marginal vase in the service of the banquet, but all the furniture of the tomb, with cup and skyphos, definitely refers to the consumption of wine. Moreover, the practice of pederasty, clearly indicated by the text of the inscription, leads to the identification of the Greek-type *symposion* rather than to the Etruscan form of the banquet.³⁷

As pointed out by A. Pontrandolfo, this inscribed olpe is important because it attests relations of reciprocity which go beyond mere trade.³⁸ Indeed, the first imports of Greek ceramic material in the Etruscan-Campanian environment date from the second quarter of the 8th century and present an intense trade between these local centres and the first Greek colonies established on the Tyrrhenian coasts.³⁹

This exceptional document attests the presence of several markers of cultural interaction. The very object of the olpe is an imported vase from the neighbouring Greek city of Poseidonia. Secondly, all the furniture of the tomb belongs to the service of the banquet, but the mention of pederasty refers rather to the practice of the Greek-type *symposion* than to the Etruscan forms of the banquet. In addition, the onomastic study identifies the persons mentioned as being both men and

³⁶ L. Dubois argues for the impossibility of spelling *ξύλλα* for the name Skylla (*Σκύλλα*). *Contra* Arena 1996, no. 33; Pontrandolfo 1987.

³⁷ On a comparative approach to the different forms of banquet and wine-consumption in the ancient Mediterranean, see Esposito 2015b. For the Etruscan form of banquet, see especially the contribution there by M. Guggisberg.

³⁸ Pontrandolfo 1987. The author also refers to another Greek inscription found in a tomb at Pontecagnano, which bears the name Dymeida in the genitive (*IG XIV 694*); cf. Arena 1996, no. 31. The peculiarity of Fratte's inscription, compared with that of Pontecagnano, is precisely the possibility of linking it to certain cultural practices in a local environment. This must be related, for instance, to the 'ethnic' implications of the iconography of the Poseidonia's Tomb of the Diver.

³⁹ For Etruscan trade in the Archaic period, see Gras 1985: Pontecagnano at 486–88.

women, of Greek, Etruscan and local origin. Finally, the object itself bears evidence of complex relationships, since it was manufactured and engraved in a workshop in the Greek city of Poseidonia, but it composed the furniture of a tomb of the Etruscan city of Fratte in Campania.

Conclusion

The four cases studied, the inscription of Tortora, the numismatic documentation of the local communities under the influence of the Sybaris 'empire', the ostrakon of Pisticci and the olpe of Fratte, present different forms of cultural and ethnic interaction in the colonial context of Southern Italy. All of them highlight certain modes of expression carried by the Greek colonists and borrowed by Italic communities: first of all, the use of the Greek alphabet, but also the use of inscriptions, *a fortiori* of boundary stones, of coins with the indication of an ethnic, of practices of pederasty and of the Greek form of banquet, the *symposion*.

These contextualised objects and texts have shown important nuances in the interpretation of the borrowings of these forms of expression. First, their use does not necessarily imply the acceptance of Greek values. Conversely, the Italic communities may choose, for a certain practice such as the banquet, forms rather Greek than those used predominantly in their usual cultural framework, reflecting a more complete adherence of Greek customs. But the most remarkable feature is probably the use of Greek forms whose function was the affirmation of the political autonomy of Italic communities. It constitutes thus a sort of dialectical movement, in which the locals borrowed means of expression of a Greek type, inscribed boundary stones or coins with ethnic, to mark their autonomy, at least relative, in relation to the Greek cities.

Finally, one can see that the study of documents using the approach of historical archaeology, in which texts and material culture are confronted without hierarchy between the source types, gives the possibility of seizing ambivalent messages, in which form and content are analysed in parallel and can show complex interactions between populations of diverse origins.

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X / Z. PASTICHES AVESTIQUES DANS LA *CYROPÉDIE* DE XÉNOPHON

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Abstract

For centuries, Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* has proved a puzzling document, as the work's literary genre is absolutely original and provokes questions about its relationship to (Persian) historical realities. My view is that the author had reliable information on Persian and even Zoroastrian facts and ideas, but turned them into fancies in order to be understood by his audience. Therefore, within a debate on education, for instance, one suddenly finds the story of a 'teacher' who lived in the time of the ancestors and instructed the children on good and evil. Normally, classicists tend to identify this enigmatic teacher as Lycurgus of Sparta, or else as some sophists known by Xenophon. Through a close examination of some Avestic texts, it is possible to suggest that his identity rather matches the mythical figure of Zarathustra, and the content of his message, at least, some parts of it.

Introduction

Les documents qui laissent entrevoir la nature et les évolutions du zoroastrisme se classent en trois catégories: ceux venant de ce qui reste des textes qui en font la doctrine, ceux profanes venant d'autres horizons de la culture iranienne et enfin ceux venant des observateurs extérieurs. Pour ce qui concerne ces derniers, dans un premier temps, on ne peut pas se satisfaire de toute information qui cite un seul mot dont le sens direct le rattache à cette religion, des occurrences directes.¹ En effet, se restreindre aux mentions explicites car fondées sur la désignation des phénomènes serait une erreur, parce que chez certains auteurs, dont certains ont été très proches, ont été curieux et témoins des pensées, paroles et actes des Iraniens, les renseignements sont présentés sans indications précises et directes, recouverts de préjugés et de mensonges, placés sous le voile de la fantaisie, de l'allusion ou de l'imprécision. Il reste alors par divers moyens de signaler, déterminer puis justifier comment, en quoi et pourquoi de telles informations sont présentes, parfois en

¹ Dans ce sens, le recueil de A. de Jong (1997) reste une base essentielle de travail, pour l'instant suffisante. Je profite de cette note pour remercier D. Levystone (Mexico), philosophe, et M. Egetmeyer (Paris) philologue, pour leurs conseils. Z/X est évidemment un clin d'œil au S/Z de Roland Barthes, essai fondateur dans l'analyse textuelle. Je remercie P. Gignoux pour ses remarques de fond et de forme.

très grand nombre, comme par exemple dans la *Cyropédie* de Xénophon, censée présenter une Perse antique et authentique, exotique et féerique aussi, mais pas en totalité cependant puisque la forme du conte (ou d'un ancêtre du roman historique) est là non pour défigurer mais pour transmettre des informations autrement inadmissibles, inassimilables. De là, on en vient à aborder un sujet longtemps délaissé, puis brusquement labouré avec passion, celui de la valeur documentaire de cette œuvre inclassable.² Déjà, par le moyen notamment de l'examen des traditions épiques iraniennes, des informations fiables, sur des faits culturels authentiques avaient déjà été repérées, isolées, expliquées.³ Or le recours au *Shahnameh* n'est pas le seul à disposition, quoique jusqu'à présent, les chercheurs aient tout à fait déserté d'autres textes doctrinaux des Perses (autrement dit l'*Avesta* et la littérature qui en dérive pour le religieux, et les inscriptions achéménides pour le politique) qui pourtant offrent de nombreux et précieux renseignements sur l'état religieux de la Perse achéménide, permettant aussi de comprendre maints épisodes sinon énigmatiques de la *Cyropédie*. Dit autrement, la moisson est abondante, quand le calibre du crible est changé et quand les préjugés tombent.

Dans cette étude, c'est le sujet de l'éducation perse qui sera traité en priorité⁴ et à travers lui l'existence d'un enseignant anonyme d'autrefois, une auguste référence, et pour dire les choses avec franchise, il faut considérer en hypothèse d'abord que celui-ci pourrait être Zarathustra, dont la mention se trouverait dans un court passage (1. 6. 31–32) tout à fait délaissé par la recherche associé à deux

² Cette œuvre, après avoir connu une phase intense de popularité à partir de la Renaissance, n'a pas résisté à la disparition de l'éducation des princes et ce n'est que très récemment qu'elle a suscité un regain d'intérêt parmi les historiens, mais la majorité d'entre eux ne veut considérer la *Cyropédie* qu'à travers le prisme de l'hellénisme, se privant ainsi de l'accès à des strates primitives du récit, qui sont autant de témoins des qualités de curiosités et d'observation de Xénophon. Cette attitude, que seule la méconnaissance des références iraniennes peut expliquer, condamne la recherche à une forme dommageable d'hémiplégie culturelle. La bibliographie est par conséquent récente, quoique déjà opulente, peuplée d'avis divergents, parfois tranchés, parfois nuancés, chacun prêchant pour sa paroisse, entre hellénistes et iranistes: Higgins 1977, 44: «... a Persian ingredient in the *Cyropaedia* is little more than a flavouring»; Briant 1982, 491; Hirsch 1985a, 62 résumant la situation: «... the majority of classicists regard the *Cyropaedia* as a thoroughly Greek work which has been transferred to a fairy-tale 'Persian' setting», puis «On the other hand, many orientalist who are primarily concerned with the civilization of ancient Iran have taken a very different view»; 1985b, 65–68, 69: «numerous facts about the Persian empire, its history, culture, institutions and peoples»; Due 1989, 141–43; Tuplin 1990; 2012; Levine Gera 1993, 55; Stadter 2010; Sandrigde 2012, 71. Boyce (1982, 211–16) est en revanche enthousiaste à exploiter ces données. Comme le dit Tuplin 2012, 68: «...exploitation of *Cyropaedia* as a source for Iranian history presents peculiar challenges».

³ Christensen 1935; Pizzagalli 1942; Knauth 1975, 53; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1985; Tuplin 1997.

⁴ Cette question de l'éducation plus spécifique a aussi été largement traitée: Tuplin 1997; Whidden 2007.

fragments transformés, tronqués, manipulés de sa doctrine telle que présente dans les *Gāthās*.⁵

Ce pourrait être Zarathustra donc, figure centrale (imaginaire sans doute), fondatrice de ses hôtes et de ses ennemis, que Xénophon côtoie si souvent.⁶ Et s'il s'agit bien de ce prophète-réformateur, par le biais de son enseignement – même aussi schématique ou déformé –, cela implique que le texte présente un enseignement tiré des interprétations de ces hymnes primordiaux, dont il faut tout de même rappeler que de cette masse documentaire, seul un quart environ a été conservé.⁷

1. *Qui serait «Le Vieil Enseignant» ?*

Le texte en question dit d'abord :

Mais il est dit, dit-il, que sous nos ancêtres, il était une fois un homme maître des enfants (1. 6. 30).⁸

Il est introduit par un λέγεται, «Il est dit (que)» : il s'agit d'un récit présenté comme rapporté, le point est important, comme dans d'autres moments de la *Cyropédie*, quand l'auteur veut s'extraire du récit principal, et sans doute rapporter des informations annexes, séparées par une distance importante.⁹ Il y avait déjà deux types d'enseignements présentés dans le livre I : celui traditionnel fondé sur la justice, destiné aux gouvernés, celui révolutionnaire fondé sur l'efficacité, destiné au chef,¹⁰ mais on en découvre un troisième, indépendant, et vu comme une référence archaïque.

Maintenant, c'est sur le mode de désignation de cet inconnu que l'on doit s'attarder assez longuement. La chance que nous avons est de lire le texte d'un grand écrivain, au style célébré entre tous, à la fois fantaisiste et contrôlé. Dès lors, les écarts constatés ou les anomalies doivent être considérés comme des signes d'une

⁵ Ne pas poser ici le problème parasitaire de l'existence du personnage, et de son rapport aux *Gāthās*. Comme on le verra, il est probable qu'une influence stylistique due au vieux-perse (tel que connu par les inscriptions achéménides) affecte la composition de la parodie.

⁶ Intense débat sur la religion effectivement pratiquée par les rois achéménides (cf. Kellens 1976, 113–23; 2002; Herrenschmidt 1980). La présente étude pourrait contribuer aux échanges; reprise récente de la question dans Nichols 2016.

⁷ Lecoq 2017, 46–49 sur l'estimation et la possibilité de reconstituer l'ensemble par le recours au *Denkart*; sur la perte documentaire, cf. Boyce 1979, XIII.

⁸ La traduction est personnelle; le texte de référence est tiré de l'édition des C.U.F. (M. Bizos puis E. Delebecque [Paris 1971–78]).

⁹ Mueller-Goldingen 1994, 126 y voit un «kurzen Rückblick»; cf. Hirsch 1985b, 79–80 sur le rapport à la tradition de ce λέγεται.

¹⁰ Whidden 2006, 144, 146; 2007, 544–46 distinguant «traditional persian education» et «heterodox Persian education».

influence extérieure, à moins que ce ne soit la volonté d'exprimer une pensée originale, qui tranche avec la rédaction habituelle.

Dans cette présentation, il faut le rappeler, deux renseignements sont proposés. Le premier concerne la datation et elle va dans le sens de l'ancienneté la plus lointaine possible: ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων que vient renforcer ποτὲ (une fois, avant, autrefois).¹¹ La grande surprise est que cette formulation est très rare, et en fait, Xénophon en est le seul utilisateur classique, le tout premier, quand elle est associée à un adjectif possessif pluriel. Sans cela, ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων est plus commun, avec le même sens bien sûr, pour évoquer le passé lointain d'une communauté, le temps des ancêtres.¹² Mais là encore, Xénophon fait figure d'innovateur dans la littérature.¹³ Il existe bien, pour ce premier segment, une volonté d'originalité, qui s'accroît encore avec la suite, avec la désignation du Vieil Éducateur: il est dit ἀνὴρ / διδάσκαλος / τῶν παιδῶν, soit une combinaison tout à fait inédite là encore: «(un) homme / enseignant / des enfants». C'est l'addition du terme ἀνὴρ, «homme» qui bien sûr perturbe la tradition, et qui est finalement superflue, la rendant unique à la fin. L'expression «enseignant des enfants» est quant à elle tout à fait redondante, et elle est évitée d'ordinaire.¹⁴ Elle avait déjà été employée par Xénophon, une seule fois, un peu avant, au pluriel, dans une situation qui pose problème, et recèle peut-être un indice supplémentaire. En effet, la règle générale qui est présentée est que l'ensemble des jeunes formés par ce type d'éducation traditionnelle soient versés au service des magistrats, dans une troupe spéciale armée à sa façon et plus tard, parmi eux sont choisis ces mêmes magistrats. Mais il est ajouté, sans explication, en restriction: «sauf les maîtres des enfants» (1. 2. 13). La seule donnée qui puisse en être tirée est le fait qu'à partir de ces individus d'élite, à la formation spéciale, certains sont sélectionnés pour remplir une toute autre fonction. On pourrait voir là l'évocation, peut-être, d'une vocation religieuse, dissociée de celle politique et militaire. Quoi qu'il en soit, en somme, il s'agit d'une désignation par une combinaison inédite.

De son côté, l'anonymat peut être une tournure de ce style. Xénophon d'ordinaire aime à présenter des noms exotiques, extravagants d'allure et dont la sonorité détonne, le plus souvent des noms authentiques, qui décorent son texte à peu de prix. Là, le silence est imposé sur son identité.¹⁵ Le cas peut être rapproché de celui

¹¹ Ce qui justifie la formule classique «il était une fois».

¹² La formule est évidemment de mise chez les orateurs, quand la nostalgie est un argument.

¹³ La mention par Hérodote (4. 172) intègre à ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων... à τὰ σήματα. Il ne peut donc pas être comptabilisé.

¹⁴ Une seule fois ensuite avec Plutarque, *Vie d'Antoine* 72. 2. La suite est très tardive et chrétienne.

¹⁵ Levine Gera 1993, 67: «an instructor», 68: «Persian teacher of Old», «an ancient Persian teacher of Justice», «The Persian teacher of long ago»; Tuplin 1994, 158: «old time teacher»;

du moins mystérieux sophiste de la cour arménienne, qui est exécuté par le souverain. Socrate se reconnaît sans peine derrière ce personnage,¹⁶ ce qui fait penser que dans le cas précédent, l'énigme est volontaire, le silence est signifiant, il n'est pas le résultat d'une ignorance ou d'un désintérêt. Ailleurs, un autre enseignant (un médiocre) est évoqué, en matière de stratégie, mais la formulation évite de mentionner un quelconque titre ou nom: encore un ἀνὴρ (1. /6. 12–14).

2. L'enseignement dichotomique

Outre que la manière de le présenter est inédite, et que le contexte présenté comme perse et ancienne incite à regarder dans une direction particulière, seul l'examen du contenu de l'enseignement pourrait indiquer davantage l'identité de ce mystérieux enseignant.¹⁷

a) Le contexte

Le texte est court. Il se compose de trois parties.

On notera que la partie centrale, proprement informative, la plus significative, est connectée au texte, en amont et en aval, par deux segments de texte, qu'il est utile d'observer. En amont, son amorce:

Alors donc, ô père, si vraiment il est avantageux d'être capable (de commettre) les deux (actions), (soit) de faire bien et mal aux humains, il faut aussi enseigner ces deux (types d'actions) à l'intention des humains (1. 6. 30).¹⁸

Dans l'organisation du livre I, l'extrait s'intègre à un dialogue entre Cyrus et son père, dans un processus qui est véritablement une «Kyro-paideia», une éducation de Cyrus,¹⁹ ici à des fins militaires, sujet de prédilection pour Xénophon. À ce moment, la discussion aboutit à un problème éthique touchant à l'enseignement à proposer aux enfants (et à eux en particulier), en priorité destiné au temps de paix,

1997, 91: «there had once been a teacher...»; Hesk 2000, 125: «anonymous teacher», 130: «anonymous *didaskalos*», 134: «old *didaskalos*».

¹⁶ Par exemple, Newell 1980, 111; Socrate est exécuté juste au moment de l'absence de Xénophon, toujours dans les affres de son Anabase. Les Perses lui ont volé ce moment fondateur, ou du moins, il a été trompé par eux.

¹⁷ Mueller-Goldingen 1994, 127 s'interroge à juste titre, mais sans répondre: «Warum fingiert jedoch in der Kyrupädie, bei der Lehrer von der δικαία ἀπάτη handle es sich um das Dogma eines Lehrers aus früherer Zeit, der damit teilweise das Gegenteil, nämlich den Betrug an Freunden zu ihrem Schaden, erreicht habe?»

¹⁸ Le ἐν ἀνθρώποις peut s'entendre comme lié soit au verbe enseigner, soit aux actions.

¹⁹ Seul le premier livre correspond au titre général de l'œuvre. À moins de considérer que l'éducation se poursuit toute la vie, ou que l'éducation se fait maintenant *par* Cyrus.

à l'égard de gens amicaux, et consistant à agir de manière amicale et juste, comme il se doit. La transition à ce moment est constituée par le comportement à adopter face aux fauves, la chasse étant alors une étape intermédiaire, et une phase d'expérimentation. Au cours de celle-ci, le jeune emploie la ruse et la violence, jusqu'à tuer un être vivant par temps de paix, afin de s'accoutumer à ce type d'action envers des ennemis déclarés. Les deux interlocuteurs semblent conscients que la méthode n'est pas aboutie, qu'elle est mitigée, qu'elle mérite d'être dépassée, et que le contenu de l'enseignement devrait être ouvertement un entraînement à faire du mal, sans avoir un vil recours aux animaux.²⁰ D'où l'évocation claire de Cyrus à son père, d'un enseignement primitif qui aurait intégré le mal à commettre, il y a bien longtemps. Ce dernier n'a pour ressource que de recourir à un récit d'un passé révolu – et non oublié, quand ce type d'enseignement avait cours à l'intention des enfants. Il est présenté à travers des valeurs (εὖ ... κακῶς) non seulement à simplement accomplir, faire (ποιεῖν), mais aussi en être capable, apte d'appliquer (ἐπίστασθαι) et enfin à enseigner (διδάσκειν²¹), en vue d'une application sociale, est-ce indiqué à deux reprises, puisqu'à destination des humains (ἄνθρωπους, ἐν ἀνθρώποις).

En aval, les conséquences, qui sont néfastes.

Donc, certains devenus ainsi bien-disposés en plus à l'égard fait de tromper en bien et au fait de bien réclamer-en-trop, de même n'étant pas incapables d'aimer-le-gain, ils ne se sont pas du tout empêchés d'essayer de ne pas profiter de leurs ami (1. 6. 32).

La complexité de l'énonciation est d'abord révélatrice d'une volonté d'imiter un modèle extérieur dans son hiératisme.²² Ensuite, munis de ce savoir-faire double, des jeunes gens insuffisamment formés quant à leur discernement moral se mettent à appliquer leurs leçons de méchanceté contre leurs propres amis. L'enseignement de ce Vieil Éducateur était rigide et dogmatique et il ne tenait pas compte des faiblesses de la nature humaine, surtout quand celle-ci est jeune, folle et tendre.

En conséquence, un règlement (ῥήτρα) a été édicté à destination des enfants, qui leur réserve «simplement» (ἀπλῶς) l'apprentissage du bien exclusivement, des bonnes actions, jusqu'à l'âge adulte,²³ afin qu'ils ne soient pas affolés par leurs aptitudes nouvelles (les précautions à l'égard de la sexualité sont mises sur le même

²⁰ Hesk 2000, 122 «Working with children and animals: teaching deceit in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*».

²¹ Sur l'usage du verbe, Too 1998, 284, n. 9.

²² La syntaxe est particulièrement lourde dans ce fragment de texte, où les doubles négations se télescopent. Xénophon joue aussi sur l'ambiguïté de l'adverbe et particule εὖ-/ εὔ.

²³ Le père prend pour repère l'âge contemporain de Cyrus, qui vient d'entrer dans l'âge adulte quand il le retrouve après dix années d'apprentissage (cf. 1. 5. 4).

plan). Notons en passant que l'enseignement archaïque n'est pas aboli surtout: il n'est que déplacé, réservé à l'adulte. C'est une réforme en somme, importante au point d'y consacrer un règlement, avec ce que ce mot implique d'institutionnel.

b) Le premier enseignement

...(il) enseignait alors la conduite-juste (...²⁴) de ne pas mentir et de mentir, de ne pas piéger et de piéger, de ne pas calomnier et de calomnier, de ne pas exiger de trop et d'exiger de trop. Il discernait parmi toutes ces (actions) celles à faire pour les amis et les ennemis (1. 6. 31).

Le fait qu'un Vieil Éducateur enseigne la conduite-juste (δικαιοσύνη, *asā*²⁵) à des enfants n'a rien d'original. La suite l'est d'avantage, par la forme et le fond. Le contenu est aussitôt exposé comme une suite de verbes, avec quatre couples antithétiques, quatre fois le même à l'infinitif: un premier posé en négatif introduit par un μή, le second positif, par καὶ. Le procédé est d'une rare lourdeur, par ces huit verbes présentés à la suite. À chaque fois, le premier verbe a un sens clairement négatif sur le plan moral, et la négation renverse sa valeur. Les quatre verbes ont en commun, d'une part le rapport à la vérité, à la justice, au bien et d'autre part, à la parole qui s'exprime.

ψεύδεσθαι, mentir / μή ψεύδεσθαι, ne pas mentir
 ἐξαπατᾶν, piéger / μή ἐξαπατᾶν, ne pas piéger,
 διαβάλλειν, calomnier / μή διαβάλλειν, ne pas calomnier
 πλεονεκτεῖν, revendiquer-de-trop / μή πλεονεκτεῖν, ne pas revendiquer-de-trop

La manière de les placer importe aussi: ψεύδεσθαι est évidemment le plus important et placé en premier, et les autres n'en sont que des variantes et applications. Il est le moyen de ψεύδω, mais en fait il est plus commun et ancien. La nuance entre les deux pourrait être que ψεύδομαι concerne plus précisément la parole, la tromperie en parole, soit l'expression du faux, le mensonge, alors que ψεύδω exprime l'idée d'un comportement global. Cela laisse de la place pour le verbe suivant ἐξαπατάω, soit tromper en général, mais ouvertement, volontairement, avec vice, pour mettre autrui en infériorité: ce qui aboutit à l'action de piéger. En suite du simple mensonge exprimé, énonciation du faux factuel, il devrait être un dol destiné à commettre un tort.

²⁴ ὥσπερ σὺ κελεύεις: «comme tu l'ordonnes».

²⁵ Le mot n'est pas commun dans l'œuvre, présent principalement dans le livre I (1. 2. 6, 1. 3. 16, 1. 6. 31), surtout en comparaison des multiples composés en δικ-, -δικ; δίκη est réservé aux procès, affaires, sanctions.

Le verbe διαβάλλω possède un sens plus global et varié, mais qui reste dans le champ de l'agression («jeter à travers») et dont le sens change selon ce que l'on projette. Dans le cas présent, ce serait plutôt des paroles, parce qu'en mauvaise part, on le retrouve principalement dans l'expression de la calomnie, de la diffamation, du discrédit.

Enfin, πλεονεκτέω, avec cet élément lexical en πλέον traduisant l'excès trouve son premier sens dans l'expression d'une parole, qui amène à obtenir un bien indu: en fait, l'équivalent du vol, du fait de voler, mais en parole, par le fait d'exiger, de revendiquer injustement.

Ainsi, ce sont quatre verbes, les huit actions au total, huit types de paroles en fait, huit expressions possibles.

L'impression d'ensemble est celle-ci: les actions vont du général au particulier, et le mensonge commis en est le point de départ, le tronc commun, et les autres, des applications. Les quatre se réservent le domaine de la parole fausse (=druj).

Il aurait été facile à un prosateur d'élite tel que Xénophon d'employer des termes positifs et concis, là et dans la suite, les négations s'accumulent, les énonciations s'allongent, comme dans la présentation des règlements.²⁶

Dans ce premier développement, il est donc dit qu'un certain public reçoit un apprentissage dichotomique, qui fournit ce qui permet de faire le bien (exprimé par le moyen d'une négation d'une action négative), ou de commettre le mal (exprimé par la présentation simple d'une action négative). C'est d'abord un enseignement technique tel que présenté, balançant entre les deux pôles éthiques, proposant l'un et l'autre, au lieu bien entendu de ne faire connaître que le bien.

Il s'accompagne de la détermination des destinataires de ses bienfaits et de ses méfaits (par διορίζω, «mettre une limite à travers»): les premiers pour ceux que l'on considère comme bons et favorables, tandis que les maux sont réservés aux ennemis, réputés mauvais en soi et méchants envers autrui.

Ce contenu de cet enseignement correspond-il à ce qui avait été auparavant décrit du système éducatif traditionnel? En fait, il ne correspond pas, sans s'y opposer non plus, car il est tout à fait autre.

...ne pas voler, ne pas capturer, ne pas pénétrer dans une maison avec violence, ne pas frapper quelqu'un à moins que cela ne soit juste, ne pas forniquer, ne pas désobéir à celui qui commande, et de telles autres choses pareillement (1. 2. 2).

Là, la prescription était purement prohibitive, quand elle visait à empêcher une série de mauvaises actions, et elle était tout à fait normale dans le cadre d'une société ancienne. Elle concernait les actions, non les paroles, et n'enjoignait pas à prodiguer le bien envers autrui. Mais on y trouve l'énonciation longue et négative typique de la reproduction d'édits anciens.

²⁶ Sur la précision et la variété du vocabulaire, cf. Higgins 1977, 2-4.

c) L'enseignement (a)moral

Un second développement poursuit la présentation, vers des thèses plus provocatrices, du moins en apparence.

Et en plus, il enseignait qu'il était juste de piéger les amis mais pour le bien, et de voler les (biens) des amis pour le bien. En enseignant ces (idées), il était nécessaire de s'exercer les uns envers les autres et de faire ces (choses)... (1. 6. 31–32)

Le but est toujours le bien, par des moyens détournés, y compris par l'usage de la tromperie. De quel bien s'agit-il? Le public exigeant est laissé dans le doute, et dans la *Cyropédie*, l'on n'est jamais sûr de rien.²⁷

En tout cas, ces préceptes et les aptitudes qui en sont issues, il faut les mettre en pratique, de manière sans doute à les renforcer par l'habitude. Là est peut-être la part véritablement originale, assez étrange pour qu'un recours à une comparaison très grecque soit indispensable: le gymnase, ses entraînements dans la palestre, la lutte, entre amis bien sûr.²⁸ On peut comprendre que dans le cadre de cette mise en pratique, exercice selon les principes, certains élèves se soient laissés aller à la perversion de la méthode, que les jeux tournent à l'aigre.

Pour le reste, comme on le verra, Xénophon reprend une de ses idées favorites, et partagée par d'autres. Pour autant, cette problématique de la ruse juste (*δικαία ἀπάτη*) est aussi présente dans le milieu autochtone qu'il observe, sans que cela constitue là le sujet d'une pyrotechnie sophistiquée. C'est ce qui sera vu plus loin.

3. *L'élucidation par l'hellénisme*

En premier, traitons des hypothèses déjà proposées d'identification de ce Vieil Éducateur, celles venant de l'hellénisme, pour proposer à la fin une tout autre voie, jamais présentée, et qui mérite l'attention.

a) Le cas Lycurgue

L'identité de ce mystérieux maître est d'abord présentée par M. Bizos dans son édition française de la *Cyropédie* en 1971:

Ici encore transposition de la Grèce à la Perse. Cet ancien législateur est évidemment Lycurgue. Ce passage de la *Cyropédie* à son pendant au livre II (7) de la *République des Lacédémoniens*, où Xénophon parle plus en détail des avantages pour la guerre de l'entraînement des enfants au vol.²⁹

²⁷ L'incertitude figure dans le dialogue des *Mémoires*, qui peut avoir un sens cynique (pour le bien de celui qui commet le méfait), cf. Gray 2011, 267.

²⁸ La référence en comparaison, qui se veut la plus centrale et incontestable, liée au gymnase, indique là qu'une distance importante s'est établie entre l'objet décrit et le public concerné.

²⁹ Edition C.U.F. 1972, 51.

Il a été suivi depuis par V. Azoulay (un «éducateur qui ressemble étrangement au Lycurgue de la *République des Lacédémoniens*»³⁰), certes avec prudence. Le «évidemment» est devenu «étrangement».

Sans doute a-t-on été induit en erreur par la mention du mot *rhètra*, évidemment associé à Sparte, qui n'appartient pas à la notice, étant présente juste après sa conclusion, en réaction à celle-ci justement. Il intervient pour présenter la réaction présente aux enseignements anciens de cet «homme». En fait, il est facile de contester puis repousser une telle attribution, puisque Xénophon lui-même a écrit sur Lycurgue. Il suffit alors de comparer le personnage anonyme de la *Cyropédie* et celui du législateur spartiate tel que dépeint dans la *Constitution*, voire d'y associer des éléments venus de la *Vie de Lycurgue* composée par Plutarque. Si en règle générale Sparte est une source d'inspiration pour l'exilé athénien, dans le cas présent (circonscriit à ce paragraphe 1. 6. 31), rien ne correspond ou si peu.³¹ Le Lycurgue de la *Constitution* (1. 2) est un sage exemplaire en tout point, et l'observation de ses commandements est à respecter pour toujours, sous peine de décadence irréversible. Pour ce qui est de l'éducation des enfants, pour exposer le thème de l'amoralité, c'est l'exemple du vol qui est choisi. La question centrale est la prise en compte, dans l'éducation, du moyen employé, qui doit être perfectionné, sans tenir compte du but, le vol, lequel est strictement prohibé entre les Perses.³² Ce qui fait que le voleur est puni pour sa maladresse, et il ne l'a même pas fait pour nuire, mais pour s'éprouver. Juste après, l'épreuve se déroulant au sanctuaire d'Orthia est évoquée, encore pour illustrer l'idée d'une amélioration par l'épreuve, jusqu'au sang. Voilà tout. Plutarque reprend le thème de la fameuse éducation spartiate dans sa *Vie* (14), d'abord à propos des femmes, puis à travers le vol encore une fois, puis la même cérémonie violente. Et pour finir, à Sparte il n'y a ni d'éducation pour tous (*Cyr.* 1. 2. 15), et ni surtout d'institution qui encouragerait le jeune à la prise de parole!³³

Enfin, il est deux éléments qui achèvent d'écarter Lycurgue de la liste des prétendants au rôle. D'une part, ce pieux législateur est réputé pour avoir bien estimé la nature humaine et justement les différents âges, pour que ses règlements puissent s'y adapter avec un certain confort,³⁴ ce qui n'est pas le cas ici, puisque

³⁰ Azoulay 2007, 451 (avec prudence donc, et après avoir cité l'extrait).

³¹ Constatation de Higgins 1977, 48: «paideia... has little in common with the Spartan» et Hirsch 1985a, 87; Tuplin 1994, 140–55, sur l'ancienneté de cette confusion (Prinz 1911...) et les distinctions entre les deux; Tuplin 1997, 67; évocation des similarités et différences dans Azoulay 2007, 446 («Paideia perse et éducation spartiate»).

³² Azoulay 2007, 250 («Vol et tromperie»).

³³ Déjà le point est constaté par Strauss 1939, 509, et justement tenu pour capital.

³⁴ Cf. David 2007, 303.

l'enseignement du Vieil Éducateur se révèle inadapté à son jeune public. D'autre part, suite à l'échec, un règlement est décidé, contre son enseignement, ce qui est impensable à Sparte, où justement l'un et l'autre sont une seule et même chose, la *Rhètra*.

Dans l'extrait de la *Cyropédie*, le thème de l'immoralisme superficiel de l'éducation se développe tout autrement, à travers le vice du mensonge, et de son contraire, l'expression de la vérité, exercices dont il est dit que les jeunes s'y adonnent, et y excellent même à l'excès (sans que l'on en sache les méthodes). Surtout, l'enseignement de l'inconnu aboutit à un échec pédagogique, par son inadaptation à la nature humaine, celle des jeunes. Sauf quand ils s'appellent Cyrus, bien entendu...

Si Xénophon reste fasciné par la genèse du système spartiate, lui comme tant d'autres, il faudrait faire encore preuve de sclérose intellectuelle pour continuer de prétendre que le portrait du mystérieux maître ayant enseigné autrefois en Perse est dérivé de celui de Lycurgue.³⁵

b) Maîtres athéniens et autres Athénotopes?

Il serait absurde d'ignorer la présence dans la réflexion grecque des thèmes abordés dans ce court passage, que ce soit dans leur énoncé le plus classique ('faire du mal à ses ennemis') ou dans les thèses plus excentriques qui en proviennent (utiliser de mauvais procédés au service du bien). Xénophon est le plus hellène des Grecs. Mais concevoir qu'il s'en va décrire la Perse ancienne pour en fait dissenter sous couvert de la situation contemporaine en Grèce, à la manière du «Débat Perse» des *Enquêtes* d'Hérodote, ou des *Lettres Persanes* de Montesquieu est une marque d'esprits engoncés dans des certitudes qui ne sont que des habitudes.³⁶

La banalité même de ces thèses devrait plutôt encourager l'esprit critique des interprètes: pourquoi une fois encore relancer un sujet de conversation commun entre Grecs, et le placer loin dans un contexte exotique?

La question de la ruse est en soi très présente dans l'œuvre de Xénophon, esprit joueur, chasseur, batailleur. Après les dispositions naturelles à l'égard de cette aptitude, se pose la question de l'apprentissage de cette capacité à tromper. L'éloge de celle-ci est une de ses marottes.³⁷

De ce fait, depuis longtemps, on a voulu voir dans ces développements faussement cyniques, la marque de penseurs majeurs, qui auraient influencé Xénophon au moment de sa rédaction, et qui auraient inspiré la fameuse figure du Vieil Éducateur.

³⁵ Cf. Delebecque 1957, 305, à propos de la *Cyropédie*: «Mais tout n'y vient pas de Sparte: elle contient naturellement beaucoup d'éléments perses authentiques».

³⁶ Delebecque 1957, 387; Breitenbach 1967, col. 1708.

³⁷ Hipparque 5. 9–12; Agésilas 1. 17, 6. 5, 11. 4 et dans la *Cyropédie* évidemment.

Pour ce qui est la première part de l'enseignement primitif, c'est-à-dire l'apprentissage de méchantes méthodes envers ses ennemis, il n'est rien que d'ordinaire à constater; dans les *Mémorables*, une première part d'un dialogue entre Socrate et Euthydème s'y consacre. L'injustice est destinée aux injustes, cela va de soi: on peut leur mentir, les tromper, les voler sans vergogne. En contrepartie, ce sera faire du bien à ses amis, à l'évidence, ce qui est un autre truisme attique.³⁸

La seconde partie de la thèse est plus polémique, bien sûr: la proposition de départ voulait provoquer, en recommandant de nuire à ses propres amis. Mais la provocation était de courte durée, et facilement neutralisée.

Les pistes d'identification du Vieil Éducateur, soudain amoral et cynique avant l'heure, ont été variées: Antisthène depuis longtemps,³⁹ Socrate lui-même, tel que peint dans les *Mémorables*.⁴⁰ Pourquoi pas Gorgias?⁴¹ Et Protagoras?⁴² Tout a été dit, avec chaque fois des arguments subtils.

Ce jeu de clés apparaît assez vain.⁴³ Xénophon avait eu assez d'occasions dans ses œuvres socratiques pour décrire, railler, magnifier ces figures intellectuelles, et les reproduire en pleine Perse fabuleuse n'apportait rien, sinon du discrédit.

Tout le sel qu'apporte Xénophon était justement de lier une réalité culturelle observée au loin, loin de l'ordinaire, et les enseignements de sa propre jeunesse, tels qu'il se le figure dans ses dernières années. Émerveillé qu'il était de cette altérité découverte (appréciée, détestée, méprisée) au fil des années, il en tisse un ample récit qui le classe hors-pair en son temps.

Il suffit pour l'instant d'avancer dans la direction qu'il indique, soit le tableau de la culture iranienne ancienne et non immédiatement dans le sens opposé, comme dans un miroir obligé.

4. *La doctrine de Zarathustra*

Il est temps de se tourner dans la direction qu'indique Xénophon, sans naïveté, sans fausse naïveté non plus.⁴⁴

La traditionnelle et hermétique séparation entre classicistes et iranistes ne fait qu'endurcir les préjugés et le préjudice. Certes, le recours à la littérature avestique

³⁸ Whitlock Blundell 1989, 26, à propos du Socrate de Xénophon dans les *Mémorables* 4. 5. 10.

³⁹ Müller 1975, 174–87.

⁴⁰ von Arnim 1923, 188–89; Levine Gera 1993, 26 ose un «Socrates in Persia»; incertitude de Sandridge 2012, 19 sur l'influence de Socrate (le véritable ou celui inventé par l'auteur) sur la *Cyropédie*.

⁴¹ Mueller-Goldingen 1994, 127, n. 83.

⁴² Gigon 1956, 87–88.

⁴³ Résumé de Levine Gera 1993, 68: «Scholars raise the question of Xenophon's sources for this section of the *Cyropaedia* and try to determine which Greek thinkers – Socrates, Gorgias, Protagoras, appears here in the guise of an ancient Persian teacher of Justice».

⁴⁴ Jusqu'à présent, le seul qui a abordé ce type de documentation – sans en exploiter le contenu – est C. Tuplin, cf. Tuplin 1997, 108–09, 111, 124–25, 145.

et postérieure est méthodologiquement risqué, du fait de l'état de sa conversation, de sa diffusion orale, de son éloignement chronologique, de sa difficulté d'accès et de compréhension (ancienne et actuelle...), enfin des incertitudes et multiples controverses qu'elle suscite, par exemple sur le très discuté zoroastrisme achéménide.⁴⁵ Il faut donc par précaution prévenir que ces textes ne peuvent pas être considérés comme des références directes dans un processus classique d'intertextualité. Plutôt, ils sont en intermédiaires des preuves de l'existence d'un type de mentalité très spécifique, d'un cadre moral stable, d'une idéologie très reconnaissable,⁴⁶ et qui l'est finalement jusque dans la *Cyropédie*.⁴⁷ Il serait donc dommageable de se passer d'un stock d'informations aussi riche et prometteur (en complément par exemple des inscriptions achéménides).⁴⁸ À la fin, ce n'est que par l'examen des indices présents dans l'oeuvre que ces débats pourront être (provisoirement) tranchés.

a) En dedans

Par un ultime détour, il est possible d'ajouter deux explications plausibles et complémentaires à cette volonté franche exprimée par Xénophon de présenter cet enseignement à la fois ancien et lointain.

Sur le plan de la logique interne du récit, il lui fallait donner à l'attitude du Cyrus régnant une assise théorique et doctrinale: un comportement et une mentalité de type impérial, qui justement ne respectait en rien les idéaux de justice, étant lui-même au pouvoir et détaché des normes morales ordinaires. Le bon dirigeant est contraint d'utiliser la ruse afin de (bien) gouverner, ou seulement de gouverner à son profit; voici ce que Xénophon exprimait dans l'ensemble de son projet, et voilà ce que Machiavel en a retiré, entre autres.⁴⁹

Le Vieil Éducateur avait sans doute raison d'imposer ses vues jusqu'à des enfants, mais seulement à l'égard des âmes d'élite, des élèves exceptionnels, bref, de Cyrus, parangon de vertu. Lui pouvait se maîtriser, contenir dans sa personne à la fois la capacité de nuire, et la volonté de ne pas le faire. En effet, tout au long du récit et de sa pratique du pouvoir, les occasions pour lui de tromper autrui sont nombreuses, et il s'y adonne avec application, étant doué pour cela.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Pour un avis plutôt favorable, Skjærvø 2005, 54–56.

⁴⁶ Telle que décrite par Yarshater 1983a; 1983b.

⁴⁷ Ne serait-ce que, par exemple, dans la constatation de la valeur centrale du concept de mensonge dans l'éthique achéménide, dont témoignent aussi bien les inscriptions que l'*Avesta*, cf. Hirsch 1985a, 18, en citant d'ailleurs le *Yašt* 10.

⁴⁸ Sur la question méthodologique de l'utilisation de l'*Avesta*, cf. de Jong 2010, 537: «The Avesta as a source» et 538.

⁴⁹ Newell 1980, 119, n. 12.

⁵⁰ Whidden 2006, 139–43, pour l'exposé des occasions de ruse à l'encontre de tous, dans l'exercice du pouvoir.

Ensuite et enfin, il y a surtout la vie aventureuse de l'auteur, ses multiples rencontres avec des Perses et le cruel hiatus qui ne manque pas d'en résulter: mais quoi? ces êtres si parfaitement instruits pour ne dire que le vrai, ces puits de vertu et de sagesse seraient-ils néanmoins capables de mentir, de trahir, de comploter, de feinter, de tromper? Ils ne seraient pas meilleurs que tous? Voire pires? La rude réalité de leur fréquentation ne fait que le dire au quotidien, jusqu'à même leur donner une franche réputation de fausseté, et de tranquille amoralisme.⁵¹ Même un être aussi admirable que Cyrus le Jeune, même lui manipule ses mercenaires grecs pour les mener en Mésopotamie.⁵² Alors que dire d'un satrape roué tel de Tissapherne, vile et permanente incarnation du mensonge?⁵³ Ce genre d'individu, dont Xénophon est contraint de fréquenter la nuisance, amène à s'interroger sur le modèle d'une éducation fondée exclusivement sur la vérité, l'honnêteté, la fidélité. La seule solution ne peut être qu'un «double standard»⁵⁴ s'est institué dans le réel, constitué d'une exigence de vérité pour les uns, et du contraire pour les autres.

Mais l'enquête ne doit pas se satisfaire des informations de l'analyse interne, de l'œuvre et de la biographie de l'auteur. Ce n'était qu'une introduction: plus loin, elle doit maintenant chercher du côté des conceptions morales perses telles qu'elles peuvent être connues – avec difficulté – à travers les textes.

b) Un enseignement

Comment pour un Grec tel que Xénophon définir la fonction d'un *prophète*, humain fondateur central d'une doctrine figée, conçue comme parfaite et suffisante? Rien ne correspond, à moins de l'appellation vague «le sage». Il ne peut y avoir que la fonction d'enseignant, puisqu'il apporte une seule règle à suivre pour tous, tout comme un Moïse en d'autres temps, ou plutôt d'autres lieux. Ce serait un sage qui transmet des idées aux individus, un guide, comme Pythagore, mais alors, les disciples s'enferment en une secte.⁵⁵ Aucun de ces deux cas ne correspond à la situation perse et au magistère de Zarathustra, ou bien il est entre les deux.

On a vu en premier que l'individu en question était mentionné en tant qu'«homme», et la qualification d'enseignant ne venait qu'après, soit une manière tout à fait inédite.⁵⁶ Il serait avisé d'évoquer à ce moment la présence très constante

⁵¹ Sur le hiatus présenté en détail, Hirsch 1985a, 14–38 («2. Trust and deceit in the *Anabasis*»).

⁵² Hirsch 1985a, 22.

⁵³ Danzig 2007, 27–30.

⁵⁴ Danzig 2007, 31.

⁵⁵ Pour sa part, Plutarque (*Moralia* 1012e) donne comme enseignant (διδάσκαλος) de Pythagore un certain Zaratas.

⁵⁶ L'association de deux substantifs, dont le second devient un qualificatif, exprime une emphase et dans ce cas précis, il est connu avec des professions, des fonctions politiques en compléments); mais il n'est, comme on l'a vu, pas attesté à ce moment pour désigner l'enseignant.

du terme désignant l'homme tant dans l'*Avesta* (*mašyā*) que dans la phraséologie achéménide (*martiya*).⁵⁷ Dans le discours royal achéménide, justement, il est possible d'associer ce terme d'homme (générique, comme humain) à des spécialisations professionnelles,⁵⁸ et en général, il possède une visée emphatique.⁵⁹

De fait, l'*Avesta* insiste tout particulièrement sur la notion de transmission des éléments de doctrine, sur sa survie en somme, par l'apprentissage de son contenu, depuis ceux qui savent jusqu'à ceux qui ignorent. Les premiers enseignent,⁶⁰ les seconds apprennent, depuis la source divine suprême jusqu'à tout l'univers iranien.⁶¹ Dans ce mouvement, les premiers acteurs sont les dieux, Ahura Mazda,⁶² Mithra,⁶³ Sraosa,⁶⁴ puis en intermédiaire évident, Zarathustra,⁶⁵ en tant que tout premier prédicateur, suivi d'autres qui sont premiers,⁶⁶ puis une quantité de prêtres-enseignants, encadrés de chefs de collèges,⁶⁷ qui transmettent à des élèves, eux-mêmes futurs enseignants, par la reproduction de la parole,⁶⁸ etc. L'apprentissage des connaissances est valorisé,⁶⁹ encadré (un contrat entre les parties),⁷⁰ et aussi perverti par certains, contre lesquels on met en garde.⁷¹ Le système devient de plus en plus institutionnel, à en croire le témoignage des textes plus tardifs, et plus précieux donc pour notre sujet, consacrés en entier au phénomène éducatif. Le *Hērbedestān* (1–18) traite de l'organisation des études, du choix des élèves, des relations avec les professeurs, les missions de celui-ci, et le devoir pour le disciple de rapporter fidèlement ce qu'il a appris. Le *Nērangestān* (19–109) détaille le contenu de l'enseignement que l'on prodigue,⁷² par l'édiction de règles concernant la récitation, la mémorisation, puis un système de questions et de réponses.

⁵⁷ Bartholomae 1904, col. 1148–1150.

⁵⁸ Schmitt 2014, 212; 2009, 133, § 13 A, D, pour des tailleurs de pierre et des orfèvres.

⁵⁹ Schmitt 2016, 45, n. 1.

⁶⁰ En général, le verbe utilisé est *daēs-*, qui correspond en premier à «montrer», cf. Y 11. 14: *daēnəm daēsaiia*, «Il a enseigné la religion».

⁶¹ Yt 13. 150–151: «vers les familles, clans, tribus, peuples».

⁶² Y 31. 17: *fradaxšar*, «Lehrer» (Bartholomae 1904), 982.

⁶³ Yt 10. 137: «Il est prêt à accomplir son enseignement et à poursuivre son enseignement».

⁶⁴ Yt 11. 14: «Il a enseigné la religion».

⁶⁵ Yt 13. 148, 152.

⁶⁶ Yt 13. 17, pour les premiers relais de la révélation, *paoiryō lkaēšā*, «die ersten Lehrer des Glaubens», Bartholomae 1904, 877.

⁶⁷ Yt 13. 105, à propos d'un individu précis, Maθrakana.

⁶⁸ Yt 13. 20, par l'action de *drang*, «auswendig lernen» (Bartholomae 1904, 772); Y 65. 9, pour un *aēθra-patay*, «Meister der (Priester) Schule, Lehrmeister» (Bartholomae 1904, 20).

⁶⁹ Y 26. 7: les âmes des prêtres-enseignants, et des élèves, sont vénérées; Y 13. 3: les enseignants sont invoqués *čašan*, «Lehrer», (Bartholomae 1904, 583).

⁷⁰ Yt 10. 116, avec les élèves; *aēθrya*, «Schüler, Zögling» (Bartholomae 1904, 20–21).

⁷¹ Y 31. 18: «que personne parmi vous n'écoute les formules et les enseignements du menteur»; Y 49/2: *lkaēša*, «Lehrer des falschen Glauben» (Bartholomae 1904, 813).

⁷² Le verbe *kaš-*, «Unterricht erteilen» (Bartholomae 1904, 461).

Le *Videvdat* (16. 18) insiste en général sur le besoin impérieux d'un prêtre comme enseignant et conseiller, pour tout fidèle.⁷³

c) La forme

En premier notons une donnée de forme⁷⁴, par laquelle on voit que la profession de foi peut être constituée d'une série d'affirmations et de négations, comme d'abord dans le *Yasna*.

J'appartiens à cinq choses / Je n'appartiens pas à cinq choses; / j'appartiens à la bonne pensée, / je n'appartiens pas à la mauvaise pensée; / j'appartiens à la bonne parole, / je n'appartiens pas à la mauvaise parole; / j'appartiens à la bonne action, / je n'appartiens pas à la mauvaise action; / j'appartiens à l'obéissance, / je n'appartiens pas à la désobéissance; / j'appartiens au fidèle, je n'appartiens pas au menteur... (Y 10. 16)

Cette manière d'organiser la pensée par antithèse s'observe aussi dans les inscriptions royales achéménides, comme par exemple cette proclamation qui expose la *Selbstcharakterisierung* du roi:⁷⁵

Je suis ami du droit; je ne suis pas ami de l'injustice (DBb 2, 3, 7; XPl 2, 7–9).⁷⁶

On peut simplement, en début d'analyse, noter une probable prédilection dans l'énonciation pour les antagonismes, les répétitions, et les négations, comme souvent dans la littérature religieuse ancienne, ou dans des énonciations souveraines, des serments.

d) Dualisme d'agression

Ensuite, sans surprise, le thème essentiel des affirmations est le rejet du mensonge et du menteur, concept négatif central de ce système mental, tandis que la vérité en constitue le pilier. Les deux sont présentés, pensés en opposition permanente, voulue, fondatrice.⁷⁷

Que le menteur soit éloigné, abattu, écarté (...) devenu captif (Y 8. 6).

⁷³ Cantera 2015, 227.

⁷⁴ Outre les aspects basiques de phonétique, par les allitérations, assonances, rimes, énumérations, cf. Schmitt 2016, 15–16, 97 pour un résultat «klangisch». La somme des références conduit à penser qu'au niveau formel, la correspondance la plus manifeste est celle avec le Vieux-Perse, ce qui semble normal, comme le langage auquel Xénophon pouvait être le plus directement confronté, plus que l'avestique ou l'araméen.

⁷⁵ Schmitt 2016, 36.

⁷⁶ Lecoq 1997; Schmitt 2016, 26–27 sur l'antithèse.

⁷⁷ Skjærvø 2003, 383–85.

Un rejet qui n'est pas que passif, puisqu'il convient de lui faire du mal, en retour, comme en témoigne deux extraits des *Yasna*.

Je souhaite l'oppression et la contrainte pour tout l'être du menteur (Y 8. 8).

Je souhaite la liberté et le bien-être / pour toute l'existence du fidèle, / je souhaite l'oppression et la contrainte / pour toute l'existence du menteur (Y 11. 15).

Sans surprise non plus, les références avestiques les plus significatives se présentent dans les *Gāthās*, soit la partie la plus vénérable et celle au contenu le plus éthique, sans qu'il soit toujours très clair. Ce qui l'est en revanche est bien sûr la férocité revendiquée dans l'affrontement contre les mauvais: il faut les combattre, et donc leur faire du mal, et si le mal est fait, le fidèle en est récompensé. Il est fait promesse de la réciprocité envers le méchant dans la deuxième *Gāthā*:

... je promets des calamités à celui qui nous livrerait à la calamité... (Y. 45 .18).

Ainsi, le mal est mobilisé à l'encontre du mal, dans le *Yasna*:

Je souhaite l'oppression et la contrainte pour tout l'être du menteur (Y 8. 8)

La première *Gāthā* se fait plus précise:

Mais celui qui fera quelque chose au menteur, soit en parole, soit en pensée, / soit avec les deux mains, ou celui qui reconnaîtra l'hôte en bien, / ceux-là satisferont au désir, dans le consentement d'Ahura Mazda (Y 33. 2).

C'est le dieu suprême qui prêche d'exemple, dans la présentation de cette théodicée de la deuxième *Gāthā*:

Et je t'ai considéré, ô Mazda, comme saint, ô Ahura / lorsque je t'ai aperçu au commencement, lors de la naissance de l'existence, / lorsque tu as donné les actions et les paroles riches en salaires; / du mauvais pour le mauvais et un bon profit pour le bon, / par ta vertu, au dernier tournant du créateur (Y 43. 5).

Le prophète Zarathustra suit l'exemple, ainsi qu'il l'exprime lors de son identification dans la deuxième *Gāthā*:

Alors je lui ai dit «Zaraθuštra», d'abord / «le véridique», car je souhaiterais l'inimitié pour le menteur... (Y. 43. 8).

Ainsi, dans le cadre de la lutte contre les *dévas* raconté dans le *Yasna*. La phrase finale indique que le roi peut employer les instruments du mal contre son ennemi.

C'est ainsi que vous avez trompé l'homme, à propos du bonheur et de l'immortalité, / car Aka Mainyu, avec Aka Manah,⁷⁸ vous a trompés, vous les *dévas*: / l'action avec la mauvaise parole: c'est par quoi le souverain confond le menteur (Y 32. 5).

Bien plus tard (au IX^e siècle), le rôle des prêtres est alors conçu comme une application brutale de ces principes dualistes, si l'on en croit le contenu de l'*Anthologie de Zādspram* (27. 2), application précédée d'un jugement et d'une décision. Il est donc de:

... discerner entre tuer et ne pas tuer, comme (entre) les animaux nuisibles et les bestiaux, entre hommes, et ne pas donner comme entre les justes et les dignes et les méchants et les indignes.⁷⁹

Quant au *Denkart*, sensiblement à la même époque, il encourage les fidèles à exprimer de la haine envers les *dēvs*, les ennemis des humains.⁸⁰

Là encore, les rois achéménides ont tenu à exprimer des conceptions semblables, qu'ils escomptaient mettre en pratique, dans leurs inscriptions monumentales.⁸¹

Ainsi, l'intégralité de la doctrine admet sans hésitation aucune que le mal et le méchant, désignés comme le mensonge et le menteur, doivent être maltraités, et rien de la bonté du bien ne peut les soulager. Une telle rigueur, impressionnante en soi, expressive, spectaculaire, manipulant des notions colossales et semblant monolithiques, et terrible dans ses conséquences, devait être spectaculaire pour le moindre témoin quelque peu curieux. Et Xénophon n'était pas le moindre et il était très curieux.

e) Tentations et subversions

Il serait intéressant d'interroger ce qui reste de la doctrine zoroastrienne pour chercher à deviner s'il a existé une dialectique subtile qui aurait existé entre le bien et le mal, une phase intermédiaire, une perméabilité, qui aurait permis d'échapper à la frontalité du dualisme fondamental, en quelque sorte, de la même manière que Xénophon lui-même se plaît à jouer entre ces deux pôles éthiques, dans le but d'une provocation superficielle et facile.

⁷⁸ Le Mauvais Esprit et Mauvaise Pensée.

⁷⁹ *Anthologie de Zādspram*, éd. P. Gignoux, A. Tafazzoli (Paris 1993), 89.

⁸⁰ *Denkart* 3. 47: «Selon l'enseignement de la Bonne *Dēn*, il est convenable d'entretenir de la haine à l'égard de celui qu'il faut combattre. Il faut combattre contre ceux qui appartiennent aux adversaires des hommes et à ceux qui leur font du tort» (trad. J. de Menasce, *Le troisième livre du Denkart* [Paris 1973]).

⁸¹ Darius I^{er} à Bisotun, DB 64: «Toi qui plus tard seras roi, l'homme qui est menteur, ou celui qui est violent, ne sois pas leur ami, punis-le» (Lecoq 1997, 209).

La documentation n'est pas très claire, au début sur la question, indice sans doute que le sujet est ardu pour les théologiens. Mais on trouve tout de même ici et là des bribes de pensées alternatives.

En premier, il pourrait s'agir d'imposer une bonne action, y compris envers le méchant, au nom d'un principe supérieur. Ainsi dans cet extrait de la première *Gāthā*, dont le sens est ambigu, à moins que son ambivalence ne soit voulue. Le sens le plus sûr est que le verset incite à respecter un contrat en toute circonstance, y compris celui souscrit avec un méchant. Dans la suite, le cas est prévu de celui qui est dans une catégorie intermédiaire.

De même que pour elles, ainsi, selon la loi primordiale, le prêtre⁸² / accomplira les actes les plus justes, pour le menteur comme pour le fidèle, / et pour celui dont les méfaits et les bienfaits sont intimement mêlés (Y 33. 1).

La question est aussi de savoir par quel moyen le mal peut être subverti (serait-ce par le bien?). Notons qu'il n'y a que des questions dans cet énoncé, sans réponse donnée. L'interrogation est déjà un indice.

(...) Comment pourrais-je mettre la druj dans les mains de Aša, / pour l'éliminer avec les formules de ta proclamation, / pour apporter la division violente parmi les menteurs, / pour leur faire toucher ruines et calamités, ô Mazda? (Y 44. 14).

La trace d'une utilisation potentielle du bien à destination du mal est (faiblement) visible, au nom de la supériorité théorique mais aussi effective du bien: en cela, il y a peut-être l'origine d'une évolution théologique pour le moins retorse, mais tentante, qui vise non à vaincre le mal par un mal en retours, mais par l'expression d'un bienfait.

Maintenant, pour constater le phénomène inverse (un mal pour le bien), il faudra attendre un peu. La hiérarchisation du mal comme moyen d'une fin bonne est perceptible, mais dans des textes plus récents. En effet, la doctrine ultérieure, au cours de l'évolution permanente du dualisme zoroastrien, laisse apparaître des adaptations surprenantes, qui font à l'encontre de la rigueur apparente du système, de l'opposition perpétuelle entre les deux principes. Certes, les documents sont récents, mais ils suffisent pour attester ce qui forcément se voit peu dans les textes, c'est-à-dire le fruit contradictoire et paradoxal d'une dialectique, celle que des théologiens plus originaux que d'autres ont pu produire au fil du temps, dans les marges.

⁸² Le *ratu* dans la traduction de Lecoq 2017, 742. Il doit être Zarathustra en personne.

Ainsi, dans le Traité cathartique du *Šāyest nē šāyest*, les rédacteurs en viennent à la constatation désespérante selon laquelle les réalités brouillent des principes dûment énoncés, et qu'un but peut être obtenu par des moyens contraires:

La meilleure chose est la vérité et la pire est le mensonge. Mais parfois quelqu'un dit la vérité et devient par-là méchant, et parfois celui qui dit le mensonge par-là devient juste.⁸³

À la même époque, dans une apologie pratique et détaillée du mazdéisme qui est constitué comme souvent d'une suite de questions et de réponses, la même préoccupation surgit, en deuxième position d'une longue série (après quoi, le théologien tente de retrouver par la suite une ligne logique, mais avec peine):

La vérité et le mensonge quand ils se trouvent ensemble dans une même phrase, il arrive que le mensonge sauve l'homme de bien d'une grande infortune, et que la parole vraie le condamne.⁸⁴

Ainsi, le mal peut être accepté pour ce qu'il peut se révéler efficace, étant inclus dans la recherche du bien.⁸⁵

Ensuite, dans le contenu de l'enseignement destiné aux apprentis-prêtres, l'*Hērbedestān* (daté de la fin de l'époque sassanide, mais qui contient des principes plus anciens, considérés comme des références), il est remarquable de lire ceci:

Il est permis de voler en secret les infidèles de manière à les convertir mais il n'est pas permis de les voler (ouvertement). Si un converti renonce encore à la foi, il est même permis de le voler ouvertement⁸⁶ (*Hērbedestān* 12. 4).

On peut imaginer qu'une fois la personne convertie, ses biens lui sont restitués.

Ainsi, on constate l'inversion presque totale des valeurs, dans le cadre de l'adaptation à un nouveau contexte, un contexte prosélyte.

L'évolution inverse est aussi présente, quand le bien, la bonté sont convoqués pour renverser le mal, et convaincre les mauvaises personnes de se réformer dans le bon sens.⁸⁷

⁸³ F.M.P. Kotwal, *The Supplementary Texts in the Šāyest nē-šāyest* (Copenhagen 1969), 85: 20. 4.

⁸⁴ *Škand-gumanik Vičār* 3. 25–26 (*Une apologétique Mazdéenne du IX^e siècle Škand-gumanik Vičār. La solution décisive des doutes*, éd. P.J. de Menasce [Fribourg 1945]).

⁸⁵ Vevaina 2015, 224.

⁸⁶ *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestan*, vol. 1, éd. F.M. Kotwal, P.G. Kreyenbroek (Paris 1992), 59.

⁸⁷ *Denkart* 3. 47: «Voici un conseil pour les hommes de bien: il y a moyen de changer cette malice en bonté: ne pas combattre la connaissance, mais la malice, et la changer avec la bienveillance, et en faire de la bonté; changer le méchant en bon par la connaissance, c'est ce qu'approuve et recommande la Bonne *Dēn*» (De Menasce).

Mais d'autres estiment le contraire, que le méchant ne peut bénéficier d'aucune bonté, non que ce serait inutile, mais ce serait rompre l'équilibre de l'ordre juste.⁸⁸ Parfois la réponse est nuancée, comme cet autre précepte de l'*Hērbedestān*, qui enjoint de refuser de la viande au méchant, «sauf celui qui fait de l'élevage et de l'agriculture pour lui» (*Hērbedestān* 18). Il y a donc des méchants moins méchants que d'autres, qui par certains aspects sont supportables, parce que proches et utiles.

Enfin, parmi la masse considérable d'informations contenue par le *Denkart*, presque comme un aboutissement de cette confusion (suivie d'une sévère reprise en main), il se trouve un extrait du livre IX qui rejoint la même tentation théologique de fond, sous la forme d'un récit détaillé.⁸⁹ Trois démons viennent se lamenter auprès d'Ahura Mazda et plaident leur cause: ils détruisent les hommes méchants qui trompent leurs semblables, ce qui fait qu'ils estiment être les instruments de sa justice, qu'ils font donc partie de sa religion et qu'ils méritent ses faveurs. La réponse du dieu suprême est brutale. Il refuse tout net, estimant que c'est leur nature profondément mauvaise qui les pousse à détruire les éléments de leur propre monde, celui du mal.

De ces considérations sporadiques et entrecroisées, il n'est possible que de constater que la dichotomie de départ a certainement provoqué une multitude de réactions, puis de variations, puis de contradictions, allant vers la nuance et le compromis. Il était inévitable qu'un dogme si obstinément dualiste donne lieu à de multiples combinaisons, autant de compromissions avec la réalité que d'initiatives théologiques, quand bien même les indices en restent très rares, ce qui n'est pas une surprise non plus.⁹⁰

Que cela soit dans l'exposition brute des principes dualistes, ou dans la dialectique plus ou moins adroite qui sortait du frottement entre les deux principes, le zoroastrisme, sur le long terme a pu fournir à un témoin comme Xénophon, par l'intermédiaire de prêtres, de mages, de traducteurs, une matière morale qu'il a jugée digne de faire paraître, après adaptation, dans son traité, fruit tant de sa fantaisie que de ses observations.

⁸⁸ *Pursisniha* 110. 2: «En donnant, il rabaisse Aša, celui qui donne au méchant; selon cette parole gathique: 'celui-là est certes un menteur, qui est trop bon pour le menteur'» (trad. Lecoq 2017).

⁸⁹ *Denkart* 9. 32 (E.W. West, *Contents of the Nasks. Pahlavi Texts IV. Sacred Books of the East*, éd. F.M. Müller [Oxford 1892], 252); cet extrait a été étudié dans une autre perspective par Shapira 2006, 180–81.

⁹⁰ Il est possible que de tels accommodements se multipliant, ils aient provoqué l'essor d'une autre doctrine, le manichéisme, aux principes plus strictement dualistes.

Conclusion

Un des secrets de ce mystère littéraire qu'est la *Cyropédie* est qu'elle est la rencontre de deux inspirations d'un même auteur. C'est d'abord le produit d'une fusion culturelle et intellectuelle qui forcément a pris le chemin de la fiction. Les savants hellénistes ont au plus vite annexé l'œuvre à l'hellénisme, et ont dédaigné la réalité de l'expérience de cet auteur-explorateur. Car Xénophon a découvert, avec ses moyens réduits de compréhension, mais aussi conservé et transmis des informations fiables comme base à ses extrapolations romanesques, tout le long du récit. Une tendance historiographique plus récente a commencé à enregistrer ces données. Mais il s'avère qu'elles sont encore plus sérieuses et nombreuses que ne l'avaient auparavant conçu M. Boyce dans l'*History of Zoroastrianism* et S. Hirsch dans son *Friendship of the Barbarians*⁹¹, surtout quand on se réfère à la documentation religieuse, zoroastrienne, qui se révèle en dépit des débats un témoin (partiel, partial) de la mentalité perse contemporaine de Xénophon.

Parti de Sardes, errant dans la Syrie qu'il décrit comme Arabie, échouant à Cunaxa, s'épuisant dans l'Arménie, s'il aimait Socrate, il n'y cherchait pas Socrate, il n'y a pas rencontré Socrate, et quand il en est revenu, il n'a pas dit qu'il y avait rencontré Socrate. Il avait tant à dire, à faire comprendre des réalité d'un autre monde.

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⁹¹ Hirsch 1985a, 90: «The examples, while far from exhaustive, provide ample proof that Xenophon has incorporated in the *Cyropaedia* a large quantity of valid information about Persian culture and institutions, and the student of ancient Iran would be foolish to neglect it or reject it out of hand.»

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FROM HUNTING TO MILITARY SUCCESS: BATTLE DESCRIPTIONS AND IDEAL GENERALSHIP IN XENOPHON'S *CYROPAEDIA**

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Abstract

In the *Cyropaedia*, the 4th-century BC Greek author Xenophon, with his extensive political and military experiences in the Persian empire, introduces his thoughts on ideal leadership, which includes political, philosophical and military dimensions. In that work, the hero Cyrus is not a perfect commander by birth, but gradually becomes an invincible general by learning from his former experiences and actively inventing new approaches. Thus, with a scrutiny of the literary text arrangements and Cyrus' different profiles in two important battle descriptions in the *Cyropaedia*, the present article sheds light on Xenophon's frames of ideal generalship. According to Xenophon (and many of his Greek contemporaries), learning from *τακτικά*, i.e. the standardised principles of warfare, is basic but not adequate for ones to acquire a sound generalship. Therefore, facing new military developments and various tactical problems in the 4th century BC, a potential ideal general is supposed to have a flexible mind to apply or invent suitable approach for specific circumstances in the battlefield.

Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, as the author himself stresses in the prologue (1. 1. 5), aims to investigate how to acquire ideal leadership, which is epitomised by Cyrus, the hero of the work.¹ With Cyrus and his father Cambyses as mouthpieces, Xenophon also directly addresses the prerequisites for generalship (*στρατηγία*),² a crucial

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¹ See Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 1. 6: ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ ὥς ἄξιον ὄντα θαυμάζεσθαι τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐσκεψάμεθα τίς ποτ' ὦν γενεὰν καὶ πόλιν τινὰ φύσιν ἔχων καὶ πόλιν τινὲ παιδευθεὶς παιδείᾳ τοσοῦτον διήνεγκεν εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν ἀνθρώπων. ὅσα οὖν καὶ ἐπυθόμεθα καὶ ἡσθησθαι δοκοῦμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ταῦτα πειρασόμεθα διηγήσασθαι. On *Cyropaedia* as a thought-provoking work on searching for the ideal leader, see Tamiolaki 2017, 189–93, especially 190 for a summary of modern scholars' approaches to the political-moral intention of Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia*. See also Günther forthcoming on the reflection of Greek political discourses in the *Cyropaedia*.

² See Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 6. 12–46: Cyrus relates how his father pointed out to him the incompetency of a self-proclaimed expert who taught generalship (τῷ φάσκοντι στρατηγεῖν με πεπαιδευμέναι) for pay. For the relationship and similarities between this dialogue with the moral-philosophical one in Xen. *Mem.* 3. 1, as well as its characters resembling to other military treaties, see Gera 1993, 61–72.

quality for being a successful leader. However, like the other aspects of Cyrus' leadership, his outstanding generalship and military virtues are not limited to a single dialogue but also more vividly shown in Cyrus' military actions (πράξεις), and particularly in various major battle descriptions. Several problems regarding ancient warfare in *Cyropaedia* have attracted scholars' attention,³ but a scrutiny of the way in which the battles are narrated, as well as to what extent these narratives reflect the system structure of the *Cyropaedia* and Xenophon's idea of ideal leadership has often been left out. Therefore, focusing on two important battle descriptions in *Cyropaedia*, this paper examines their literary styles, arrangements and battle (re)constructions, analysing the different roles played by the hero Cyrus and his army, as well as the analogies applied by Xenophon to portray them, thus shedding more light on Xenophon's frame of ideal generalship.

Some preliminary remarks are necessary before we look at the battles in detail. Scholars nowadays distinguish several non-factual elements behind the historical and biographical façade of the *Cyropaedia*.⁴ Indeed, how much historical truth is conveyed in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* is an unsolved puzzle, but at least we can clearly differentiate its battle narratives from those in Xenophon's so-called historical works. Unlike the highly accurate account of the battle at Cunaxa (Xen. *An.* 1. 7. 10–13) and Leuctra (Xen. *Hell.* 6. 4. 10–12), the numbers of combatants in *Cyropaedia* are indicated by general adjectives, such as 'dense' (σπίφος) or 'large' (πολλοί).⁵ Landscapes are sometimes only roughly depicted,⁶ or not even mentioned. Casualties on both sides are not reported at all, but replaced by dramatic scenes of victors chasing and killing the vanquished. The gaps left in the narratives are filled by the heroic profile of Cyrus, the virtues of him and his army, and the interactions between prominent figures, as well as the moral-philosophical dialogues before and after a battle. So, we can safely call these descriptions rather fictitious. However, this leads to the functions of the battle descriptions becoming the focus, i.e. to analyse the author's idea of how to become a successful general, and the way he presented it to his audience.

³ For example, on whether the *Cyropaedia* could be labelled a military treatise, see Pease 1934; on the political intention behind Cyrus' 'military reforms', see Johnson 1974; on Xenophon's tactical lessons in his narrative of the battle of Thymbrara, see Anderson 1970, 165–90.

⁴ On the fictional narrative in the *Cyropaedia* as a vehicle for Xenophon to construct his ideal leader, see Stadter 2010.

⁵ For example, Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 19, 3. 3. 46–47. Exceptions are the occasional number accounts during war preparations: for instance, the overall account of the combat strength of the Assyrians with their allies and the Median-Persian army (Xen. *Cyr.* 2. 1. 2–6), and the 'round number' (τὸ πλῆθος ἐν κεφαλαίῳ) of the Lydian-Egyptian army given before the battle of Thymbrara (Xen. *Cyr.* 6. 3. 18–20).

⁶ On the importance of detailed descriptions of topography by ancient military writers, see Stoll 2015, especially the list on 125.

A Hunting κύων: Cyrus' First Battle Experience

In the *Cyropaedia*, Cyrus is not born as an ideal general but is presented with good and promising foundations. During the two hunting games in Book 1 (Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 8–10, 14–15), Cyrus shows himself as good at organising and inspiring others. He already knows how to use the tool of competition to encourage and attract his peers (ἡλικιώται) and therefore to build up his own network by generously sharing his booty among them.⁷ Thus, even though he is unable to control his rushing fighting spirit and forgets all he has learned about avoiding unnecessary dangers,⁸ nevertheless on both occasions his bravery and wits please his grandfather Astyages, the Median king. Furthermore, the behaviour of Cyrus in his first real battle experience bears striking similarities with these hunting games. However, as Bodil Due points out, our young hero who proved himself in hunting, was 'not yet quite perfect as a leader and a general' in the first battle he fought.⁹ Following this argument, I further suggest that Cyrus' inspiring and charismatic dynamic as a commander is mainly depicted in the specific battle *itself*, highlighted by certain important terms and literary arrangements given by Xenophon.

At the age of 15 or 16, Cyrus enters his first battlefield along with Astyages and his uncle Cyaxares (Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 18). Facing a massive cavalry foray led by the Assyrian prince, Cyrus barely persuades his grandfather with a bold suggestion: *some men* (τινάς) of the Median troop shall charge upon the Assyrian raiders, who are despised by Cyrus as 'a sorry looking lot on a sorry lot of nags' (πονηροί γε φαινόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ πονηρῶν ἵππαρίων), despite the fact that the whole Median army, with their reinforcements yet to come, were still outnumbered by the Assyrians. The plan of Cyrus ends with a simple anticipation that the enemy will break and run as soon as the Medians have delivered their charge (Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 19).

Indeed Astyages sees tactical merit in his grandson's reasoning.¹⁰ Moreover, we get the impression that Cyrus is actually asking to lead this charge with *some men*.¹¹ However, what to do after this first strike is not part of his planning. The Medians'

⁷ Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 11–12 tells how Cyrus gathers a group of young followers asking on behalf of them the chance to go hunting, even potentially against the will of their fathers and Astyages. His network building causes the bitterness of Cyaxares, who complains: Ποίει ὅπως βούλει σὺ γὰρ νῦν γε ἡμῶν ἔοικας βασιλεὺς εἶναι. This may foreshadow Cyrus' later action of undermining Cyaxares by attracting the Median cavalry to pursue the enemy with him (Xen. *Cyr.* 4. 1. 21–24).

⁸ Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 15: καὶ Κύρω ἤδετο οὐ δυναμένῳ σιγᾶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ σκύλακι γενναίῳ ἀνακλάζοντι, ὅποτε πλησιάζοι θηρίῳ, καὶ παρακαλοῦντι ὀνομαστὶ ἕκαστον.

⁹ Due 1989, 155.

¹⁰ Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 20: ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ ἔδοξε τι λέγειν τῷ Ἀστυάγει. The vulnerability of the raiding party against the enemy's relief troops is also pointed out by other military writers (see Aeneas Tacticus 16. 19–20; Onasander 10. 7).

¹¹ Similar to the way he asked Astyages' permission to take part and lead his peers in the hunting (see Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 5–6, 14).

battle plan is then finally completed by Astyages: *his son* (i.e. Cyaxares) shall take the lead with a division, and *the king himself* with the major force will come to their help if the enemy tries to fight back.

Although Cyrus has no major role to play in that final plan, Xenophon's hero does not fail to impress us with his daring actions (Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 20–21):¹²

οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κυαξάρης λαβὼν τῶν ἐρρωμένων ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν προσελάνει. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ὡς εἶδεν ὀρρωμένους, συνεξορμᾷ εὐθὺς, καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἡγεῖτο ταχέως, καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης μέντοι ἐφείπετο, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ οὐκ ἀπελείποντο. ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς πελάζοντας οἱ λεηλατοῦντες, εὐθὺς ἀφέντες τὰ χρήματα ἔφευγον. 21 οἱ δ' ἅμφι τὸν Κῦρον ὑπετέμοντο, καὶ οὓς μὲν κατελάμβανον εὐθὺς ἔπαιον, πρῶτος δὲ ὁ Κῦρος, ὅσοι δὲ παραλλάξαντες αὐτῶν ἐφθασαν, κατόπιν τούτους ἐδίωκον, καὶ οὐκ ἀνίσσαν, ἀλλ' ἥρουν τινὰς αὐτῶν.

So then Cyaxares took some of the most powerful horses and men and advanced. And when Cyrus saw them starting, he rushed off together immediately and soon took the lead, while Cyaxares followed after, and the rest also were not left behind. And when the foragers saw them approaching, they straightaway let go their booty and took to flight. 21 But Cyrus and his followers tried to cut them off, and those whom they caught they at once struck down, Cyrus taking the lead; and they pursued hard after those who succeeded in getting past, and they did not give up but took some of them prisoners.

Originally placed after Cyaxares' men, Cyrus suddenly advances to the front. Xenophon does not tell how Cyrus managed this: in the worst case, if he simply penetrated to the front (which was very likely the case here, as the participle sentence with ὡς εἶδεν ὀρρωμένους implies), the Median formation would fall into confusion.¹³ Nevertheless, the readers' attention is led to Cyrus' now leading role. One can easily detect from the tricolon sentence that the first charging position of Cyaxares is taken over by Cyrus, who becomes the foremost (πρῶτος) together with

¹² Texts and translations in this paper are from the following editions: text of *Cyropaedia*: W. Gemoll (Leipzig 1968); translation after W. Miller (London/New York 1914–60), with slight changes; text of *Hipparchikos*, the *Agésilas* and the *Cynegeticus*: E.C. Marchant (New York 2005); translation after Marchant (London/Cambridge, MA 1946); the text of *Memorabilia*: Marchant (Oxford 1971); text of *Anabasis*: Marchant (Oxford 1978); text of Aeneas Tacticus and the *Tactics*: Illinois Greek Club (New York/London 1948), translation is my own.

¹³ In Xen. *Eq. mag.* 2. 7–9, Xenophon stresses that every file-leader should know his proper position in the charge, otherwise 'men will hamper one another like a crowd leaving the theatre' (ὥσπερ ἐκ θεάτρου ὡς ἂν τύχῃσιν ἀπιόντες λυποῦσιν ἀλλήλους), and the only result of that will be a disastrous confusion (ἄτακτοι). A similar scene of a disorderly charge checked by the enemy is illustrated by Thucydides (7. 43–44) in his description of the Athenian's night surprise on the Syracusans: the former first gained some initial success with a lightning charge but gradually lost their battle order, and then fell into a great confusion after their enemy reorganised themselves and struck back; this at last led to a catastrophic defeat of the Athenians.

his followers (οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Κῦρον) and completely outshines his uncle.¹⁴ Cyrus holds the major credit of breaking, chasing and capturing the enemies, and raising the fighting spirit of his own men. As the verb ἐδίωκον indicates, the battle is suddenly becoming a hunting game. Then everything turns out like Cyrus' anticipation suggested: the charge works, the enemies are ruined and the Medians inspired. So far, so good. However, against our expectations, as the pursuit continues, the description of Cyrus does not remain totally positive, and the fight seems not even come to an end (Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 21–22):

ὥσπερ δὲ κύων γενναῖος ἄπειρος ἀπρονοήτως φέρεται πρὸς κάπρον, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐφέρετο, μόνον ὁρῶν τὸ παλεῖν τὸν ἀλίσκόμενον, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν προνοῶν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὡς ἐώρων πονοῦντας τοὺς σφετέρους, προουκίνησαν τὸ στίφος, ὡς παυσομένους τοῦ διωγμοῦ, ἐπεὶ σφᾶς ἴδοιεν προορμήσαντας. 22 ὁ δὲ Κῦρος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίει, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς χαρμονῆς ἀνακαλῶν τὸν θεῖον ἐδίωκε καὶ ἰσχυρὰν τὴν φυγὴν τοῖς πολέμοις κατέχων ἐποίει, καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης μέντοι ἐφείπετο, ἴσως καὶ αἰσχυρόμενος τὸν πατέρα, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ εἶποντο, προθυμότεροι ὄντες ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ εἰς τὸ διώκειν καὶ οἱ μὴ πάνυ πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἄλκιμοι ὄντες.

As a well-bred but untrained hound rushes recklessly upon a boar, so Cyrus rushed on, with regard for nothing but to strike down everyone he overtook and reckless of anything else. The enemy, however, when they saw their comrades hard pressed, advanced their column in the hope that the Medes would give up the pursuit on seeing them push forward. 22 But none the more did Cyrus give over, but in his battle-joy he called to his uncle and continued the pursuit; and pressing on he put the enemy to headlong flight, and Cyaxares did not fail to follow, partly perhaps not to be shamed before his father; and the rest likewise followed,¹⁵ for under such circumstances they were more eager for the pursuit, even those who were not so very brave in the face of the enemy.

Xenophon's animal analogies again correlate with the hunting-like character of this battle: Cyrus, the well-bred but untrained hound (κύων γενναῖος ἄπειρος) fights thoughtlessly (ἀπρονοήτως) in his battle-joy (ἀνακαλῶν); while the enemy, depicted as a boar,¹⁶ now appears stronger than him, since they react quickly in battle

¹⁴ We do not hear before that Cyrus has a troop to command. These 'followers' are very likely to be his young hunting companions (ἡλικιωταί) mentioned above, who are now members of his network and therefore follow him.

¹⁵ As the adverb ἴσως shows, the inspiring effect of Cyrus and his 'followers' gradually ripples to the men after them: the latter simply react according to others' behaviour. Therefore, this rarely seen positive picture of Cyaxares serves only to highlight Cyrus' charismatic leadership.

¹⁶ See Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 7: Xenophon tells us that before Cyrus takes part in hunting for the first time, he learnt that boars were one kind of dangerous beast which he should not approach (οὐ χρὴ θηρίους πελάζειν). But this did not make Cyrus cautious afterwards: having no regard to his guards' reproaching (ἐλοιδόρουσιν) and the danger entailed (κίνδυνον ἔλθοι), he fights with a boar after chasing down a deer (Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 8).

formation (προυκίνησαν τὸ στῆφος) and make a sound plan to strike back. In the *Cyropaedia*, the image of Cyrus being a hound with noble blood (σκύλακι γενναίῳ) has already appeared once in a hunting scene (Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 15), but the adjective ἄπειρος added in this passage serves to show not only young Cyrus' immaturity as a commander, but also the fact that a real battle is *not actually* a hunting game, since the former demands much more experience.¹⁷ Cyrus is not able to keep his advantage over the enemy precisely because he lacks war experience. While the following tricolon (ὁ δὲ Κύρος...ὁ Κυαξάρης...καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι) shows that Cyrus is still effectively leading and inspiring the rest, the next sentence points out the imminent danger awaiting them (Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 22):

ὁ δὲ Ἀστυάγης ὡς ἑώρα τοὺς μὲν ἀπρονοήτως διώκοντας, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἀθρόους τε καὶ τεταγμένους ὑπαντῶντας, δείσας περὶ τε τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Κύρου μὴ εἰς παρεσκευασμένους ἀτάκτως ἐμπεσόντες ἀθροίεν τι, ἡγεῖτο εὐθὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους.

But when Astyages saw them pursuing recklessly and the enemy advancing in good order to meet them, he was afraid that something might happen to his son and Cyrus, if they fell in disorder upon the enemy in readiness for battle, and straightaway he advanced upon the foe.

With a δὲ-sentence, Astyages comes to the front. While Cyrus acts 'with regard for nothing' (οὐδὲν προνοῶν), we suddenly realise that it is the authoritative Astyages who keeps observing (ἑώρα) and concerning (δείσας) the situation at the battlefield. Astyages' worry about Cyrus' approach and his safety is highlighted by the double contrast:¹⁸ Cyrus, being thoughtlessness (ἀπρονοήτως) and in disorder (ἀτάκτως),¹⁹ is about to meet the enemy with a disciplined formation (ἀθρόους τε καὶ

¹⁷ During the 4th century, with the rising professionalisation of Greek warfare, experienced persons (ἐμπειροί) were much searched for in the armies of Greek states. See also Aeneas Tacticus 1. 4; 6. 1, 3; on the trend to professionalisation in various aspects of warfare in the 4th century BC, cf. Whitehead 1990, 34–36; Pritchett 1974, 59–117; Rawlings 2007, 169–73; M. Sage 2003, 136–62.

¹⁸ Tension between a bold approach (ἀνδρεία) and the personal safety (ἀσφαλέας) of the commander is clearly seen in Xen. *Ages.* 2. 12–13. As Xenophon records in the *Agesilaus*, the hero of that biography in the battle of Coronea leads a furious frontal attack on his enemy, instead of choosing the safest strategy (οὐ μέντοι εἵλετό γε τὰ ἀσφαλέστατα) of giving them way temporarily. The valour of the Spartans wins the day, but during the fierce fighting, Agesilaus himself is 'wounded in every part of his body by every sort of weapon' (καίπερ πολλὰ τραύματα ἔχων πάντοσε καὶ παντοίοις ὅπλοις), therefore is unable to take command personally. On the different records and perspectives on the battle of Coronea in the *Agesilaus* and the *Hellenika*, see Stoll forthcoming (abstract and handout received through the help of Prof. Sven Günther).

¹⁹ The effects of ἀταξία and its antonym, εὐταξία, are sharply contrasted in Xen. *An.* 3. 1. 38: ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐταξία σφάζειν δοκεῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀταξία πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀπολώλεκεν. On the importance and evolution of εὐταξία in the 4th century, see Pritchett 1974, 236–38.

τεταγμένους) and prepared readiness (παρεσκευασμένους).²⁰ Therefore, Asyages' timely reinforcement turns the tide. Against the Assyrian's standardised way of fighting by keeping distance and skirmishing,²¹ the Medians come upon them in close quarters. The enemy's second breaking is then complete; many of them are slain, but the Medians under Asyages, worrying (δείσαντες) about a potential ambush, halt the pursuit (Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 23).

According to Xenophon, Asyages is pleased after the battle about the *victory of his cavalry* (τῇ ἱπποκρατίᾳ), in which Cyrus also made contribution (ἀΐτιον). However, he is disappointed with the latter for being overbold (γιγνώσκων τῇ τόλμῃ), and Cyrus' bloodthirsty acts of gloating over the dead (τοὺς πεπτωκότας περιελαύνων) drive his grandfather to anger (Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 24).

At first sight, Cyrus' profile in his first battle appears ambivalent. On the one hand, he is credited with making the initial bold plan, fighting fiercely and inspiring his followers with his dynamic behaviour. On the other hand, his plan paves the way for the final victory, but it is actually Asyages who completes and executes it at last by observing the situation rightly and making the right decision to press the enemies. Twice depicted as being not thoughtful (ἄπρονοήτως), Cyrus fights while having regard for nothing (οὐδὲν προνοῶν) and being out of discipline (ἀτάκτως). However, Cyrus' role becomes clearer once we focus on Xenophon's analogy – Cyrus is entitled as an untrained hound (κύων). In Xenophon's *On Hunting*, hounds are appreciated as indispensable helpers for human beings,²² but it is also necessary for the hunters to carefully frame them into the hunting plan by checking their natural impulse with due caution.²³ Therefore Xenophon advises a net-keeper (ἄρκυωρός), who is to set up a trap in hunting, with the following words (Xen. *Cyn.* 6. 10):

ἐμπεπτωκός τε δὲ τὴν ὁργὴν τῶν κυνῶν παυέτω, μὴ ἀπτόμενος ἀλλὰ παραμυθούμενος· καὶ δηλοῦτω τῷ κυνηγέτῃ, ὅτι ἐάλωκεν ἀναβοήσας ἢ ὅτι παραδεδράμῃκε παρὰ τὰδε ἢ τὰδε ἢ ὅτι οὐχ ἐώρακε.

²⁰ See Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 23: οἱ δ' αὖ πολέμοι ὥς εἶδον τοὺς Μήδους προκινήθοντας, διατεινόμενοι οἱ μὲν τὰ παλὰ οἱ δὲ τὰ τόξα εἰστήκεσαν, ὥς δὴ, ἐπειδὴ εἰς τόξευμα ἀφίκοντο, στηρομένους, ὥσπερ τὰ πλεῖστα εἰώθεσαν ποιεῖν.

²¹ Xenophon's picture of the Assyrian army as 'being most accustomed' (τὰ πλεῖστα εἰώθεσαν ποιεῖν) to skirmishing with lightly armed troops is the opposite of that of historical evidence, since the Assyrians are known to have arms for melee combats and to be experienced in multi-arms warfare (see Dezső 2012, 19–20).

²² See Xen. *Cyn.* 1. 1. 1: Xenophon praises hounds as 'the invention of gods' (εὑρηκα θεῶν). The sharpness and vigilance of hounds are well appreciated by Greek military writers: Aeneas Tacticus counts on the hounds' help for guarding at night (22. 14, 20), and even for transferring a secret letter (31. 31–32). For examples of the use of hounds in ancient warfare, see. Whitehead 1990, 156–57.

²³ See Aeneas Tacticus 22. 14, 38. 2–3: Aeneas Tacticus also gives advice to keep the hounds from barking or making a disturbance (ὀχλοῦεν) at night. On the necessity of stopping the noise of animals and methods of doing so, see McCartney 1943.

When she (i.e. the hare) is in, he must calm the excitement of the hounds, soothing without touching them. He must also shout to the huntsman and let him know that the hare is caught, or that she has run past on this or that side, or that he has not seen her, or where he caught sight of her.

There are potential dangers for the net-keeper in the excitement (τῇν ὀργῇν) of hounds, even after the target has been caught. Thus, the rest of the work is needed to be done by his fellow huntsman (τῷ κυνηγέτῃ). Hounds have their role to play in tracing, fighting and chasing, but it is always the responsibility of *the huntsmen* to set up, execute and oversee a plan/trap. Following this analogy, we can realise that for Xenophon the most crucial role of the huntsman/commander in the battle/hunting discussed above is actually played by Astyages, but not Cyrus, while the latter's role is nothing but a fierce and untamed hound.

To sum up, Cyrus' portrait in his first battle experience is deliberately constructed by Xenophon. The description of his valiant actions is long and outstanding, while his exposure to danger, as well as Astyages' decisive intervention, are compressed into one single sentence (Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 22). However, one can note that Cyrus' leadership is not immune from censor, as it is often qualified by negative adjectives. Cyrus knows how to fight fiercely, but not yet to lead properly. His immaturity as a military commander lies in two points: a) without full self-control (σωφροσύνη) over his impulses, he is not able to lead and fight in good order; b) he shows no foresight (πρόνοια) for the general situation as yet, therefore he cannot anticipate the enemy's movements and make a fitting plan that can be modified according to potential changes. In order to attain good generalship, the untrained (ἄπειρος) hound has to be educated.

The Ideal Commander: Cyrus as the Paradigm of Generalship

Before Cyrus enters his next battlefield against the Assyrians, his portrait is gradually constructed anew by Xenophon. After receiving a philosophical-tactical lesson from his father (Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 6), Cyrus goes back to Media and fights alongside Cyaxares, again as the commander of the Persian support troop. With shrewd military and diplomatic manoeuvres, he manages to put down the Armenian rebellion (Xen. *Cyr.* 2. 4. 12–3. 1), gains new allies and then pushes the frontline into Assyrian territory. Meanwhile, in order to counter the enemy's numerical advantage, Cyrus 'reforms' his army by making the lightly armed commoners equip and fight in the standardised way of their Persian peers (ὁμότιμοι), and putting them under strict, constant training (Xen. *Cyr.* 2. 1. 9–22). Certainly, all these measures already give a very different picture of him; he is no longer only 'Cyrus the hound', the imprudent youth leading a bunch of ἡλικιωταί. However, the development and maturity of

Cyrus' generalship is most intensively on display in the next battle through the virtues shown by him and his army. The preliminaries, unrolling and aftermath of this battle can all be seen as counterparts to those of his first battle, and therefore have a completely opposite narrative purpose.

At the beginning, one is surprised about the absolute confidence shown by Cyrus at the beginning of the battle (Xen. *Cyr.* 3. 3. 43–56). When the Assyrians begin to come out from their breastworks to offer battle, Cyrus disagrees with Cyaxares' suggestion of engaging the enemy immediately while they are still coming out and arranging themselves. He reckons that the victory – as if it already be assured – would be incomplete since there are *only a few* enemies to hack down (τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἐπιχειρῆσαι). Cyrus' refusal to seize the opportunity (καιρός) of catching the enemy due to disadvantages of number and wanting battle order is already much for the readers to ponder, but afterwards he again acts against the normal approach of ancient (Greek) warfare:²⁴ while the Assyrian king is exhorting his troops, Cyrus refuses to do the same, because he thinks he does not need to. On what ground does Cyrus have such faith, or is he still frenzied with unintelligent (ἀπρονοήτως) confidence? Hence, Cyrus' reasoning is explained by a rather philosophical conversation between him and his subordinate officer Chrysantas. In a long passage, Cyrus demonstrates that hollow words are not able to replace the constant, hard training that renders his men reliable in the field. However, at the end of the dialogue, Cyrus reveals also another source of his confidence (Xen. *Cyr.* 3. 3. 55):

ἐπεὶ ἔγωγ', ἔφη, οὐδ' ἂν τούτοις ἐπίστευον ἐμμόνοις ἔσεσθαι οὓς νῦν ἔχοντες παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἡσχοῦμεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐώρων παρόντας, οἱ καὶ παράδειγμα αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθε οἷους χρῆ εἶναι καὶ ὑποβαλλεῖν δυνήσεσθε, ἂν τι ἐπιλανθάνωνται. τοὺς δ' ἀπαιδευτοὺς παντάπασιν ἀρετῆς θαυμάζοιμ' ἂν, ἔφη, ὦ Χρυσάντα, εἰ τι πλέον ἂν ὠφελήσειε λόγος καλῶς ῥηθεὶς εἰς ἀνδραγαθίαν ἢ τοὺς ἀπαιδευτοὺς μουσικῆς ᾄσμα καλῶς ᾄσθ' ἐν εἰς μουσικῇν.

For even in the case of those whom we have kept and trained among ourselves, I, for my part, should not trust even them to be steadfast, if I did not see you also before me, who will be an example to them of what they ought to be and will be able to prompt them if they forget anything. But I should be surprised, Chrysantas, if a word well spoken would help those wholly untrained in excellence to the attainment of manly worth any more than a song well sung would help those untrained in music to high attainments in music.

²⁴ The debate about whether or how battle exhortations existed in the classical warfare is still ongoing, but we can be sure that they are always heavily depicted and were highly valued by ancient historians and military manual authors (see Hansen 1993; Zoido 2007).

Indeed, constant training builds a standardised, well-disciplined army, but sometimes one cannot trust (ἐπίστευον) trained men, since even they can forget (ἐπιλανθάνωνται) what they have learned when facing a battle, and therefore need a capable leader as a paradigm (παράδειγμα) to tell and show them what to do. Thus, what really makes Cyrus have confidence is not only *his men*, but also, and more importantly, *his own* leadership (here represented by Chrysantas, his subordinate), since the well-trained soldiers and their officers will do their best only under his command. Furthermore, as the analogy of music (μουσική) implies, those two sources of Cyrus' confidence, i.e. leadership and the structured knowledge of an army, are rather interdependent and interactive with each other, for they will not work well together if their qualities unbalanced, just like a well sung solo (ᾄσμα καλῶς ᾄσθ' ἐν) never can raise those untrained in music (τοὺς ἀπαιδευτούς) to the same level.²⁵ However Cyrus, the able leader with his well-trained men, is fully confident of presenting a perfectly structured and concordant performance on the battlefield. Besides, he already appears wise even before the fight begins, since his foresight (πρόνοια) already goes far beyond the petty tactic of advantage-taking suggested by Cyaxares, and reaches to the consequence of this battle and the next one to come.²⁶

Later, under Cyaxares' insistence, Cyrus finally obeys the order to engage the enemy, although not without reluctance (Xen. *Cyr.* 3. 3. 56). Thus the narrative at once turns to the advance march of Cyrus and his men (Xen. *Cyr.* 3. 3. 57):

ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ προσευξάμενος τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξῆγε τὸ στράτευμα. ὥς δ' ἤρξατο ἄγειν, αὐτίκα θάττον ἡγεῖτο, οἱ δ' εἰποντο εὐτάκτως μὲν διὰ τὸ ἐπίστασθαι τε καὶ μεμελητηκέναι ἐν τάξει πορεύεσθαι, ἐρρωμένως δὲ διὰ τὸ φιλονίκως ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ διὰ τὰ σώματα ἐκπεπονησθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ πάντας ἄρχοντας τοὺς πρωτοστάτας εἶναι, ἡδέως δὲ διὰ τὸ φρονίμως ἔχειν· ἡπίσταντο γὰρ καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ οὕτως ἐμεμαθήκεισαν ἀσφαλέστατον εἶναι καὶ ῥᾶστον τὸ ὁμόσε ἰέναι τοῖς πολέμοις, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοξόταις καὶ ἀκοντισταῖς καὶ ἰππεῦσιν.

When he had said this, he prayed to the gods and led out his army. And as soon as he began to advance, at once he led on at a double-quick pace and they followed in good

²⁵ In Xenophon, music (μουσική), and especially the chorus (χορός), is often compared with an army, since they are both in need of communicating, organising and disciplining between the leader and the participants: see Xen. *Cyr.* 3. 3. 70; *Oec.* 8. 3 (8. 4–8); *Mem.* 3. 5. 6, 18. Also in Xen. *Mem.* 3. 4. 4–6, the successful organisation of a chorus by the businessman Antisthenes is seen as a proof of his potential for being a good general (see also n. 38). An article on the connection between music/chorus and the politico-social system proposed by Xenophon is in preparation by Prof. Sven Günther.

²⁶ Xen. *Cyr.* 3. 3. 47: εἰ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἔσονται οἱ ἡττηθέντες, εἴ ἔστι ὅτι ἡμᾶς μὲν ἐροῦσι φοβουμένους τὸ πλῆθος τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἐπιχειρῆσαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ νομιοῦσιν ἡττησθαι, ἀλλ' ἄλλης σοι μάχης δεήσει, ἐν ᾗ ἄμεινον ἂν ἴσως βουλεύσαιντο ἢ νῦν βεβούλευνται, παραδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἡμῖν ταμειέεσθαι [ᾄσθ'] ὁπόσοις ἂν βουλώμεθα αὐτῶν μάχεσθαι.

order, for they understood marching in line and had practised it; moreover, they followed courageously, because they were in eager rivalry with one another and because their bodies were in thorough training and because the front-rank men were all officers; and they followed gladly, because they were intelligent men; for they had become convinced by long instruction that the easiest and safest way was to meet the enemy hand to hand – especially if that enemy were made up of bowmen, spearmen and cavalry.

After briefly mentioning that Cyrus duly prayed and led the march at the double,²⁷ the spotlight turns to his men. Their extraordinary marching order is perfectly matched by the deliberative arrangement of the sentence, which is connected by a tricolon with triple adverb-δέ and then the paralleling of the explanatory διὰ τὸ: apparently they share Cyrus' confidence, since they follow in good order (εὐτάκτως), great courage (ἐρρωμένως) and high spirit (ἡδέως), and these are due to their training (ἐπίστασθαί), memorising (μεμελετηκέναι), victory-loving (φιλονίκως), bodily strength (σώματα), rank structure (τὸ πάντας ἄρχοντας τοὺς πρωτοστάτας εἶναι) and intelligence (φρονίμως). Compared with the charge led by Cyrus in his first battle, we can find that the same spirit of manly, competitive valour remains, but as that of the last time was ill-disciplined (ἀτάκτως), reckless (οὐδὲν προνοῶν) and not thoughtful (ἀπρονοήτως), now the marching of Cyrus' army is in good order (εὐτάκτως), safe (ἀσφαλέστατον) and with sound tactical knowledge (φρονίμως). Therefore the virtues of Cyrus' army can be generally categorised into three dimensions: 1) natural, masculine ardour; 2) organised, well-trained military discipline; and 3) mental consciousness of tactics. These virtues are hierarchically parallelised in the next chapter (Xen. *Cyr.* 3. 3. 59):

ἦν δὲ μεστὸν τὸ στράτευμα τῷ Κύρῳ προθυμίας, ῥώμης, θάρρους, παρακλευσμοῦ, σωφροσύνης, πειθοῦς, ὅπερ οἷμαι δεινότατον τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις.

So Cyrus' army was filled with enthusiasm, strength, courage, exhortation, self-control, obedience; and this, I think, is the most formidable thing an enemy has to face.

As one can see, the individual, psychological virtues – προθυμίας, ῥώμης, θάρρους – gradually ascend to παρακλευσμοῦ, the inspired, collective exhortation; σωφροσύνης, the reasonable mind which could check those natural ardours from going to excess, comes next. At last, all these culminate in πειθοῦς,²⁸ the ideal

²⁷ Praying and omen-seeking are all common scenes in the battle narratives and military doctrine of Xenophon, who often links the virtue of σέβας to practical sphere, see, for example, Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 6. 5, 44–46; 7. 1. 1. For a discussion on piety and sacrilege in Xenophon, see Pownall 1998.

²⁸ Book 8 of *Cyropaedia* shows that obedience (πειθώ) is the key virtue for Cyrus' empire-building plan: not only it is accentuated as a guarantee for military discipline (Xen. *Cyr.* 8. 1. 3), but also underlined among his royal attendants (Xen. *Cyr.* 8. 1. 29) and satraps (Xen. *Cyr.* 8. 6. 1–2).

discipline built upon different levels of military virtue, that will give the enemy a psychological shocking, i.e. terror (δεινότατον).

Certainly, courage and discipline are all common topics of the ancient military authors. However, besides alluding to those kinds of qualities of Cyrus' men, Xenophon furthermore underlines their intelligence (φρονίμως), which is normally requested only from officers and the general.²⁹ The intelligence of the rank and file is embodied in the fact that they learnt well the standardised way of combat of the enemy, and also how to deal with it effectively. Although there is nothing new here, since the weak points of the Assyrian army have already been exposed to Cyrus and the Medians at the last battle (Xen. Cyr. 1. 4. 23), it is important that Cyrus, the general, has not only learnt from the experience and therefore anticipates the actions of the enemy,³⁰ but also transfers such knowledge to his men, and intentionally trains them in the way that can easily hit the enemy's weak point.³¹ Therefore, Cyrus is flexible enough to change the pre-existing social and military structure he faces,³² and the intelligence of the soldiers is essentially an outcome of Cyrus' knowledge transfer,³³ which specifically targets against the normal structure of the enemy. Still, the flexibility of Cyrus in the field is further reflected in the course of the battle. According to Xenophon, when Cyrus' men are approaching the wavering enemy (Xen. Cyr. 3. 3. 61–62):

ὥς δ' ἐπιδόντες οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπέβησαν τῶν ἀφειμένων βελῶν, ἐφθέγγετο δὲ ὁ Κῦρος, ἄνδρες ἄριστοι, ἤδη θᾶττόν τις ἰὼν ἐπιδεικνύτω ἑαυτὸν καὶ παρεγγυάτω. οἱ μὲν δὲ παρεδίδοσαν· ὑπὸ δὲ προθυμίας καὶ μένους καὶ τοῦ σπεύδειν συμμεῖζαι δρόμου τινὲς ἤρξαν, συνεφείπετο δὲ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ φάλαγξ δρόμῳ. 62 καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπιλαθόμενος τοῦ βάδην δρόμῳ ἡγεῖτο, καὶ ἅμα ἐφθέγγετο Τίς ἔψεται; Τίς ἀγαθός; Τίς πρῶτος ἄνδρα καταβαλεῖ; οἱ

²⁹ On the physical and intellectual qualities in the hierarchy of the manpower for city defence, see Aeneas Tacticus 1. 4–1. 9, in which the most intelligent ones (φρονιμωτάτους) are supposed to be 'attached to the authorities' (περὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας), while those strong in body and able to endure hard work (σώματα τὰ δυνησόμενα μάλιστα πονεῖν) go to the rank and file. For a discussion on φρόνησις in ancient Greek military vocabulary, see Wheeler 1988, 35–36.

³⁰ See Xen. Cyr. 2. 1. 9: ἡμῖν μὲν ποιήσεις τὸ ὁμόσε τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἵεναι ἀσφαλέστατον, τοῖς πολέμοις δὲ τὸ φεύγειν ἢ τὸ μένειν αἰρετώτερον. τάττομεν δέ, ἔφη, ἡμᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς μένοντα· οἳ γε μέντ' αὐτῶν φεύγωσι, τούτους ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις νέμομεν, ὥς μὴ σχολάζωσι μήτε μένειν μήτε ἀναστρέφεσθαι. On the approach of anticipating the enemy's weak points and make plan accordingly in Aeneas Tacticus, see Wu 2016.

³¹ See Xen. Cyr. 2. 1. 21, Cyrus gives his men a professional drilling for close fighting, even to the point of abandoning all other weapons but only trains them with the standard equipment of Persian speers.

³² On the social mobilisation and openness resulted from Cyrus' military reform, see Due 1989, 213–15.

³³ For a comparison between the theory of education in the *Cyropaedia* and *The Spartan Constitution*, and Xenophon's thinking of 'social education', see Lu 2015, 67–92.

δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτό τοῦτο ἐφθέγγοντο, καὶ διὰ πάντων δὲ ὥσπερ παρηγγύα οὕτως ἐχώρει τίς ἔψεται; τίς ἀγαθός;

And when the Persians, charging on, set foot upon the missiles that had been discharged, Cyrus shouted, 'Bravest of men, now let each press on and distinguish himself and pass the word to the others to come on faster.' And they passed it on; and under the impulse of their enthusiasm, courage, and eagerness to close with the enemy some broke into a run, and the whole phalanx also followed at a run. And even Cyrus himself, forgetting to proceed at a walk, led them on at a run and shouted as he ran: 'Who will follow? Who is brave? Who will be the first to lay low his man?' And those who heard him shouted with the same words, and the cry passed through all the ranks as he had started it: 'Who will follow? Who is brave?'³⁴

Although we have learned that it was the virtue of obedience (πειθοῦς) that made Cyrus' men terrify the enemy, now when Cyrus addresses their competitive eagerness and the hand-to-hand combat is about to happen, the psychological, individual courage – προθυμίας καὶ μένους καὶ τοῦ σπεύδειν συμμεῖξαι δρόμου – comes to the fore again.³⁵ Among such hotness, even Cyrus himself forgets (ἐπιλαθόμενος) the discipline of proceeding at a walk, but leads the whole phalanx to break into a run. Cyrus' forgetting reminds us of his words that even the disciplined men could forget their learned military behaviour, but as the description shows here, *any* disciplined formation is finally reduced to personal, psychological or even chaotic courage in the real fighting;³⁶ the only question left is *the right moment* to unleash the natural ardour of men. Within this chapter, Xenophon presents us the answer: the general is supposed to build and maintain a strict discipline to check the ardour of his army, until the right moment comes to unleash it. Therefore, the structure of an army cannot only be adjusted to serve certain strategic purpose, but also be temporarily 'forgotten' at certain point of time.

Then at once, the enemy starts to collapse. We know from a short sentence that the Median cavalry only plays the role of driving out the enemy's cavalry, and

³⁴ Cyrus prearranges this counter-cheering as a method of communication among his army during a battle (see Xen. Cyr. 3. 3. 42: ἦν δ' ἄρα ἡμᾶς καὶ οἱ ἐμπροσθεν ἀνακαλοῦντες ἔπεσθαι παρεγγυῶσιν, ὑπακούετε αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅπως μὴ δ' ἐν τούτῳ αὐτῶν ἡττηθῆσεσθε, ἀντιπαρακαλεούμενοι αὐτοῖς θάρττον ἡγεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους).

³⁵ On the interconnection between mechanical τακτικά and psychological *virtus* in the case of Caesarian battle descriptions, see Lendon 1999, *passim*. Lendon, however, states that the former belongs rather exclusively to Hellenistic military tradition, and the latter to Roman culture.

³⁶ It is not uncommon that a well-ordered *Greek* phalanx bursts into a chaotic charge before the last moment of close fighting. On the reconstruction of the hoplite-infantry melee, see Hanson 1989, 135–97. In the *Cyropaedia*, the Persian phalanx's chaotic charge before the melee, as well as their rapid regrouping into battle order after overcoming the opponents, are strikingly similar with those of the Ten Thousand at Cunaxa in the *Anabasis* (1. 8. 18–20), therefore for Xenophon, such a fluent switching between different battle statuses indicates the ideal discipline of an infantry army.

Cyaxares' name is not even mentioned.³⁷ Cyrus and his men hold the prominent role until the end of the battle. When the Assyrian women and their kings are exhorting their men to stand firm around the breastworks, the foresight of Cyrus and the discipline of his men are again presented at the end of the narrative (Xen. *Cyr.* 3. 3. 69–70):

ὥς δ' ἔγνω ὁ Κῦρος τὸ γιγνόμενον, δείσας μὴ εἰ καὶ βιάσαιντο εἴσω, ὀλίγοι ὄντες ὑπὸ πολλῶν σφαλεῖν τι, παρηγγύησεν ἐπὶ πόδα ἀνάγειν ἕξω βελῶν [καὶ πείθεσθαι]. 70 ἔνθα δὴ ἔγνω τις ἂν τοὺς ὁμοτίμους πεπαιδευμένους ὥς δεῖ· ταχὺ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐπείθοντο, ταχὺ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρήγγελλον. ὥς δ' ἕξω βελῶν ἐγένοντο, ἔστησαν κατὰ χώραν, πολὺ μᾶλλον χοροῦ ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες ὅπου ἔδει ἕκαστον αὐτῶν γενέσθαι.

But when Cyrus realised what was going on, he feared lest his men, even if they did force their way in, might be worsted by superior numbers, for his own men were but few; so he gave orders to retreat still facing the foe, until they were out of range. Then one might have seen the ideal discipline of the peers; for they themselves obeyed at once and at once passed on the word to the rest. And when they were out of range, they halted in their regular positions, for they knew much more accurately than a chorus, each the spot where he should stand.

As the participles indicate, Cyrus does what Astyages did in the last battle: observing (ἔγνω) and concerning (δείσας) the situations at the battlefield, he calls a timely halt. Ceasing from their individual pursuing, his men soon return to the standardised positions. And Cyrus made his men execute it with detailed attention: they retreat while facing the enemy, until being outside enemy's range. Meanwhile, the paralleling of ταχὺ μὲν with ταχὺ δὲ highlights the fluent communication in Cyrus' army: the peers, who are the elites and officers of Cyrus' army, immediately respond to their general's order and pass it to the others. The analogy of comparing them with a chorus at the end echoes that of music at the preliminary of the battle (Xen. *Cyr.* 3. 3. 55): Cyrus/the chorus-leader (χορυφαῖος) as the paradigm (παράδειγμα) knows when and how to give an order/solo, while his well-trained soldiers/χοροὶ respond with accord and eagerness, this makes the picture of how an ideal army/chorus works.³⁸

³⁷ Xen. *Cyr.* 3. 3. 65: καὶ οἱ τῶν Μήδων δ' ἱππεῖς ὁρῶντες ταῦτα ἤλαυνον εἰς τοὺς ἱππέας τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων· οἱ δ' ἐνέκλιναν καὶ αὐτοί. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἱππων διωγμὸς ἦν καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ φόνος δὲ ἀμφοτέρων. However, the role of Cyaxares and his Medians is obviously downplayed in this narrative, since a battle rarely ends when only the enemy front infantry collapse, therefore cavalry's job of driving out their counterparts is often decisive: for example, the Ten Thousand felt isolated and vulnerable without cavalry support during their march (Xen. *An.* 3. 3. 7–11). Furthermore, as the Persian cavalry is still under the command of Cyaxares, the order for this timely cavalry charge is very likely to be issued from him.

³⁸ See n. 25; Xenophon's applying of the chorus analogy to Cyrus' army is further seen in the prearranged vocal, interactive communication described in Xen. *Cyr.* 3. 3. 42, 62. Generally on the

Such an ideal discipline can be carefully built and maintained by the general, but the latter is not supposed to rigidly follow certain settled rules or normal approaches. He *can* choose not to take petty advantage of his enemy, or to exhort his men with a harangue, he *can* even forget the marching order at the right moment. Therefore, when dealing with various and unexpected situations in the field, he is supposed to have a flexible, creative mind. This is also the lesson taught by Cambyse to his son Cyrus, in which the analogy of music was also alluded (Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 6. 38):

δεῖ δὴ, ἔφη, φιλομαθῆ σε τούτων ἀπάντων ὄντα οὐχ οἷς ἂν μάθῃς τούτοις μόνοις χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ποιητὴν εἶναι τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους μηχανημάτων, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ μουσικοὶ οὐχ οἷς ἂν μάθωσι τούτοις μόνον χρῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα νέα πειρῶνται ποιεῖν. καὶ σφόδρα μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς μουσικοῖς τὰ νέα μέλη καὶ ἀνθηρὰ εὐδοκιμεῖ, πολὺ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμικοις μᾶλλον τὰ καινὰ μηχανήματα εὐδοκιμεῖ· ταῦτα γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν δύναται τοὺς ὑπεναντίους.

‘However, my son,’ he continued, ‘since you are desirous of learning all these matters, you must not only utilise what you may learn from others, but you must yourself also be an inventor of stratagems against the enemy, just as musicians render not only those compositions which they have learned but try to compose others also that are new. Now if in music that which is new and fresh wins applause, new stratagems in warfare also win far greater applause, for such can deceive the enemy even more successfully.’

These words are also a key to connect Cyrus’ first battle and the one we are dealing with: Cyrus learns from his old experience, also invents and applies fitting approaches according to the need of specific circumstance. Therefore his image rises from the untamed fighting κύων with regard for nothing but rushing to the front in a chaotic hunting game, to the one who paradigmatically gives the example and controls his men and anticipates the developments of the battle – just like the κορυφαῖος leading the performance, and, the ideal general in the field.

Conclusion: Searching Beyond τακτικά

To conclude, by vividly depicting different aspects of Cyrus’ behaviour and thoughts, highlighting certain virtues that he and his army obtains, as well as by connecting, contrasting and interweaving the narratives in the two battles discussed above, Xenophon constructs different *profiles* of Cyrus. Those profiles serve as vehicles to present us his idea of ideal generalship: ‘Cyrus the hound’ presents the courageous, inspiring dynamics of a promising leader; however, his thoughtless

Greek chorus, see Webster 1970, 202–03 on the model of the solo and response respectively from the chorus-leader and the χοροί in the performance. On how the chorus analogy illustrates the paradigmatic discipline of the ὑμῳτιμοὶ and the prudence of Cyrus, see Mueller-Goldingen 1994, 171.

(ἀπρονοήτως) and undisciplined (ἀτάκτως) actions are exactly what a commander should avoid; therefore, 'Cyrus the chorus-leader' stresses the foresight (πρόνοια) and perfect order (εὐτάκτως), key virtues of an ideal general. Nevertheless, the advent of the former does not mean the disappearing of the latter, but these two different profiles of the same hero are in the same string of narrative line and therefore rather to be seen as a development and perfect mixture: the ideal commander and army presented us by Xenophon are not robot and puppets who duly perform paradigmatic battle procedures, since in the real, hand-to-hand battle, they remember their masculine ardour, frame it into their σωφροσύνης and unleash it at the right moment chosen by Cyrus' πρόνοια. Therefore, 'Cyrus the chorus-leader' never forgets the hound in himself, but masters it fully and transfers its fighting spirit, as well as the knowledge of how to control it to his men.

Given the perfect mixture of order and flexibility, however one has to ask further. What is Xenophon's purpose in writing about military in the *Cyropaedia*? Does he aim to show or set certain tactical rules, or to propose a concrete 'reform plan' for the military system of a certain *polis*?³⁹ These understandings become questionable if we look through the gloomy picture of Book 8,⁴⁰ particularly the pathetic collapse of Cyrus' military instructions and system. While Cyrus never fails to pay attention to building up a permanent military (and politico-social) system based on his successful experiments in warfare,⁴¹ immediately after his death, all his legacies, for instance, hunting exercises, training of horsemanship, the way of close fighting and the method of using scythe chariots in the military, are totally abandoned or degenerate into hollow formalities (Xen. *Cyr.* 8. 8. 12–25).⁴² So, in case of fighting standards it is said (Xen. *Cyr.* 8. 8. 22–23):

³⁹ See Christesen, 2006. However, the fictional nature of the *Cyropaedia* and the substantial oriental elements included in Cyrus' 'military reforms' are enough to raise doubt about Christesen's reading of the *Cyropaedia* as a proposal for restructuring the Spartan army.

⁴⁰ On the discussion and relevant literatures of the authenticity of Book 8, cf. Mueller-Goldingen 1994, 262–71; P. Sage 1994–95, 161, n. 1.

⁴¹ In the *Cyropaedia*, Cyrus' various measures to standardise the Persian military system are introduced by the Greek words ἔτι καὶ νῦν, which include constant training in horsemanship (Xen. *Cyr.* 4. 3. 23), the use of scythe-chariots (6. 1. 30, 7. 1. 47), cavalry equipment (7. 1. 46) and the deployment of royal guards in Babylon (7. 5. 70). On the view that ἔτι καὶ νῦν add credits of truthfulness to the *Cyropaedia*, see Tamiolaki 2017, 179. I would like to point out further that these phrases echo and mirror inversely the πρόσθεν ... νῦν δὲ sentences in Book 8, therefore make a more ironical and pathetic picture of the downfall of the Persian empire.

⁴² On the connection between the rapid degeneration of Persian institutions and the irreplaceable role of Cyrus in the *Cyropaedia*, see P. Sage 1994–95, *passim*. See also the explanation and similarities between the downfall of the Persian empire and that of the Spartans in respectively the *Cyropaedia* and *The Spartan Constitution* (Lu 2015, 76–80). As Tamiolaki (2017, 178–80) points out, the degeneracy of the Persian empire in Book 8 of the *Cyropaedia* not only has the history and reality of Persia in mind, but also contains substantial Greek vocabularies and perspectives, thus, it is rather a 'blending of Greek and Persian realities'.

καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦ μὲν ἀκροβολίζεσθαι ἀποπαύσας, θωρακίσας δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἐν παλτὸν ἐκάστω δοὺς εἰς χεῖρα ὁμόθεν τὴν μάχην ἐποιεῖτο· νῦν δὲ οὔτε ἀκροβολίζονται ἔτι οὔτ' εἰς χεῖρας συνιόντες μάχονται. 23 καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ ἔχουσι μὲν γέρρα καὶ κοπίδας καὶ σαγάρεις ὥσπερ <οἱ> ἐπὶ Κύρου τὴν μάχην ποιησάμενοι· εἰς χεῖρας δὲ ἵεναι οὐδ' οὔτοι ἐθέλουσιν.

For Cyrus had abolished skirmishing at a distance, had armed both horses and men with breastplates, had put a javelin into each man's hand, and had introduced the method of fighting hand to hand. But now they neither skirmish at a distance any longer, nor yet do they fight in a hand-to-hand engagement. The infantry still have their wicker shields and bills and sabres, just as those had who set the battle in array in the times of Cyrus; but not even they are willing to come into a hand-to-hand conflict.

Although both the standardised infantry and cavalry equipment and the tactical instruction of avoiding skirmishing still remain, they become distorted since men had lost their will (οὐδ' οὔτοι ἐθέλουσιν) to do even the melee as well. Therefore, in the mind of Xenophon, the fall of Persia's military power exactly reflects the inadequacy of fixed instructions when they are without a capable leader to guide and maintain them. Without flexibility to adjust traditional ways to meet new circumstances, tactical rules will first become static and then degenerate. Thus, in order to keep his war machine alive and make sound plans, the general should keep thinking deeper and broader instead of merely following static and dated principles.

It is also interesting to compare Xenophon's view with those of his Greek contemporaries: in the *Laches*, Plato questions whether the teaching (μάθημα) of basic war training and tactics by the drill-performer could inspire youths to be a good general (*Lach.* 182e–184c);⁴³ when Isocrates, the orator, praises the στρατηγία of his pupil Timotheus in the *Antidosis*, instead of stressing his knowledge of tactics,⁴⁴ the focus is laid on the latter's wisdom in choosing (προαίρεσιν) enemies and friends in war, the ability to supply his army even by himself,⁴⁵ and his personal charisma (*Antid.* 15. 117–121); and though Aeneas Tacticus, the author of the military treatise *How to Survive under Siege*,⁴⁶ offers detailed tactical measures and τεχνήματα

⁴³ An expanded version of the same motif by Xenophon, see *Mem.* 3.1: the teacher of generalship, Dionysodorus, who 'teaches nothing but tactics' (τὰ γὰρ τακτικά ἐμέ γε καὶ ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἐδίδασκεν), is heavily criticised by Socrates, while the latter points out the need not only to learn the tactics, but also to know how to apply and adjust them, due to the reason that: Καὶ μὴν πολλὰ γ' ἐστὶ πρὸς ἃ οὔτε τάττειν οὔτε ἄγειν ὥσαύτως προσήκει.

⁴⁴ We are told by Isocrates (*Antid.* 116–117) that Timotheus, being himself without experience of war, has those who participated in many campaign, and therefore are supposed to have good knowledge of tactics, under his command as λοχαγοὺς and ταξιάρχους.

⁴⁵ On the 'full' and particularly economic strategy of Timotheus, see Günther 2016.

⁴⁶ On the similarities in the military works of Aeneas Tacticus and Xenophon, see Whitehead 1989, 35–37; on the probable comradeship between them, see Hunter and Handford 1927, xxxii–xxxiii. On the nexus between tactics, economic strategy and literary technique, see Günther 2014.

for the στρατηγός who is in charge of defending a city, he does not forget to remind him (2. 8) that:

ὥς δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων θελημάτων χρὴ τὰ ἐνόντα ὑπεναντία τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ὑπονοεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπερισκέπτως τι ἕτερον αἰρή.

Equally for all others plans, it is necessary to compare the prescribed rules against the objections, in order not to choose thoughtlessly for one rather than another.

Herewith, Xenophon's thinking on ideal generalship fits well into the Greek 4th-century trend in military thinking of 'searching beyond τακτικά'.⁴⁷ Though Xenophon, and others, accept the necessity for a general of learning and remembering certain basic, fixed rules of tactics, he also realises the various not only tactical problems a military leader has to face; accordingly, applying and choosing fitting measures on the battlefield and beforehand, makes him apply the strategy in full, and become a successful στρατηγός. In the case of Cyrus, although he is endowed with the inherited advantages of high birth, charisma and sound mind, he is not born as a perfect commander, but acquires ideal generalship gradually from learning, experience and active experiments, which are all realistic and down-to-earth ways for one to develop oneself. Therefore, a sound but perhaps not perfect generalship is always obtainable: one can make steps towards the ideal represented by the fictitious Cyrus of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*.

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⁴⁷ The mechanical tendency within the Greek concept of τακτικά has been discussed in London 1999, 281–90. It is obviously attested in the Greek military writings since the Hellenistic time, an extreme example is the last sentence of the *Tactics* written by the 'armchair strategist' Asclepiodotus: 'These are in brief the principle of the tactician; they mean safety to those who follow them and danger to those who disobey.' (Αὐτὰι διὰ βραχέων αἱ τοῦ τακτικοῦ καθηγήσεις, τοῖς μὲν χρωμένοις σωτηρίαν πορίζουσαι, τοῖς δ' ἐναντίοις κινδύνους ἐπάγουσαι).

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RELATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND CENTRAL EUROPE REVISITED: EARLY IRON AGE, IMPORTS OF ATTIC POTTERY IN BOHEMIA AND POSSIBLE PYTHAGOREAN LINKS OF CELTIC ART*

JAN BOUZEK

Abstract

This article presents a summary of the substantially enlarged evidence of relations between Greece and Central Europe in the Early Iron Age. It follows relations in warfare, in solar symbolism, earlier imitations of Greek models, the question of possible evidence of Pythagorean links in Celtic art, and it completes the story of the presence of 5th-century BC Attic pottery in Bohemia, of its imitations and paraphrases.

1. First Imports, Common Weaponry and Symbols of Solar Deity

The first genuine imports into Central Europe from the eastern Mediterranean are the glass beads probably distributed by the Phoenicians,¹ but among the larger objects the parallels in weaponry, common use of Naue II swords, lanceolate spear-heads, corselets, helmets and greaves, dress fasteners, loom-weights, etc. document intense relations at the end of the 2nd millennium BC. Of more general character are the artistic motifs, their arrangement and use, most of them connected with a solar religion.²

The symbol of spoked wheels with birds, barque with solar disc and birds or horses are symbolic signs of a solar deity. Still in the *Edda* of Snori the daylight Sun is drawn on the sky by horses, and the hardly visible blue Sun is returned to the East by swans or other water birds. F. Kaul³ tried to compile a more complicated story, but the attempt lacked sufficient support elsewhere; birds as taxi cabs were also used by Apollo, Artemis and Aphrodite. The abbreviated protomes may represent birds and horses as well. The Hyperborean sanctuary was every winter visited by Apollo.

* This paper returns to the subject discussed almost 20 years ago in a jubilee volume for John Boardman on the occasion of his eightieth birthday (Bouzek 2000).

¹ Bouzek 2010a.

² Bouzek 2017, 52–60, 246–50.

³ Kaul 1998.

The beginning of the solar religious movement in the North and in Egypt (Echnaton) can be traced notably in the 14th century BC. A wheel with spokes was also a symbol of Celtic Taranis, Lord of lightnings like Greek Zeus. Birds with wheels and the solar boat were popular at the transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age (Fig. 1) and continued in the Early Iron Age, but in a different social situation.⁴ After the Middle Bronze Age elite with richly furnished graves of the Urnfields came the more 'democratic' society of the *homoioi*; social differences enlarged again in the Hallstatt C–D, period, when the social system was similar to that of Homeric society.⁵ 'Temple'-façades of the Černý Vůl type (Fig. 2)⁶ served larger communities; they may have separated the accessible rituals from those of the initiated behind something akin to an iconostasis. Besides birds and wheels the usual motif is the wavy line or zigzag, marking ups and downs in a way without returns characteristic for spiral and meander. Many fire-dogs have only wavy line as decoration.

The gold cones from South Germany and France used to be interpreted as calendars and the gold roundels from the Pilsen area, Italy and Greece, with 12 raised points, may well have been used as their simpler versions (Fig. 3). Two wavy lines or zigzags crossing each other may show the outbalancing of the two rhythms depicted. A second function of wavy line is in the framing; usually it is put between two straight lines, thus resembling the threefold framing band separating motifs in Greek Geometric pottery. Straight bands and lines are used for framing of individual fields. The subsequent restorations of the relief show that the object was used repeatedly. Birds signalled the arrival of deity in Aegean and Greek religion; bird askoi common in the Aegean and in prehistoric Europe served as a kind of sprinkler.⁷ Bird protomes, bird boats and similar symbolic representations are known in Italy, the Aegean, Cyprus and the Levant, notably in the 13th to 11th centuries. The horse from Mladá Boleslav in Bohemia, the ram from Losow in Brandenburg (Fig. 4 ab) and the Trundholm chariot resemble Greek Geometric style, and the goddess from Strettweg (Fig. 5)⁸ 8th-century Greek figurines. Metal objects and glass beads usually precede pottery imports. The symbols of the Sun and vessel waggons from Europe and the Mediterranean are similar and of similar function in both areas.⁹

⁴ Bouzek 2017, ch. 2.2.

⁵ Finley 1954.

⁶ Bouzek and Vokolek 2016, figs. 6–10.

⁷ Bouzek 1970; Guggisberg 1996.

⁸ Smejtek and Švédová 2016; Beilke-Voigt 2016; Bouzek 1997, 234–37.

⁹ Bouzek 1997, 96–98.

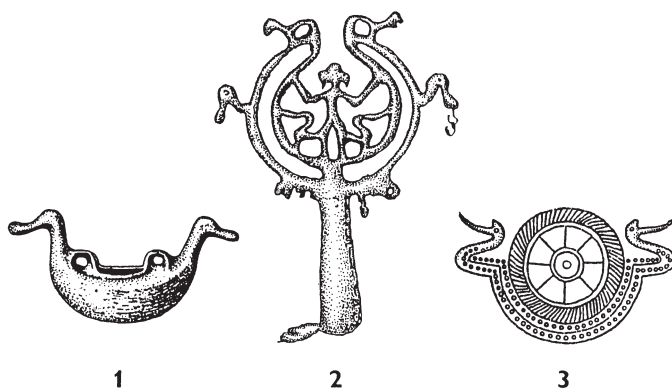


Fig. 1: Solar symbols. 1. Samos near Szatmár, Hungary, 2. Bisenzio, 3. Siem, Denmark (after Bouzek 1997).

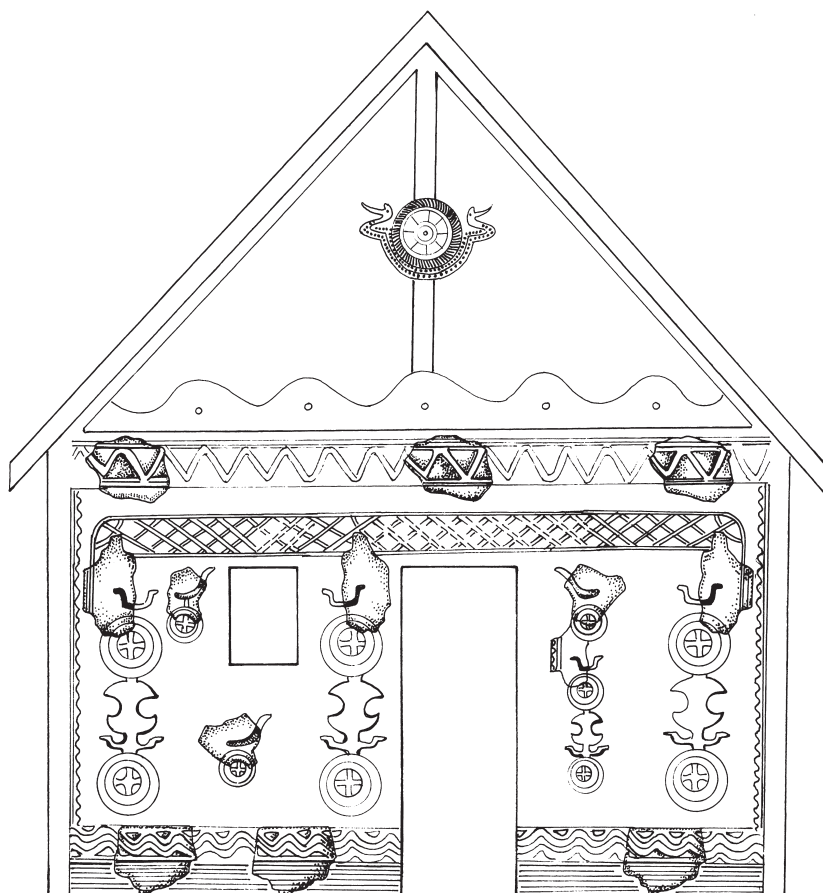


Fig. 2: Clay façade of 'temple', reconstruction. Černý Vůl near Prague (drawing by A. Waldhauserová).

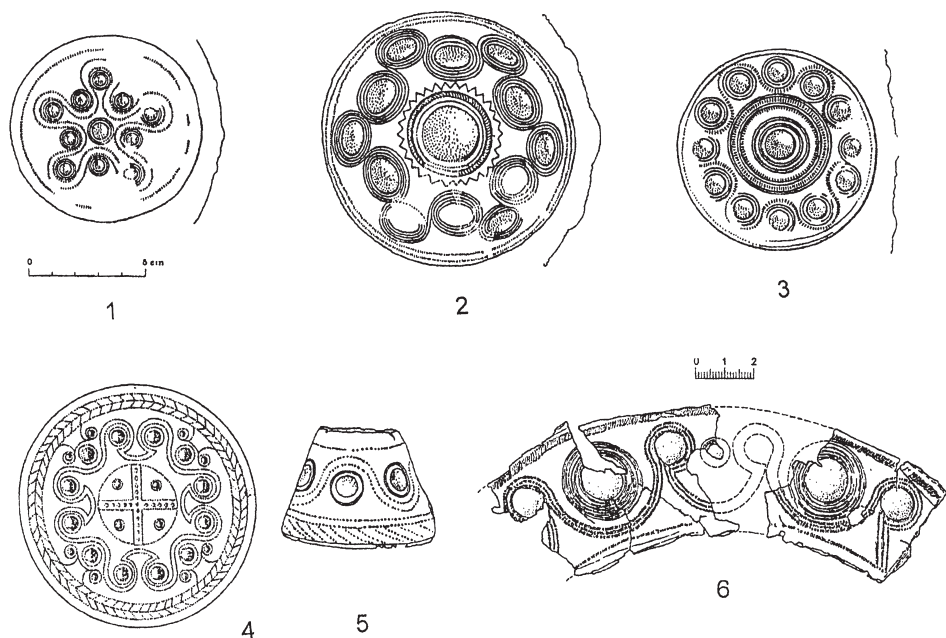


Fig. 3: Sheet gold roundels. 1. Milínov, 2. Sedlec – Hůrka, 3. Nová Huť (all West Bohemia), 4. Roccasecchia, North Italy, 5. Tiryns, 6. Delos, treasury under the Artemision (after Bouzek 2017).

Greek wooden architecture took over the Central European technique and Central Europe took much inspiration from the South during Hallstat B3–D1.¹⁰ The Černý Vůl façade (Fig. 2) belongs to the forerunners of decoration of Greek and Etruscan temples: the solar symbols with birds belonged to a solar religion, transferred to the Mediterranean by the so-called Sea Peoples in the frame of a process connected with the beginnings of the Iron Age and the change of identity, leading to the birth of philosophical thought in Greece.

2. Celtic Art: An expression of a Religious Movement Related to the Pythagorean(?)

In mediaeval and later arts the origin of a new style used to be seen as an expression of a spiritual and religious movement. Irish missionaries brought to continental Europe the pre-Romanesque style; the Benedictines and Cluny movements brought Romanesque art. The Chartres school was behind the Gothic architecture starting in the Île-de-France; Reformation and Humanism found their expression in the

¹⁰ Mazarakis Ainian 1997; Bouzek 1997, 64–66, 200–14, 241–52.



Fig. 4: Bronze figurines from Mladá Boleslav, Bohemia and Losow, Brandenburg (horse, ram), birds from Olynthus(?) and the Balkans (photographs of horse, courtesy L. Smejtek; upper right after Beilke-Voigt 2016; other photographs by L. Vacinová).

Renaissance art; Baroque and the *Stile Jesuit* were inspired by the Counter-Reformation, and Classicism by the Enlightenment.

In the middle of the 5th century BC the Greek enlightenment achieved the peak of Early Classical realism in Phidias and Polyclitus; Anaxagoras interpreted planets and stars as physical corpses similar to the meteorites, in opposition to the Pythagoreans. The Druidic interpretation of the world was similar to that of the Pythagoreans in its teachings on reincarnation, geometry and astrology. The North Thracian Zalmoxis was considered to be a slave of Pythagoras by Herodotus (4. 93–96). Of two anecdotes on Celtic perception of the Universe, one refers on Alexander's meeting with the Celts in the year 335 BC on the Danube (Strabo 7. 3. 8). The only fear in their otherwise courageous attitude was that the sky might fall on their heads. The second is about Brennos in Delphi. In one of the versions the rock fall did not stop the Celts from entering the sanctuary, and after seeing the marble statues of gods instead of the expected gold, Brennos started to laugh;

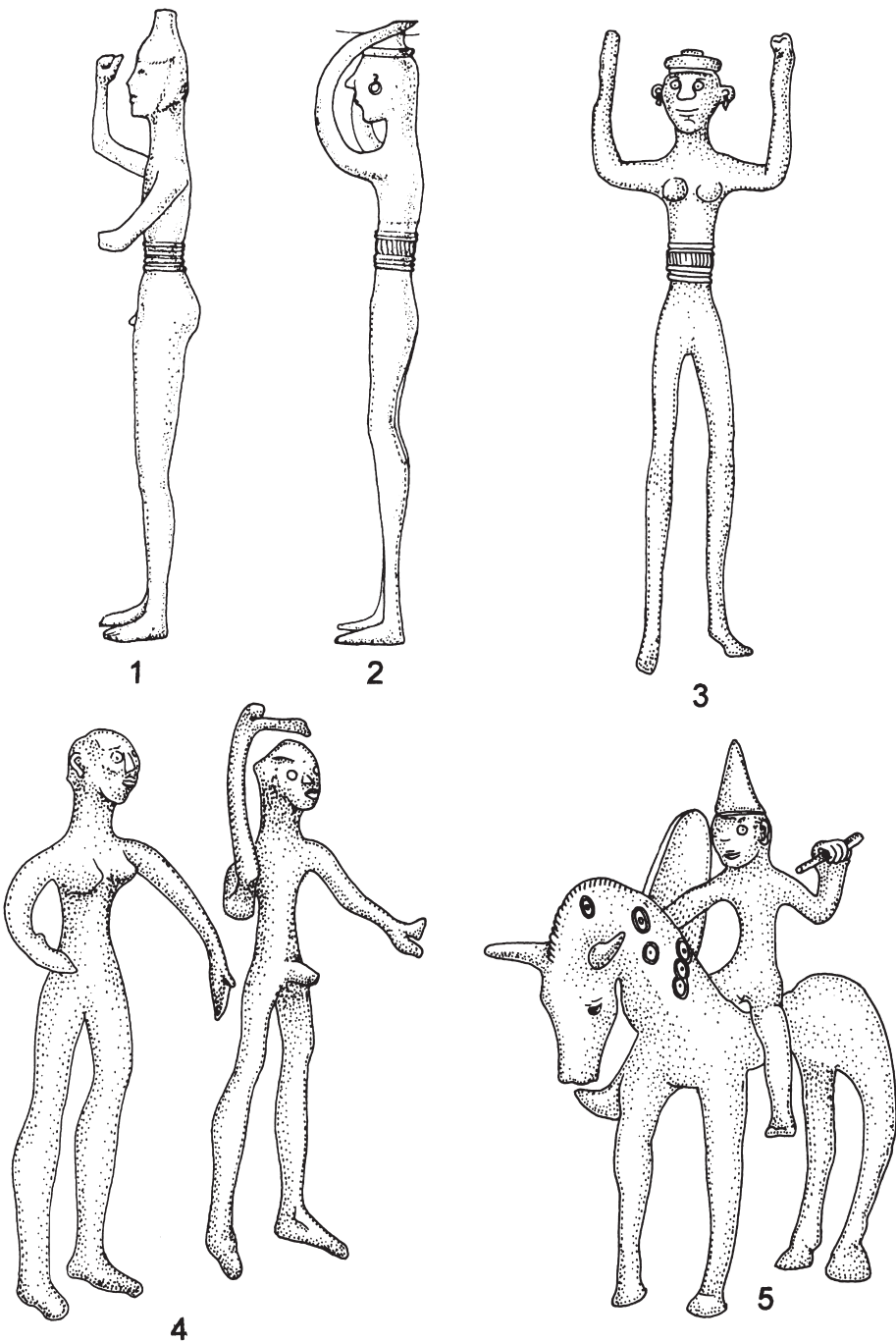


Fig. 5: Goddess from Strettweg in Austria, her servants and Greek Geometric figurine (no. 1) (after Bouzek 1997).

after being asked why, he responded that gods could of course take over any shape, but cannot be forced to stay in one of them (Diodorus *Bibl. hist.* 21. 9).

The strictly rectilinear geometric order of the earliest Iron Age was replaced by the dynamic curvilinear La Tène artistic language under the impact from the South in the Hallstatt D/La Tène A transition.¹¹ The previous Hallstatt geometric idiom was fixed, firm, with reasonable stability, alien to the dramatic changes. The Etruscan *Schnabelkannen* changed into expressive mannerist flacons. The new style took over motifs and expressions from the 'Orientalising' style in the South, but without the realistic copying of the sensual reality. Similar to 20th-century European development, La Tène art decomposed the picture into simple ornamental elements. The frontal palmette became the symbol of the Tree of Life, sometimes also of the Tree of Wisdom, as in other religions. The predators and hybrid beings of Greek and Near Eastern mythology, composed from parts of human and animal bodies, became dragons on the flacons, reminding of danger and awakening fear, to prepare for a higher degree of initiation. There was a field open for the fantasy of the artist and the great generation of the founders of Celtic art was able to develop many varieties of fantastic beings and symbols, and later in the 4th century in the Plastic Style even play with the illusion of the third dimension. If there really existed a direct link between the Pythagoreans and the Celtic druids, it would be of basic importance for understanding ancient history.

3. Attic Pottery in Bohemia

During the last ten years several papers have appeared on the subject¹² (of which a brief summary is given here), and similar changes were recorded in South Germany, Switzerland and France.¹³ One of the novelties is the deposition of some of the fragments in much later contexts; they were probably 'objects of memory'¹⁴ connected with some story. In the 5th century the Celts took many impulses from the South; in the 4th century they had some knowledge of Southern models, but were content with their own local products.

¹¹ Venclová 2002; 2013; Chytráček 2012; Chytráček *et al.* 2014; Sankot 2006; 2009; 2014; Guggisberg 2004; Kozáková *et al.* 2016; Krauskopf 2004; Cvrková and Jančo 2002; Rolley 1999; von Hase 2000; Weber 1983.

¹² Bouzek 2010a; Trefný 2011; Bouzek and Dufková 2015; Bouzek *et al.* 2017.

¹³ Bonomi and Guggisberg 2015.

¹⁴ Nora 1984–91; Bouzek 2014.

Fifth-century Attic pottery is known from seven sites in Bohemia:

1. Kadaň-Jezerka. Excavations V. Kruta, Archaeological Institute, Prague Most, 1968–1970.
Small fragment of neck and shoulder with palmette from the group of the Haimon Painter, *ca.* 480–470 BC¹⁵ (Figs. 6 left and 7 above).
Hut 40/69, local pottery transition Hallstatt D3/La Tène A, with spearhead.
2. Droužkovice. Excavations Smrž, Archaeological Institute, Prague Most, 1982–1986.
Fragments of two black-glazed(?) cups (one Bloesch Type B, the second with plain rim), black-glazed or red-figured cup and Phidias cup; 2. Castulo Type and Phidias juglet;¹⁶ second quarter to middle 5th century (Figs. 8 and 9). From a narrow corridor of quadratic structure, with dog with head of ram, probably from flacon from neighbouring hut: Cup no. 1 from the hut, vases 2–3 from the ditch. Probably second quarter of 5th century.¹⁷ Local pottery La Tène A.
3. Prague – Ruzyně, Jiviny. Excavation M. Fridrichová and J. Kovařík, City Museum, Prague, 1982.
Low cup, reconstruction of the tondo M. Dufková;¹⁸ Beazley (1963) Early Classical; 470s BC.¹⁹ From a hut, Transition Hallstatt D3/La Tène A (Fig. 10).
4. Prague – Pitkovice. Excavations M. Polišenský, Institute for Rescue Archaeology of Central Bohemia, 2006. Two fragments of rim and foot, feet of figures on the fragment with drilled hole;²⁰ *ca.* 480–460 BC (Beazley Early Classical). From a farmstead, but beyond the area surrounded by ditch (Fig. 6 below). From the same site fragment of transport amphora from Mende (later) was found (Fig. 20).²¹

¹⁵ Bouzek and Koutecký 1975, fig. 1.1 and pl. 1.1–2; Shefton 2000, 35; Trefný 2011, 275, fig. 2.1. *Cf.* Bloesch 1940, 144–45, pl. 32 – small cups C; Beazley 1956, 629–53; Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 276, no. 578, fig. 6, *ca.* 480 BC.

¹⁶ For no. 1: *cf.* Sparkes and Talcott 1970 stemless cups with plain rim, nos. 474–476, fig. 5 S. 268; Bloesch 1940, 59–61, pl. 16, Type B. No. 2: as Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 268, 471, fig. 5, with thickened rim, 470–450 BC; Shefton 1996; Bloesch 1940, 134–36, pl. 32.4a, c. no. 3. Phidias pitcher: Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 250, nos. 201–202.

¹⁷ Bouzek and Smrž 1994; Smrž 1996; Trefný 2011, 276, fig. 4.1–3.

¹⁸ Trefný 2008; 2011, 274–75, fig. 3.

¹⁹ Lutovský *et al.* 2007, 26–28.

²⁰ Trefný and Polišenský 2008; Trefný 2011, 276, Fig. 4.4–7.

²¹ Trefný and Polišenský 2014.



Fig. 6: Attic fragments from Kadaň (1–2), Dobrovíz (3–4) and Pitkovice (photographs by N. Trefný and J. Bouzek).

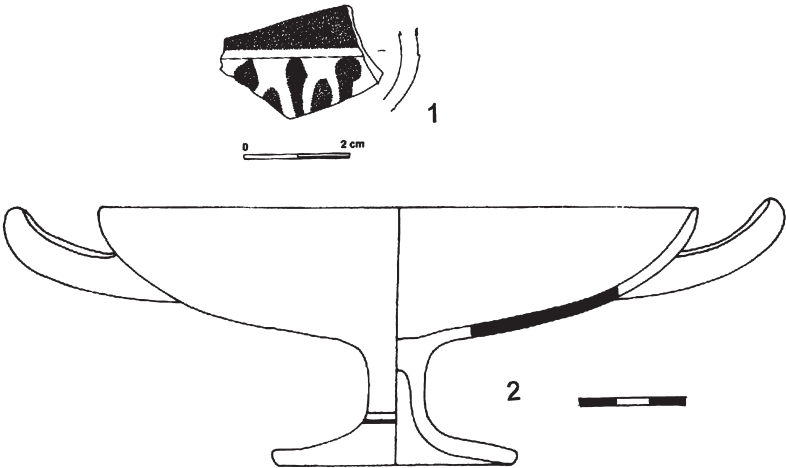


Fig. 7: Attic fragments from Kadaň and Pitkovice.

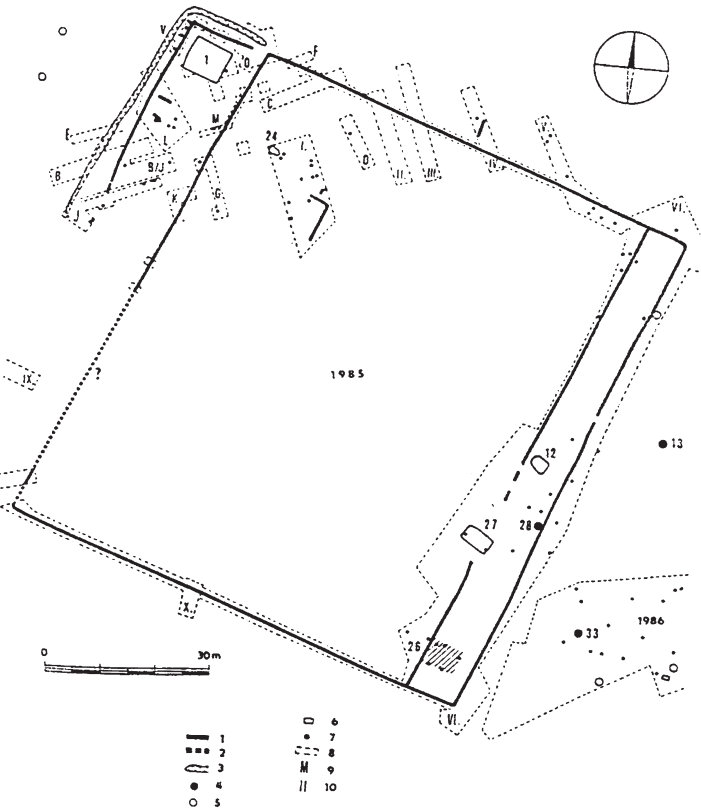


Fig. 8: Droužkovice, enclosure of farmstead.

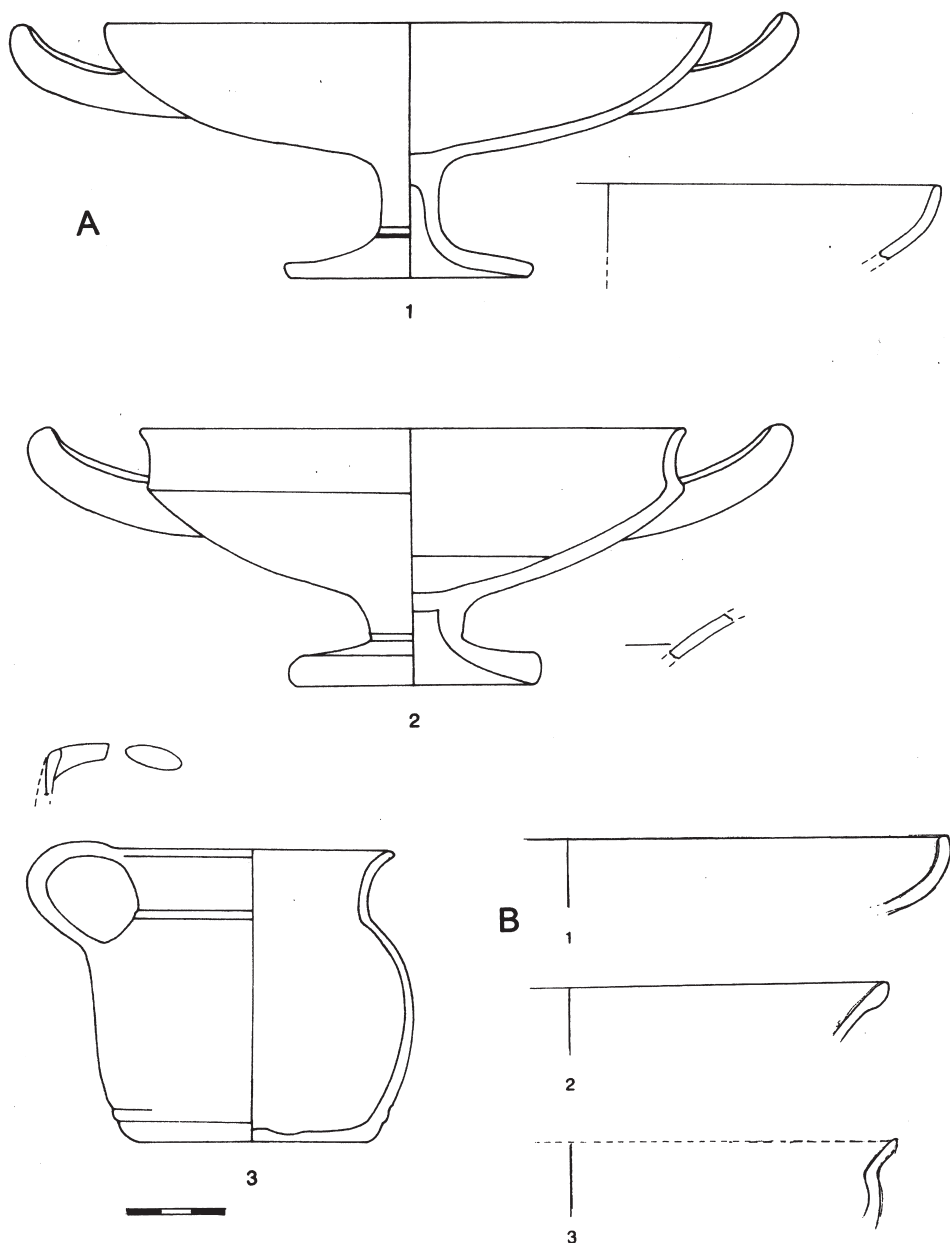
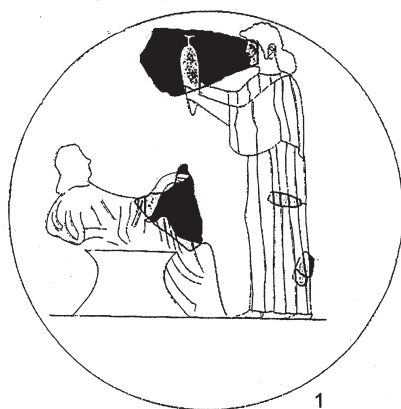
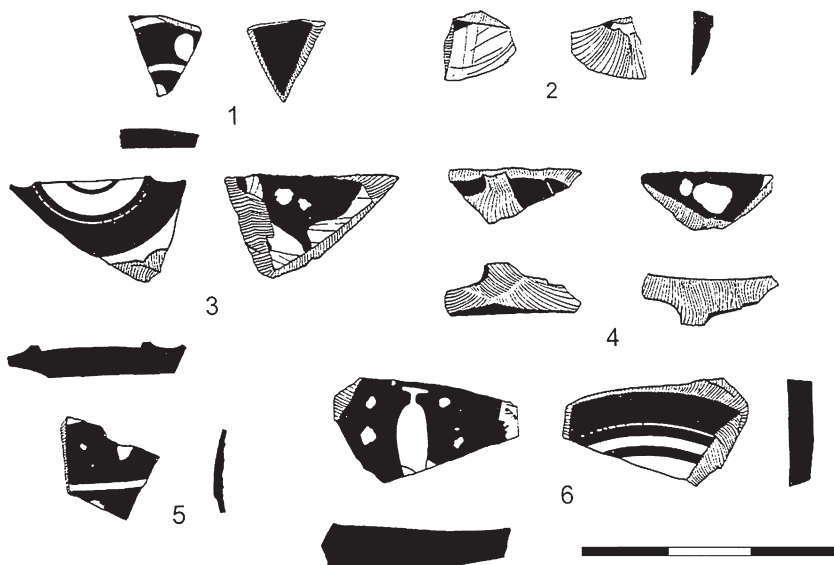


Fig. 9: Droužkovice, A1-3. Attic pottery; B1-3. Related (drawing by J. Bouzek).



A

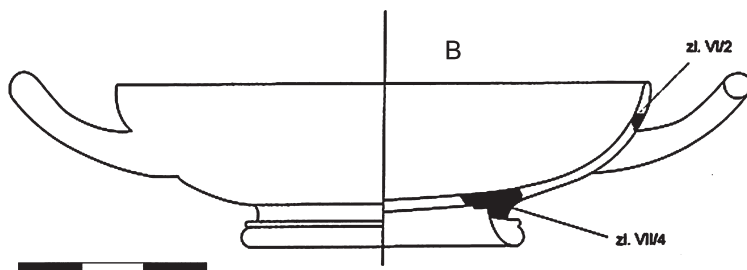
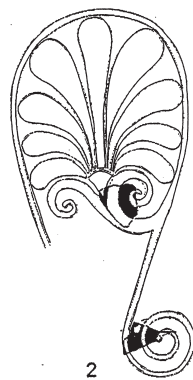


Fig. 10: Prague – Jiviny (after Trefný and Polišenský 2014).

5. Tuchoměřice. Excavations P. Sankot and A. Veselá, Museum Roztoky near Prague, 1998.
Two wall fragments of cups (the latter stemmed), one of the Phidias pitcher, Glaze of 5th century(?).²² Same service as Droužkovice, in 4th-century context (Figs. 11–12).
6. Dobrovíz. Excavations J. Řídký and M. Pecinová, Archaeological Institute, Prague, 2007.
Two fragments of figure in cloak (Figs. 6 right and 7 below); *ca.* 470/460 BC; Bloesch Type B, Sparkes and Talcot plain rim.²³ Near to Telephos Painter.²⁴ From hut 144, frontier context local pottery frontier Hallstatt D3/La Tène A, secondary position.
7. Dobroměřice near Louny, Hut 1, no. 2a. Excavations D. Koutecký, Archaeological Institute, Most. Wall fragment of larger (stemmed) cup probably Castulo type.²⁵ Local pottery Hallstatt D3 (Fig. 13).

Their occurrence in Bohemia of Attic fine ware belongs to the time of the Scythian attacks in the Morava–Oder Amber Route, probably as part of an attempt to use a more westerly route instead of the usual one.²⁶ The unique find of a fragment of a transport amphora from Mende at Pitkovice²⁷ (Fig. 20) belongs to the late 5th or 4th century BC. Attic pottery and the Mende amphora came to Bohemia from North Italy; similar shapes are well known from the area of Adria and Spina.²⁸

Local imitations of Attic cups are known from Pilsen-Roudná (Fig. 14).²⁹ The group of the Braubach bowls (Fig. 15)³⁰ was also inspired by shape of Attic cups, but it copied them without handles. The motifs were important for the development of Celtic ornaments.³¹ Besides Attic pottery, Etruscan and Italic bronze

²² Bouzek *et al.* 2017.

²³ Trefný 2011, 274–75, fig. 1:1a. *Cf.* Beazley 1963, 816–19, Late Archaic mannerist.

²⁴ *Cf.* Boardman 1975, 195, figs. 378–379.

²⁵ Koutecký 2006, 341, pl. 8.

²⁶ Bouzek 2012; 2011, 120–25.

²⁷ Trefný and Polišenský 2014.

²⁸ De Marinis 1986; 2005; Desantis 2015; Wiel-Marin 2005; Shefton 2001; Bonomi 2004; Frey 2004; 2007; *cf.* Braccisi 2003. For southern Germany, *cf.* Böhr 2000; *Luxusgeschir* 1995; Bonomi and Guggisberg 2015; Fless 2002; Hansen and Böhr 2011; Pape 2000; 2004; Shefton 1996; 2000; Kimmig 2000.

²⁹ Bašta *et al.* 1989; and Chržín (Chytráček 2007; 2008); possibly from Závist (*cf.* Drda and Rybová 2008; Bouzek *et al.* 2017).

³⁰ Dehn 1951.

³¹ Megaw and Megaw 2006; 2007.

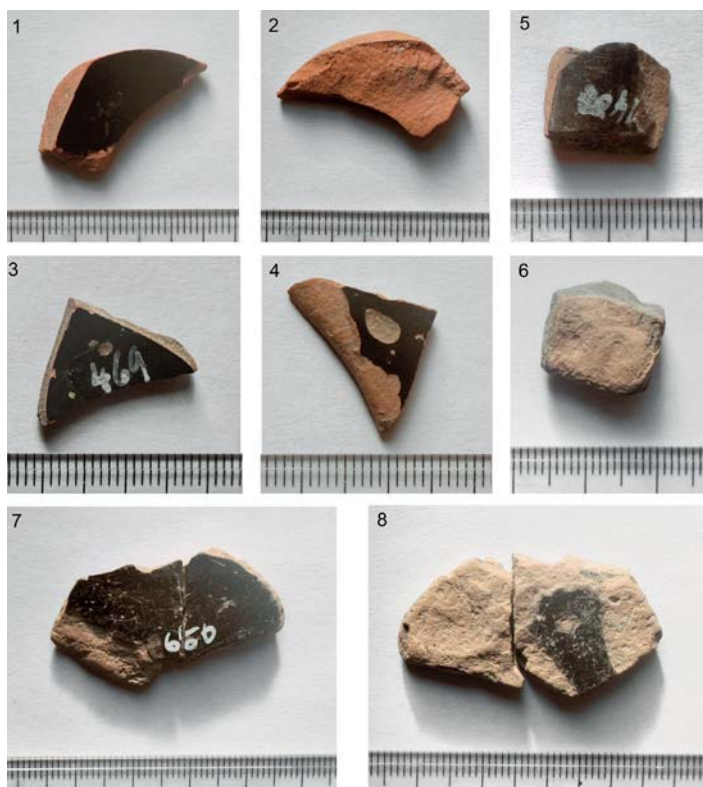


Fig. 11: Tuchoměřice (photographs of Attic fragments by J. Bouzek).

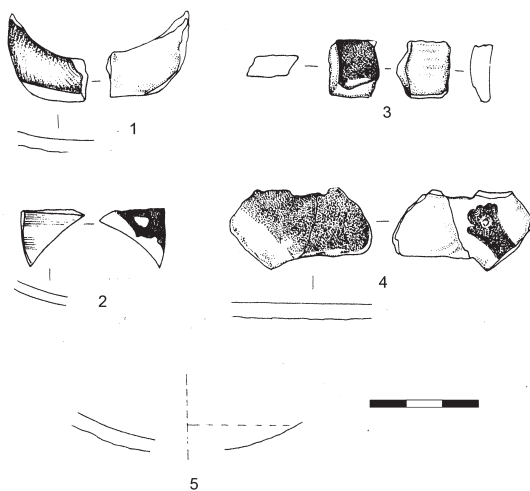


Fig. 12: Tuchoměřice. Profile. 1–2. Attic cups, 3. handle frg., 4. imitation, 5. Reconstruction of no. 1 shows high stem (drawing J. Bouzek and A. Waldhausarová).

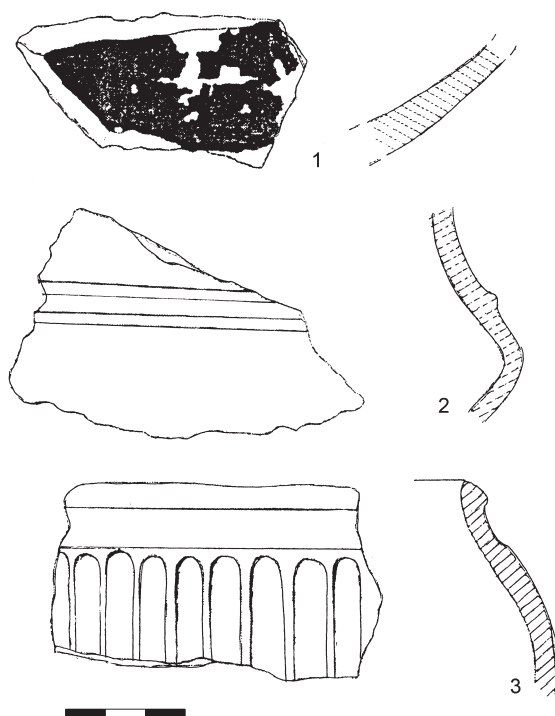


Fig. 13: Dobříčany, fragment of Attic cup and local pottery (after Koutecký 2006).



Fig. 14: Pilsen-Roudná, local pottery imitating Attic cups (photograph by J. Bouzek).

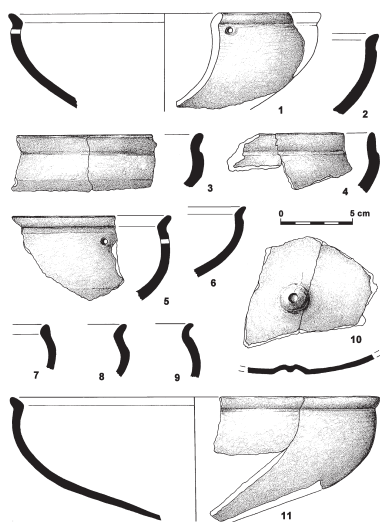


Fig. 15: Pilsen-Roudná, local pottery imitating Attic cups: drawings.

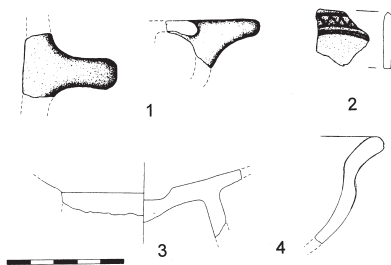


Fig. 16: Local fragments from Dobrovíz, reflecting Attic and Italic 4th-century shapes.

vessels were also imported; the combination of pitcher and bowl remained popular.³² The glass beads were either Phoenician or of Phoenician inspiration,³³ the bucchero Etruscan.³⁴ The first Greek coins found in Bohemia date from the later part of 5th century BC.³⁵

In the 4th century the Celts imported coral from Italy together with some artistic inspiration³⁶ and they also attempted local imitations of Attic and Italic kantharoi, skyphoi and occasionally fish bowls (*cf.* Figs. 16–18), besides some engraved motifs (Fig. 19),³⁷ but generally the Celts preferred their own vocabulary in pottery and bronzework, with rare exceptions in the field of bronze vessels of Etruscan and Italic origin. While bronze vessels of Italic origin are also known from western Slovakia and north-western Hungary, and 5th-century Attic pottery also in Bavaria and Swabia,³⁸ the Attic black-figured and red-figured Strict Style cups and small pitchers

³² Guggisberg 2004; Kozáková *et al.* 2016; Krauskopf 2004; Cvrková and Jančo 2002; Rolley 1999; von Hase 2000; Weber 1983.

³³ Bouzek 2010b; Michálek 1971; Lorenz 2006; Venclová 1990.

³⁴ Simon 1999; Peschel 1979. For the eastern links *cf.* von Hase 2000; Pieta 2007; Bouzek 2002.

³⁵ Militký 2013; Mielczarek 1989.

³⁶ Kruta 1983; 2015.

³⁷ *Cf.* Schwappach 1973, Linksfeiler 1978.

³⁸ Bonomi and Guggisberg 2015; Bouzek 2012; Venclová 2013.



Fig. 17: Fish plate and low kantharos with thumb support and their local imitations.



Fig. 18: Gnathia and related models of incised patterned ware sherds from Pitkovice on Fig. 19.

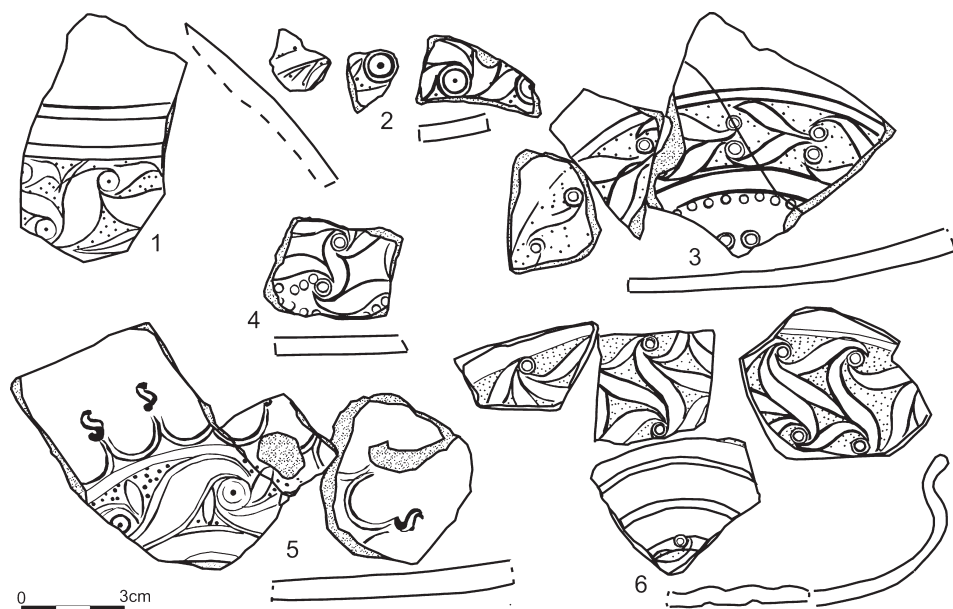


Fig. 19: Incised decorative motifs made by compass, from Pitkovice (courtesy K. Pecínová).

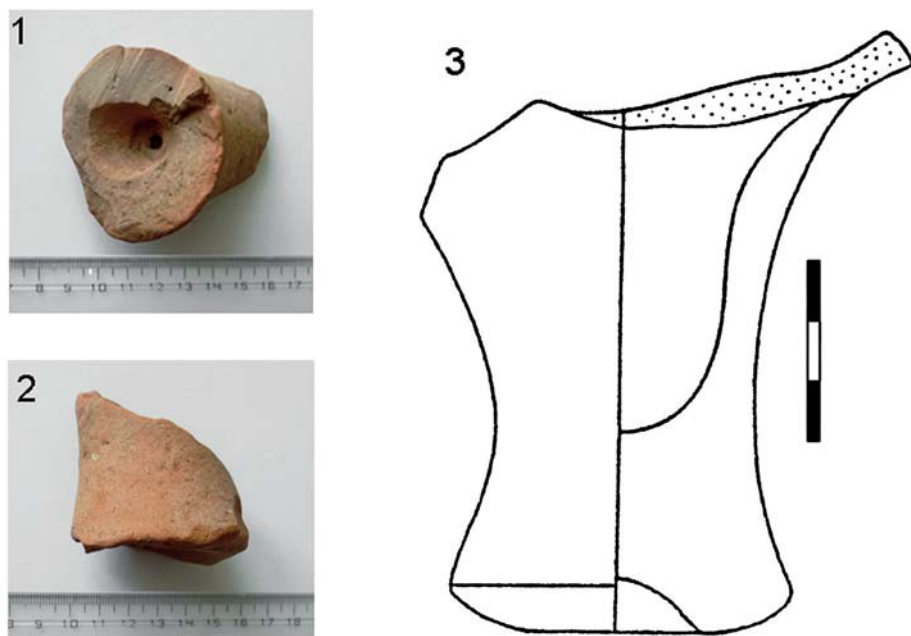


Fig. 20: Fragment of transport amphora from Mende and parallel from Pistiros.

in Bohemia represent the most distant northern extension of its distribution area known (Fig. 21). In general the Central European Celts followed the tendencies in their jewellery fashion of the Late Classical and Hellenistic styles even later, but avoiding realistic depictions (similar to Jewish mediaeval art in Europe, or 19th- and early 20th-century architecture in Constantinople).

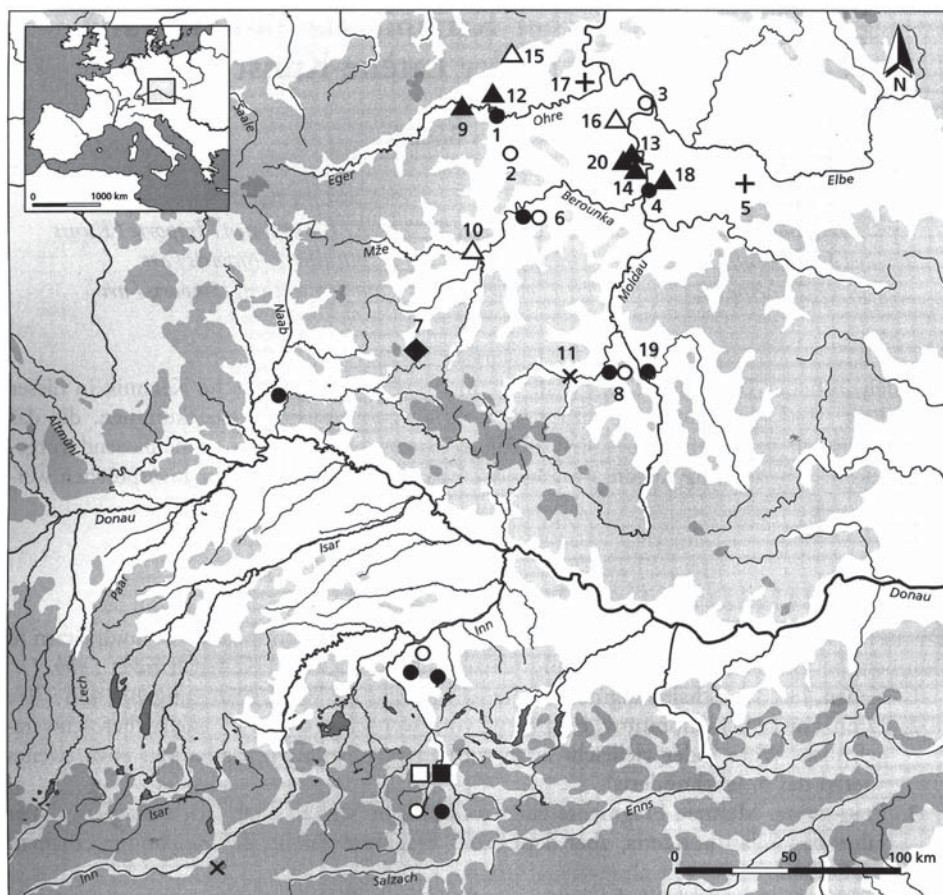


Fig. 21. Distribution map of Greek, Etruscan and Italic imports in Bohemia of late 6th and 5th century BC. 1. Čínov, 2. Hořovičky, 3. Hořín, 4. Modřany, 5. Hradenín, 6. Chlum, 7. Mirkovice, 8. Hradiště u Písku, 9. Kadaň, 10. Pilsen-Roudná, 11. Strakonice, 12. Droužkovice, 13. Slatina, 14–15. Prague – Jiviny and Pitkovice, 17. Dobrovíz, 18. Tuchoměřice, 19. Chrást, 20. Dobříčany.

Etruscan imports: ● = Schnabelkannen and their handles; ○ = bowls; ◆ = stamnos situla;

■ = stamnos; + = bowl with dotted repoussé decoration on the rim. ▲ = Attic pottery;

Δ = Celtic imitations of Attic cups; x = Phoenician glass vessel.

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PEOPLES OF THE EASTERN DESERT OF EGYPT AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE RED SEA TRADE: 1ST TO 3RD CENTURIES AD

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Abstract

Studies on Roman participation in the Red Sea trade have tended to focus on wider geopolitical events such the unification of the Mediterranean world or the Antonine Plague to explain fluctuations in the level of activity. While such external factors are an important consideration, it would be a mistake to not also consider in tandem more localised developments in the Eastern Desert and Red Sea region. To this end, the aim of this paper is to explore the impact that the indigenous populations of this region had on the operation of the trade during the 1st to 3rd centuries AD.

In the last few decades many historians, archaeologists and paleoanthropologists have become willing to consider the civilisations they study from a global historical perspective.¹ With good reason some scholars have begun to apply concepts such as archaic globalisation or, as Seland has suggested, ‘oikoumenisation’ to the study of the Indian Ocean trade in antiquity.² Around the late 1st millennium BC to early 1st millennium AD, the monsoon winds of the Indian Ocean were increasingly being exploited to facilitate the movement of goods and people across the Afro-Eurasian world.³

This global historical approach often entails examining issues on a macro scale. Studies on the growth of Roman participation in the Indian Ocean trade have tended to focus on wider geopolitical events such as the unification of the Mediterranean world – a process which brought about greater stability, private investment and an increased demand for goods.⁴ Likewise, scholars examining fluctuations and downturns in this participation have also tended to explain these developments by

¹ For example, Pitts and Versluys (2015) have recently edited a volume exploring the concept of globalisation with regards to the Roman empire.

² See, in particular, Seland 2008. On the concept of archaic globalisation, see Fitzpatrick 2011, 28–31, 42–43.

³ Henceforth BC will always be specified, but AD only where ambiguity may arise or a specific date is given.

⁴ On these concepts, see Warmington 1928; Tchernia 1997; Tomber 2008; Sidebotham 2011; Gurukkal 2016.

pointing to major events such as the Antonine Plague and the so-called Third Century Crisis.⁵ As important as this macro perspective is for understanding how external events impacted on developments within the Eastern Desert and Red Sea region, it is important that a more localised (or micro) perspective is considered in tandem (see Fig. 1).

To this end, the purpose of this article is to explore the impact that the indigenous populations of the Eastern Desert and western Red Sea littoral had on the operation of this trade during the 1st to 3rd centuries. This entails examining two overarching themes: conflict and cooperation. In the case of the former, it is argued that there were increased incidents of violent conflict in the latter 1st and 2nd centuries. One of the main factors behind this seems to have been the high levels of traffic resulting from a booming trade, as well as increased quarrying activity. There is good reason to think that cumulatively these incidents of violence impinged on the level of trading activity over time and may have caused a shift in the routes utilised by some merchants. By the early 3rd century the evidence, although tentative, could suggest a shift to greater levels of conciliation and co-operation between the indigenous and external populations (such as miners, traders and soldiers).

Exploitation of the Eastern Desert and Red Sea

Before considering the interactions between the external and indigenous groups, it is necessary to briefly consider what factors encouraged people to enter this region. Since the Pharaonic Old Kingdom (2686–2181 BC) periodic expeditions have been sent into the Eastern Desert, either to acquire mineral resources or to cross over to the Red Sea for trade ventures; by the Late Period (664–332 BC) these activities seem to have become more regular.⁶ During the course of the 3rd century BC, under the auspices of the Ptolemies, a more concerted process of settlement and exploitation of the Eastern Desert and the Red Sea region began, motivated by a desire for gold and ivory and the acquisition of live elephants for use in warfare.⁷ As a result, a number of ports along the Egyptian Red Sea coast (like Berenike and Myos Hormos) and routes across the Eastern Desert (connecting Nile cities like Apollonopolis Magna (Edfu) and Koptos (Qift) to the Red Sea ports) were

⁵ On these theories, see Young 2001; Whittaker 2004; McLaughlin 2010.

⁶ The earliest recorded expedition was one sent out by Sahura (2458–2446 BC). Pottery at the Pharaonic period site of Mersa Gawasis suggests trade contacts with cultures in Eritrea and possibly Yemen (Bard and Fattovich 2010). For the Late Period, see Gates-Foster 2012, 192.

⁷ For goldmining activity, see Sidebotham, Hense and Nouwens 2008; Klemm and Klemm 2013. For elephant hunting activity and the acquisition of ivory, see Casson 1993; Burstein 1996; Gates-Foster 2012; Fischer-Bovet 2014, 58–60, 153–55, 263; Cobb 2016.

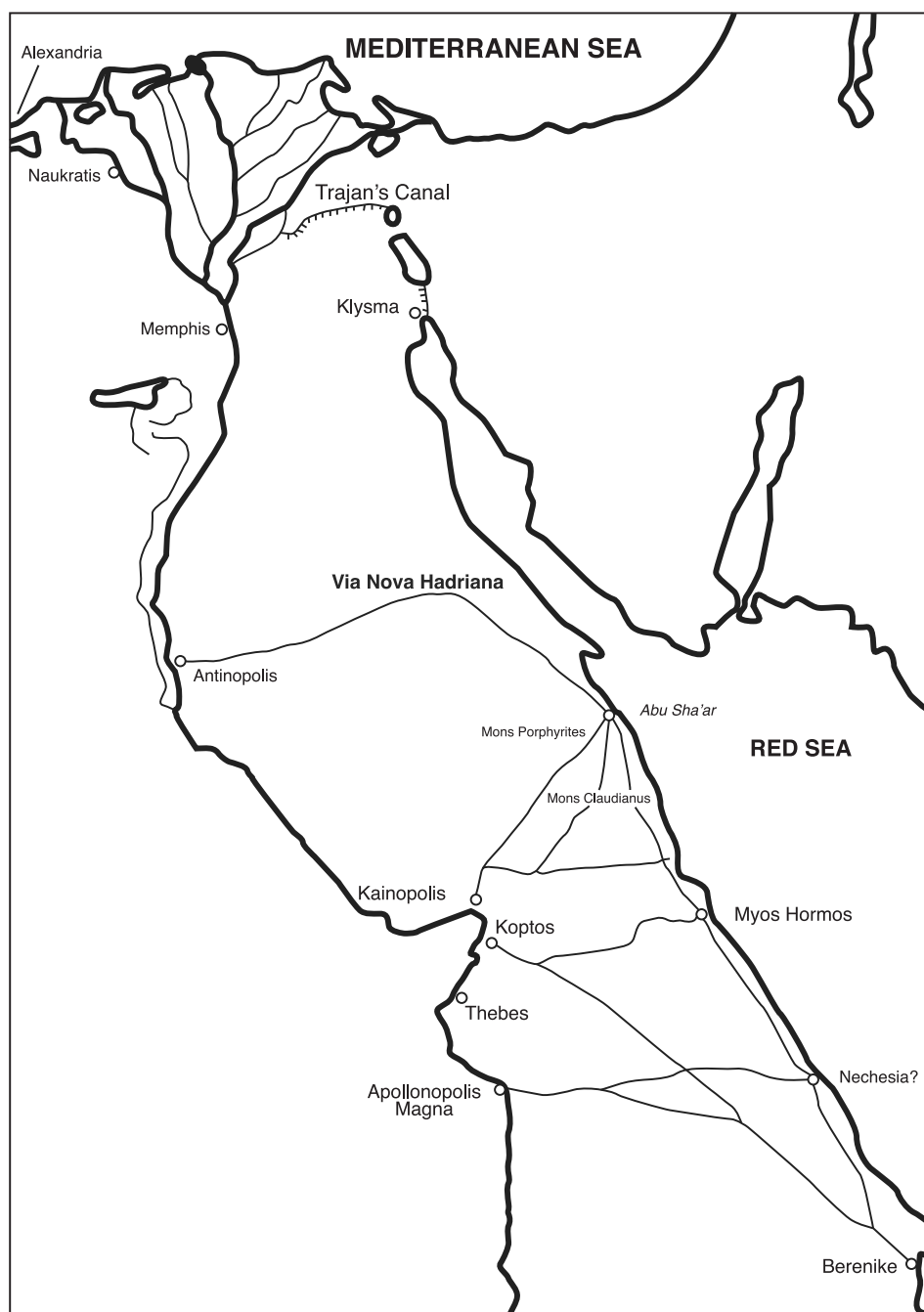


Fig. 1: Egypt and the Eastern Desert.

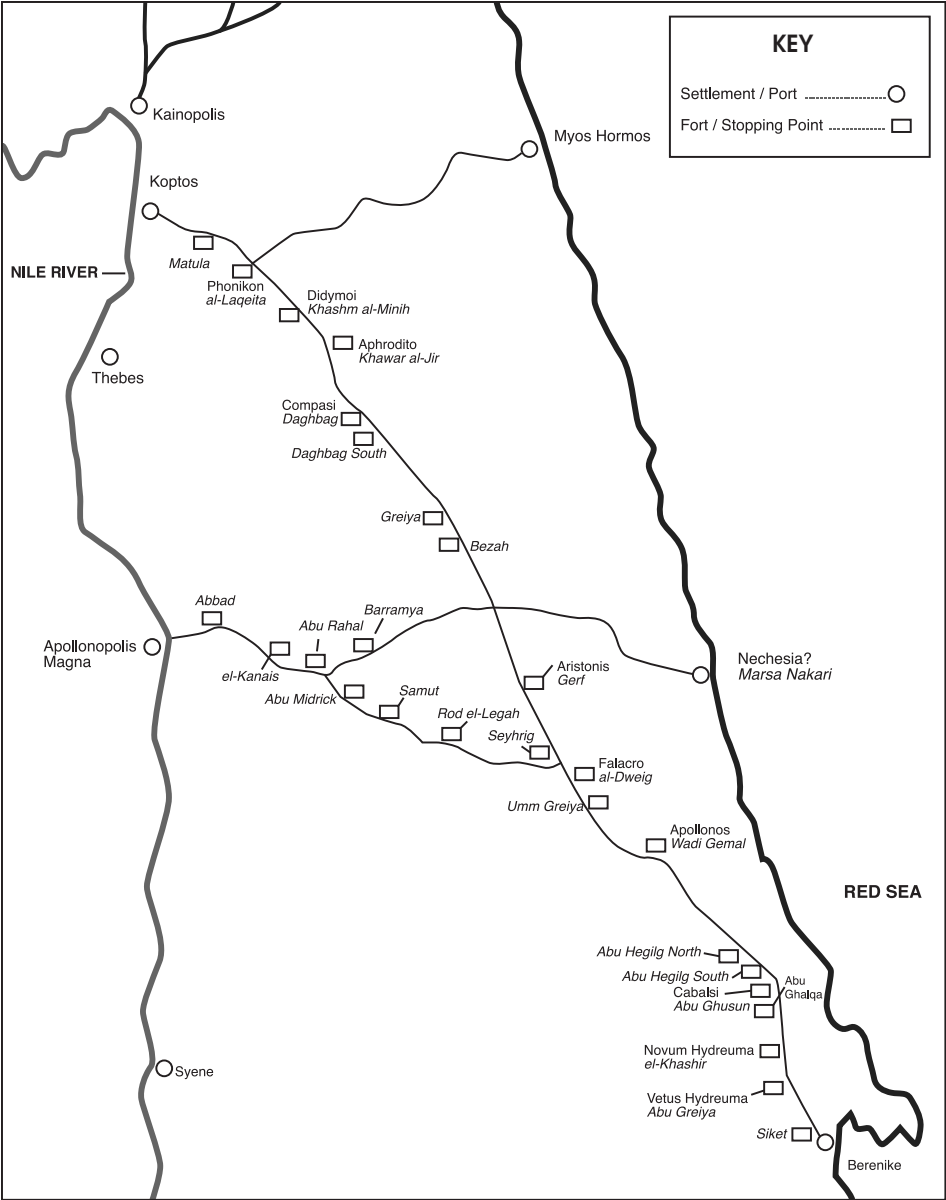


Fig. 2: The routes to Berenike.

established.⁸ Over time commercial ventures in the Red Sea and wider Indian Ocean grew in scale, especially once the monsoon winds began to be exploited more systematically (*ca.* late 2nd to 1st century BC).⁹

The Roman state inherited the Ptolemaic facilities established in the Eastern Desert and Red Sea after Egypt's annexation in 30 BC. Mining for gold and (semi-) precious stones like beryls/emeralds and amethyst continued.¹⁰ During the course of the 1st century the hard-stone quarries at Mons Porphyrites (Gebel Abu Dukhan) and Mons Claudianus began to be exploited on a large scale; the former providing porphyry, the latter grey granodiorite (Fig. 3).¹¹ The volume of trade conducted via the Red Sea also grew substantially after 30 BC. Various items such as wine, red coral, glassware, crafted objects and gold and silver coins were being exported via the Egyptian Red Sea ports, while spices and aromatics, textiles and precious gems, among other items, were being imported.¹²

In order to facilitate the large amounts of commercial traffic and the mining and quarrying activities, it was necessary for the Roman state to control water resources in the region, and provide safe routes to travel, just as the Ptolemies had done in the preceding centuries.¹³ The administration and supervision of the region (at least stretching from Berenike to south of the quarries at Mons Claudianus and Mons Porphyrites) was undertaken by the Prefect of Berenike – *Praefectus Montis Berenicidis* or *Praefectus praesidiorum et Montis Berenicidis* – who answered directly to the Prefect of Egypt.¹⁴ Below this official were centurions, decurions, *uplicarii*, *sesquuplicarii* and the *curatores* (custodians) placed in charge of the *praesidia* (fortlets or stations) lining the Eastern Desert.¹⁵ These fortlets protected *hydreumata* (wells)

⁸ For the routes and ports, see Bernand 1972; Cohen 2006; Sidebotham 2011; Brun and Reddé 2011a, 9–13; Gates-Foster 2012; Wilson 2015, 13–21.

⁹ For a discussion of the development of Ptolemaic commercial interests in the Red Sea, Gulf of Aden and western Indian Ocean, see Sidebotham 1986, 8–9, 175; 2011, 37; Gates-Foster 2012, 196–201. For the exploitation of the monsoon winds, see Tchernia 1995; 1997; Habicht 2013.

¹⁰ See Klemm and Klemm 2013, 132–41, 238–49; Sidebotham, Hense and Nouwens 2008, 277; Sidebotham and Zych 2016, 30–31.

¹¹ For an overview of these quarries, see Peacock and Maxfield 1997; 2001a; 2001c; 2007a.

¹² For an overview of this trade, see Sidebotham 1986; 2011; Young 2001; Tomber 2008; McLaughlin 2010; Mathew 2015; De Romanis and Maiuro 2015; Evers 2017; Cobb 2018.

¹³ The climate of the Eastern Desert was and still is largely arid with irregular rainfall and occasional flashfloods. For discussion of the environment, see Cappers 2006, 21–37; Barnard 2009, 16; Tengberg 2011, 205. For earlier Ptolemaic facilities in the Eastern Desert, see Wright 2003, 228–29; Cohen 2006, 320–21; Reddé 2006a; 2006b, 237–38; Cuvigny 2012b, 3.

¹⁴ Cuvigny 2006c, 295–97; Sidebotham 1986, 67; *I. Pan* 68. For the area supervised by the Prefect of Berenike, see Maxfield 2000.

¹⁵ For reference to these ranks, see K3 + K5 + K214 – lines 63–72; Cuvigny 2005, 136.

and *lakkoi* (cisterns).¹⁶ Besides controlling stores of water, soldiers stationed in these fortlets also prevented smuggling and monitored those travelling through the region.¹⁷ Additionally, they conducted patrols and, in some instances, acted as escorts to travellers, though this was usually only one or two soldiers.¹⁸

The fortlets lining the Koptos–Myos Hormos route (*hodos Musormitike*) originally had ramparts (at least from Flavian times) and long curtain walls, with the largest of them possessing circular or semi-circular towers at the corners (Fig. 4).¹⁹ The fortlet of Didymoi (Khashm al-Minayh) on the Koptos–Berenike route (*hodos Berenikēs*) also shows similar features, and is comparable to Maximianon (al-Zarqâ) in its layout (Fig. 2).²⁰ The shortest of the routes – Koptos–Myos Hormos – had stations located roughly every 16–18 km, the Koptos–Berenike route had them only every 30–40 km.²¹ Duty rosters for some of the stations seem to indicate an average garrison size of about 15–24 soldiers, although these stations had the capacity to accommodate around 38 (Dawwi) to 116 people (al-Muwayh, ancient Krokodilô).²² This left space for a small civilian population, which included women and children, as indicated by textual and archaeological evidence.²³

It is difficult to estimate the size of the population of outsiders, both long-term and seasonal, but it is reasonable to assume that collectively the fortlets contained at least several hundred soldiers and civilians. At the Red Sea ports the excavators have estimated a population roughly of 1000 for Myos Hormos and around 500–1500 for Berenike.²⁴ Also an ostrakon found at Mons Claudianus mentions 917 people

¹⁶ Cuvigny 2006c, 306–07, 353–57; 2006b, 267–73. In many places fresh water sources can be found just below the surface (Lassányi 2012, 249). On the acquisition of water and its storage in cisterns, see Sidebotham, Hense and Nouwens 2008, 310, 314; Zitterkopf and Sidebotham 1989, 167; Brun and Reddé 2011b, 20–24.

¹⁷ The Koptos Tariff (*OGIS* 674 = *IGRR* I, 1183) indicates that those travelling through the Eastern Desert needed a pass (*ἄποστολίον*). It is also clear from 1st-century ostraka found at Berenike that those conveying goods had to pass through customs (Bagnall, Helms and Verhoogt 2000; 2005; Ast and Bagnall 2016).

¹⁸ Cuvigny 2005, 7, 124 – K523. See also *O. Did.* 416; Bülow-Jacobsen 2012, 351.

¹⁹ Zitterkopf and Sidebotham 1989, 166–67; Reddé and Brun 2006. The majority of the fortlets on the Myos Hormos route are similar in design with the exceptions of Bi'r Sayyala (possibly a Ptolemaic foundation) and Quseir al-Banat (Maxfield 1996, 12–13; Reddé 2006b, 238).

²⁰ Brun and Reddé 2011b, 17–19.

²¹ Zitterkopf and Sidebotham 1989, 169; Sidebotham, Hense and Nouwens 2008, 90–91.

²² Cuvigny 2006c, 307–10. The number of cavalrymen to a station on the Koptos–Berenike routes seems to have been about two to five (Leguilloux 2011, 174). The soldiers occupied the stations all year round and were not to abandon them except under *force majeure* (Cuvigny 2005, 149 – K3 + K5 + K214 – lines 1–14).

²³ For evidence attesting to a civilian population, see Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik 2011, 277–78, 280–81, 292–93, 295–96, 302–08, 314–16 (textile fragments); Cuvigny 2006d, 362–64, 395 (ostraka).

²⁴ Harrell 1996, 105–08; Sidebotham, Hense and Nouwens 2008, 247. The population is likely to have been higher at Berenike in the 1st century.

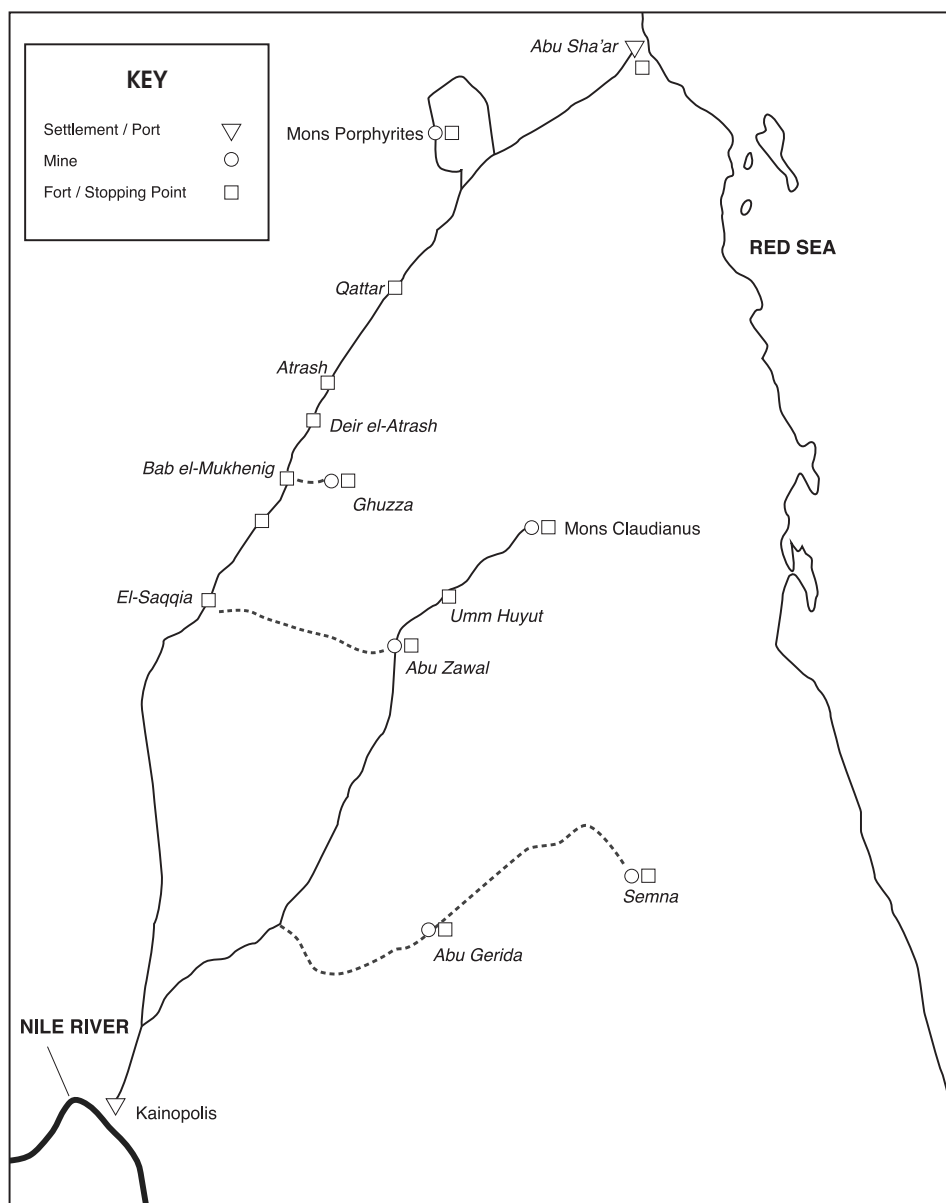


Fig. 3: The routes to the major quarries.

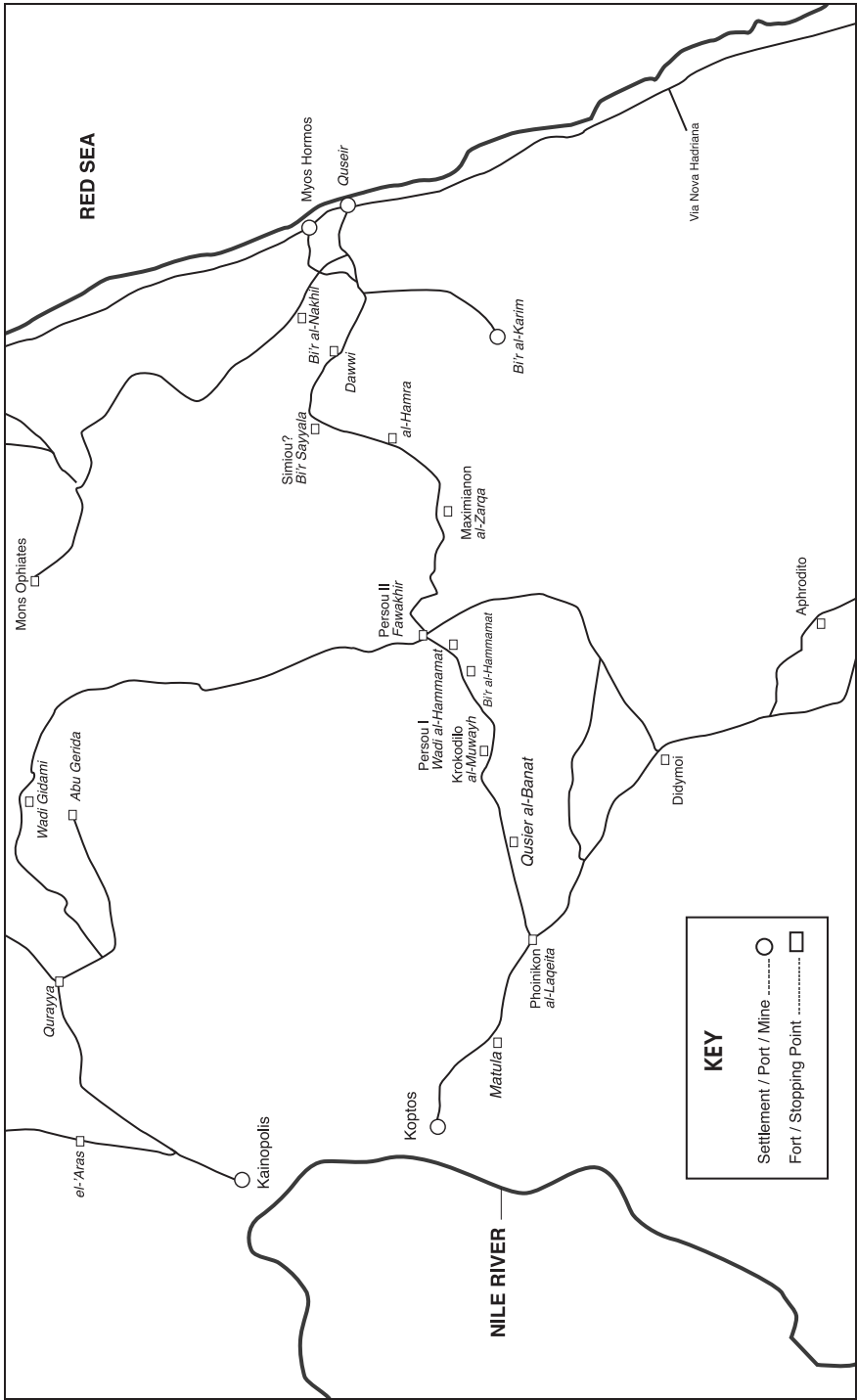


Fig. 4: The Koptos to Myos Hormos route.

at the site, at least 60 of whom were soldiers; while surveys of the structural remains at Mons Porphyrites put the population at around 400–500.²⁵ With several thousand people needing food, the acquisition of supplies was evidently a major issue. It has been proposed that anywhere between 80 and 2000 camel-loads of supplies needed to be transported to the port of Berenike every month to sustain the population.²⁶ Attempts were made to utilise local resources to bolster the food supply, such as fishing in the Red Sea, raising poultry and pigs at the stations, and setting up temporary kitchen gardens after sporadic rainfalls.²⁷ Nevertheless, it is clear that these populations were heavily dependent on external supplies (grains, oil, wine, vegetables and legumes, among other items).²⁸ Clearly a huge logistical effort was undertaken to sustain the populations of outsiders. It seems reasonable to infer that the presence of large numbers of outsiders impacted on local water and food resources, potentially aggravating the indigenous inhabitants. At the same time, this influx of traffic presented opportunities for plunder.

The Indigenous Populations of the Eastern Desert

Assessing the complex relationships between outside peoples entering into the region and the various indigenous groups in the Eastern Desert and Red Sea littoral is greatly complicated by the skewed nature of the evidence – both written and archaeological. In the case of written accounts, information about these nomadic peoples largely derives from Graeco-Roman ethnographies and is supplemented by information which can be obtained from inscriptions, papyri, ostraka and graffiti.²⁹ Unfortunately a more direct voice for these people is lacking, outside a few Late Antique texts relating to the Blemmyes.³⁰

²⁵ Maxfield 2003, 163 – *MC* inv. 0.1538+2921; Sidebotham, Hense and Nouwens 2008, 232–34.

²⁶ Lower estimate: Evers 2017, 105–06; higher estimate: Ruffing 1995.

²⁷ For kitchen gardens at Fawakhir, see Reddé and Brun 2006, 98. For the raising of pigs and poultry at Krokodilô, see Brun 2006a, 65; and Reddé and Brun 2006, 87; at Didymoi, see Brun 2011, 119–21; Leguilloux 2011, 169–70. For fish being brought to the fortlets, see Leguilloux 2006, 563.

²⁸ For the Nikanor archive, see Tait 1930; Adams 2007, 224–25. For food remains, see Brun 2006a, 61; Leguilloux 2011, 175–76; Tengberg 2011, 205–11. See also *O. Ber.* 471, 472, 474; Ast and Bagnall 2016, 173–76; Cappers 2006.

²⁹ Over 15,000 documents have been unearthed from the ports, quarries and fortlets. Mostly ostraka with Greek text, containing ephemeral information. Only a small portion of these texts allude to the indigenous peoples of the Eastern Desert (see Cuvigny 2014, 166). More generally on problematic accounts of ancient nomadic peoples, see Wendrich and Barnard 2008, 10–11.

³⁰ Notably inscriptions and papyri from Lower Nubia dating to the 5th century and 6th-century papyri from ancient Pathyris in Upper Egypt (see Satzinger 2014).

Since the descriptions of these various nomadic groups derive from outsiders, it is not surprising that they are often described in generalised or reductive terms. For example, they were often labelled by their (supposed) eating habits, such as the Ichthyophagoi (Fish-eaters), Agriophagoi (Wild Animal-eaters), Moschophagoi (Shoot-eaters), Rhizophagoi (Root-eaters) and Cynamolgoi (Dog-milkers) (*Periplus* 2; Agatharkhides Fragments 5. 30–49).³¹ This is not to completely deny the validity of these ethnographic characterisations, only that they are unlikely to fully reflect the complexity of these societies. Broad labels were sometimes attached to the inhabitants of the region, notably the title Trogodytes (*Trogodytai/Trogodytae*), with the geographical space which they inhabited being called Trogodytika.³² Another broad term used was *barbaroi* (barbarians) which appears in the *Periplus* as a sweeping reference to peoples living within the Eastern Desert region, and is almost exclusively used in the ostraka from the region to describe these peoples (especially from those found in the fortlets).³³

It is doubtful that peoples living across such a large geographical area can be considered as part of one homogenous cultural group. The ancient literary sources acknowledge as much in their various sub-divisions.³⁴ Pliny gives names for some of these groups, including the Autaei, Gebadaei and also the Asarri who, living between Arsinoe (Klysma) and Myos Hormos, had intermarried with the Trogodytes (Pliny *NH* 6. 33. 167–168). The Trogodytes are usually referred to as a mass, but there may be some evidence for sub-divisions, such as the Abylloi and Bolgioi.³⁵ Cuvigny notes that Pliny located the Asarri at roughly the latitude of Mons Claudianus and Umm Balad. Moreover, he defines them as Arabes who had intermarried with the Trogodytes, indicating that they were seen as different ethnic groups.³⁶

The problem with some of the claims about the territories which these groups inhabited is the fact that later authors often relied on earlier Hellenistic accounts,

³¹ For these fragments, see Burstein 1989; also Barnard 2009, 19.

³² See, for example, Strabo 16. 4. 4–5; Pliny *NH* 6. 33. 163–34. 176. For the debate over whether these people were referred to as *Trogodytae* or *Troglodytae*, see Murray and Warmington 1967, 24–33; Cuvigny 2006c, 347; Pierce 2012, 228–31. These people(s) inhabited the area from Suez to as far south as Meroe and the port of Ptolemais (Strabo 2. 5. 36, 16. 4. 4, 17. 1. 25–30, 17. 2. 2; Pliny *NH* 6. 33. 163–164; Plutarch *Moralia* 410A–B).

³³ The earliest reference to the *barbaroi* in the ostraka of the Eastern Desert comes from an ostrakon found at the short-lived quarry at Umm Balad, which may date to the reign of Domitian or Trajan (Cuvigny 2014, 169; *O. Ka. La.* inv. 847).

³⁴ On the issue of classification in the ancient sources, and the use of the terms *ethnos* and *genos*, see Pierce 2012.

³⁵ Pierce 2012, 231. For the Abylloi, see Apollodorus *Periegesis* Fragment 106. For the Bolgioi, see Diodorus Siculus 1. 37. 8.

³⁶ Cuvigny 2014, 198; Pliny *NH* 6. 33. 167–168.

notably the work of Agatharkhides.³⁷ This is particularly evident with regard to the Blemmyes, a (semi-)nomadic peoples.³⁸ The earliest reference to them comes from the Early Hellenistic period.³⁹ By the 2nd century, Claudius Ptolemy (*Geography* 4. 7. 31) places the Blemmyes near Avalites (in Somaliland), but he may be following an outdated Hellenistic tradition.⁴⁰ But the main testimony relating to the Blemmyes comes from the Late Antique period, where they are usually connected to the Nile Valley in Lower Nubia (alongside the Noubades) rather than the Eastern Desert.⁴¹ In fact, whether these people should be seen as primarily inhabitants of the Nile Valley or the Eastern Desert is a contentious issue, although one reconstruction holds that they occupied Lower Nubia (and attacked into Upper Egypt) in the latter 3rd to 4th centuries, only to be pushed back into the Eastern Desert again in the 5th century.⁴² However, Dijkstra is almost certainly right to note that these peoples were a ‘heterogeneous ethnic group’, that included pastoral nomads in regular contact with settled people, as well as tribes that were themselves settled – a situation which is likely reflective of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Late Antique period.⁴³

Indeed, we should be cautious about assuming that a “homogenous” indigenous culture existed in the Eastern Desert across a long period of time.⁴⁴ We should also be cautious about assuming that the Blemmyes and Trogodytes were one and the same people.⁴⁵ In fact, as Burstein notes, no ancient literary author ever equates the Trogodytes with the Blemmyes.⁴⁶ Moreover, a study of indigenous names by Satzinger from 96 ostraka, from the fortlet Xeron (Koptos–Berenike route), shows that none of the names directly match any known Blemmy name appearing in Late

³⁷ On the confusion between Nubia and the Eastern Desert and the problem with ancient ethnographies, see Barnard 2009, 19. On the terminology relating to pastoral nomads and relationships between settled and mobile groups, see Wendrich and Barnard 2008, 7–11. Strabo (17. 1. 44) reports that Koptos was inhabited by Egyptians and Arabs alike.

³⁸ Strabo (17. 1. 53) certainly presents the Blemmyes as nomadic.

³⁹ The group is also mentioned in Meroitic sources – Gates-Foster 2012, 197; Pierce 2012, 232. The 3rd century BC Eratosthenes (Strabo 17. 1. 2) and Theocritus (*Idyll* 7. 111–114) mention them.

⁴⁰ Pierce 2012, 234–35.

⁴¹ Dijkstra 2012, 239–40.

⁴² On the idea that the Blemmyes originally lived in Central Sudan in the Ptolemaic to early Imperial period, migrated to the Nile Valley area of Lower Nubia by the 4th century, but with their defeat by the Nobatai in the 5th century, were forced back into the Eastern Desert, see Burstein 2008, 256–57, 260–61. See also Dijkstra 2012, 241–42, 246.

⁴³ Dijkstra 2012, 246. See also Pierce 2012, 237.

⁴⁴ Lassányi (2012, 267) takes this view and refers to a ‘Beja culture’ spanning from the 1st century up until the mediaeval period.

⁴⁵ Pierce 2012, 237, takes this view.

⁴⁶ Burstein 2008, 253.

Antique sources – although some elements do look similar. The language may be similar in structure to Blemmy, but is not identical to it.⁴⁷

Given the difficulties posed by the evidence just outlined, as well as the fact that we are dealing with multifaceted tribal societies, it is necessary to be cautious in assessing the types of relationships these groups had among themselves, as well as with outsiders. It is also best not to automatically characterise incidents of conflict as wars between whole peoples.⁴⁸ Nevertheless violence does seem to have been a common facet of these societies and their relationships with outsiders. This is apparent from a range of Graeco-Roman sources. For example, a fair number of inscriptions from the Ptolemaic period at el-Kanais on the Edfu–Berenike route give thanks to Pan for sparing their dedicators from attacks by the Trogodytes (*I. Kanais* 3, 8, 13, 18, 43, 47, 62, 82, 90).⁴⁹ Also, in the mid-1st century, the author of the *Periplus* mentions that those who wished to trade with Adulis (Eritrea) needed to be weary of the *barbaroi* (*Periplus* 4).

Agatharkhides notes that many of these groups use bows and spears and fight each other for pasturage rights, although the Megabaroï (whom he describes as a tribe of Trogodytes) carry circular shields and clubs.⁵⁰ Conversely the peaceable nature of a southern group of Ichthyophagoi (beyond the Bab-el-Mandeb) is commented upon – supposedly they did not get angry even when struck (Agatharkhides Fragment 5.41a = Photius *Cod.* 250.50, 451b). Such fantastical notions aside, it is clear that not all indigenous individuals had hostile relations with outside peoples, as is apparent from an ostrakon found at Myos Hormos which mentions a Pukubis (described as an Ichthyophagos), who sought a permit to move his small fishing boat north to Philoterias.⁵¹ Strabo (17. 1. 53) also downplays the threat of these groups, asserting that:

the remaining areas to the south are inhabited by Trogodytes, Blemmyes, Noubai, Megabaroï and the Ethiopians above Syene. These people are nomads, lack numbers and are not warlike, but were considered to be so by men of former times because often as brigands they attacked those without protection.⁵²

⁴⁷ Satzinger 2014.

⁴⁸ Dijkstra 2012, 245.

⁴⁹ Young 2001, 71–72; Pierce 2012, 229.

⁵⁰ Agatharkhides Fragments 62–64. Strabo (16. 4. 17) calls them Megabarian Aethiopians. References to the Megabaroï are limited and mostly confined to Hellenistic literature or later derivative work (Pierce 2012, 228).

⁵¹ Thomas 2007, 150–51 – O512 (Ichthyophagos), see also Ostrakon O543 which mentions a Trogodyt.

⁵² On the syntactical and interpretive problems of this passage, see Pierce 2012, 234.

However, it should be noted that this statement fits into a wider pattern of praise for Augustus' ability to pacify Egypt and prevent threats to its security.

Whatever we make of Strabo's dismissal of the potential threat posed by the indigenous populations of the Eastern Desert, a significant number of the ostraka found at Krokodilô (AD 102–118) indicate that at least by the early 2nd century they were considered a threat. Among the reports are references to *barbaroi* menacing travellers, murdering people and stealing 18 camels; the latter incident resulted in the injury or death of the cavalryman Lucretius Priscus who had taken part in the subsequent pursuit. Other ostraka include warnings about a roaming band of 61 *barbaroi* and even more audaciously an attack by 60 *barbaroi* on the *praesidium* of Patkoua (near the Myos Hormos route) in which an infantryman (and possibly a horseman) was killed and a woman and two children were abducted. The indigenous nomads, however, were by no means the sole perpetrators of aggression. From the Krokodilô ostraka (*O. Krok.* 6; K693, column III lines 33–46) we have a report stating that Roman troops had attacked and killed 61 *barbaroi* and that those in the stations should be on the lookout, presumably for reprisals.⁵³ Besides the ostraka from Krokodilô a few other texts from stations on the Koptos–Myos Hormos and Koptos–Berenike routes also mention hostilities in the 2nd century. A private letter from Dios (Abu Qurayya) on the Koptos–Berenike route include Apollonios' warning to Melanas to wait two days before going out to collect wood, so that fresh news concerning the *barbaroi* can arrive (*O. Dios* inv. 687). An ostrakon from Didymoi (*ca.* AD 140–150) also refers to an incident on the Koptos–Myos route involving *barbaroi* (*O. Did.* 27).

Other evidence indicates larger, potentially more systematic, attacks on these indigenous groups. One fragmentary papyrus which has been dated on palaeographic grounds to the second half of the 1st century mentions a Roman military campaign against the Ethiopians and Trogodytes.⁵⁴ Another example of such attacks is a Hadrianic period dedication in both Greek and Latin set up by Sulpicius Serenus, possibly to be identified with Servius Sulpicius Serenus, who had been tribune of the *Legio* XXII and also prefect of the *ala Voconces*. In this inscription he celebrates the speedy victory over the infamous Agriophagoi who were massacred and had their camels and booty seized. The reference to booty has led Cuvigny to suggest it implies a retaliatory attack.⁵⁵ However, this is by no means certain, and there is nothing to preclude this act of aggression being planned and unprovoked.

⁵³ Cuvigny 2005, 94.

⁵⁴ Turner 1950.

⁵⁵ *I. Pan.* 87; See Cuvigny 2006c, 348–49, on the engraving (AD 122/123) written on one of the Colossi of Memnon by Serenus (*I. Memnon* 20). Cuvigny (2014, 177–78) notes that it is possible that the Agriophagoi associated with areas south of Berenike (*Periplus* 2; *Historia Alexandri Magni* 1. 2. 2) may have begun to raid further north, attracted by the caravan traffic. See also *O. Dios* inv. 90.

Major Phase of Fortification in the Eastern Desert

The ostraka from the fortlets (particularly Krokodilô), quarries and ports provide a snapshot of relations between the Roman military and the indigenous nomads of the Eastern Desert. The picture is one of very real danger, especially in the early 2nd century, and is quite at odds with the comments of Strabo over a century earlier. This has led Cuvigny to argue that these nomads had become more dangerous by the Flavian period.⁵⁶ Her argument is partly based on the findings derived from the excavations (conducted under the auspices of the Institut français d'archéologie orientale or IFAO) of the stations lining Koptos–Myos Hormos route. Prior to this many had assumed that the fortlets were built during the Julio-Claudian period (30 BC–AD 68) because a significant amount of the graffiti from the region dates to this dynasty, particularly the reign of Tiberius (*I. Pan* 87).⁵⁷ However, IFAO excavations have shown that most of the material remains and written evidence from these sites date from the Flavian period onwards. Indeed, the absence of any references in the ostraka from Krokodilô and Maximianon to the stations at Quseir al-Banat, Bi'r al-Hammamat and al-Hamra, suggest that they did not yet exist by the reign of Trajan.⁵⁸ It also seems that the station Dios replaced another *presidium* at Bi'r Bayza (6 km north) around AD 114/115, as indicated by a dedication celebrating the stations (re)foundation.⁵⁹

The fortified stations on the Koptos–Berenike route also seem to indicate a significant degree of Flavian-era building activity. An inscription at Siket describes how in the ninth year of Vespasian (AD 76/77), the prefect of Egypt (Iulius Ursus) ordered the construction of a well there. This inscription parallels almost word for word another found at Aphrodito (*I. Pan* 68), suggesting that it likely dates to the same period.⁶⁰ An inscription from the *praesidium* of Didymoi similarly reveals a foundation date around AD 76/77, with a further large cistern (added to the two existing ones), being built on the orders of Mettius Rufus, Egypt's prefect from AD 89 to 92 (*I. Didymoi* 1, 2).⁶¹ These are the earliest epigraphic references to *praesidia*, although Pliny does refer to the stopping-point Trogodyticum Hydreuma

⁵⁶ Cuvigny 2006b, 267–73; see also Cuvigny 2006c, 353–57; and Lassányi 2012, 249–50.

⁵⁷ Sidebotham 1986, 54, 64; Zitterkopf and Sidebotham 1989, 165. For the graffiti, see Bernand 1972, 15; Young 2001, 41; *I. Koptos* 3, 38–39 (Augustus), 40–49 (Tiberius), 1 (Claudius), 50 (Nero), 51 (Titus), 52–53 (Domitian), 4–5, 54–55 (Hadrian), 56 (Antoninus), 57 (Maximinus Thrax).

⁵⁸ Reddé and Brun 2006, 86, 90–91 (Krokodilô), 94 (Bi'r al-Hammamat), 98–99 (Fawakhir – Persou II), 126 (Maximianon), 137 (Bi'r al-Nakhil); Brun 2006b, 187 (al-Hamra), 200 (Dawwi).

⁵⁹ Cuvigny 2010, 245.

⁶⁰ Bagnall, Bülow-Jacobsen and Cuvigny 2001, 325–28; Cuvigny 2006c, 356.

⁶¹ Bagnall, Bülow-Jacobsen and Cuvigny 2001, 328–29; Brun 2006b, 197; 2011, 115–23; Brun, Cuvigny and Reddé 2011; Cuvigny 2012c, 39–42.

(Koptos–Berenike route) as a *praesidium* (which may be pre-Flavian, see below).⁶² This activity, along with that on the Koptos–Myos Hormos route, has been used to suggest increasing insecurity.

This activity is contrasted with a purportedly less dangerous Julio-Claudian period. Brun has suggested that the lack of evidence for fortifications in the Wadi al-Hammamat in this period confirms Strabo's remark about the limited threat posed by the nomads.⁶³ Cuvigny also supports this argument on the basis of a partially surviving inscription (two of six slabs remain) which records Roman military personnel who, over the course of some months, constructed *lakkoi* at Apollonos Hydreuma, Compasi and Berenike, and a camp (*castrum*) at Myos Hormos. They also record the soldiers' names, and the centuries and cohorts to which they belonged (*ILS* 2483 = *CIL* III 6627).⁶⁴ The date of the inscription is not certain. Some argue for an Augustan or Tiberian date due to a number of Galatian soldiers being mentioned – implying they belong to the XXII *Deiotariana* (based in Egypt at this time), a legion originally raised by Deiotarus of Galatia.⁶⁵ On the basis of a Julio-Claudian date, Cuvigny has argued that since the inscription refers to the creation of *lakkoi* rather than *praesidia* it shows that unfortified cisterns were all that was required at this time.⁶⁶

However, as stated above, the date of this inscription is uncertain and some of the methods used to determine it have generated rather contradictory results. Both Syme and Alston used onomastics to offer Augustan and Flavian dates respectively. The former citing the presence of two Lollii, both from Ancyra – assumed to have been enlisted when M. Lollius was legate of Galatia (25–22 BC); the latter cited the presence of P. Flavius son of Publius to suggest a Flavian date.⁶⁷ This approach appears rather unsatisfactory and cannot offer a firm date, although, contrary to Cuvigny's view, it would be unsurprising if the dedication dated to the Flavian period given the construction at Siket, Iovis and Didymoi.⁶⁸

Whatever the actual date of the inscription, the notion of an apparently peaceful Julio-Claudian period should be treated with some scepticism, especially as security

⁶² Pliny *NH* 6. 26. 103; Bagnall, Bülow-Jacobsen and Cuvigny 2001, 331. The ostraka from the fortlets which refer to the stations always call them *praesidia* rather than *hydreumata*.

⁶³ Brun 2006b, 196.

⁶⁴ For discussion of this inscription, see Kennedy 1985, 156–57; Young 2001, 44; Alston 1995, 30; Syme 1995, 249; Bagnall, Bülow-Jacobsen and Cuvigny 2001, 330; Cuvigny 2011b, 5.

⁶⁵ Kennedy 1985, 157.

⁶⁶ Cuvigny 2006b, 267–73; 2006c, 353–57; 2014, 182–84.

⁶⁷ Syme 1995, 249; Alston 1995, 30; *contra* Alston 2007, 3.

⁶⁸ See also Sidebotham 2011, 154.

seems to have been a significant issue in the Ptolemaic period.⁶⁹ On the Koptos–Berenike route Pliny refers to the existence of stopping-points (*masiones*) which are probable continuations of the στρατόπεδα which Strabo noted were established by Ptolemy II. Indeed, it is hard to believe that the *masiones* are entirely the result of less than a decade's worth of Flavian rule (Pliny's list may, in fact, be based on information from the Map of Marcus Agrippa) (Pliny *NH* 6. 26. 102–103).⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the evidence does suggest greater problems with security in the Flavian period and 2nd century. The evidence for (re)construction in this period is apparent and the Krokodilō ostraka indicate a very real threat of violence in the early 2nd century.

Factors Contributing to a Rise in Conflict

The question arises: what factors contributed to this apparent rise in tensions in the Flavian period and early 2nd century? Murray and Warmington suggest that the increasing acquisition of camels by nomadic groups enabled much more effective raiding. The fact that Artemidorus (*ca.* 100 BC) says that the Trogodytes possess cattle and sheep, but mentions noting of camels, has been taken by them as evidence that these animals were not commonly possessed at this time, only becoming a more fundamental part of their lifestyle by the Roman Imperial period.⁷¹ Cuvigny further theorises that increasing pressure from the Blemmyes to the south and high levels of traffic exacerbated this situation.⁷² Murray and Warmington's notion is plausible, but speculative. The Blemmyes arose as a major threat in the 3rd and 4th centuries, but insufficient evidence makes it difficult to know how they were interacting with the more northerly nomadic populations of the Eastern Desert in the 1st and 2nd centuries.⁷³

It is argued here, however, that evidence for direct Roman participation in the Indian Ocean trade (via the Red Sea) shows a high peak of activity in the latter 1st century and this is likely to have been an important factor underlying problems of security in the Eastern Desert. Nappo and Zerbini have argued that the evidence points to a trade boom in the reign of Tiberius, followed by a revival under

⁶⁹ For stations along the Edfu–Berenike and Edfu–Marsa Nakari routes, see Cohen 2006, 320–21; Reddé 2006b, 237–38; Wright 2003, 228–29. For the inscriptions at el-Kanais, see Bernard 1972. For the Ptolemaic-era fortifications at Berenike, see Sidebotham and Zych 2016, 21–22.

⁷⁰ Sidebotham 1986, 61; 2011, 158.

⁷¹ Artemidorus cited by Diodorus Siculus 3. 32; Murray and Warmington 1967.

⁷² Cuvigny 2006c, 349–50; 2014, 183–84.

⁷³ For the Blemmyes and the Noubai, see Procopius *History of the Wars* 1. 19. 27–33; Olympiodorus Fragment 35. 2 (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p. 182); Priscus Fragment 27. 1 (*Exc. De leg. Gent.* 2).

Vespasian due to the major provision of infrastructure.⁷⁴ Though, it seems more probable that the reverse is the case. The major (re)fortification of the Eastern Desert is a response to high levels of trade rather than being the cause of it. The increased traffic probably exacerbated the issue of the region's limited resources. Something which no doubt irritated the indigenous population, but, at the same time, offered many tempting targets for plunder.

The ports of Berenike and Myos Hormos both show a high point of activity in the 1st century followed by a downturn – quite marked in the case of Berenike – from the early 2nd century. Likewise, recent interpretation of the archaeological and numismatic evidence relating to Roman finds in East Africa, southern Arabia and India demonstrate a strong 1st century concentration in terms of exports, and a downturn (more marked with regard to the archaeologically visible goods, but less so with the numismatic evidence).⁷⁵

The major quarries at Mons Porphyrites and Mons Claudianus also seem to show a major upsurge in activity around the late 1st to early 2nd century. At Mons Claudianus an upsurge of activity occurs under Domitian and peaks under Trajan, followed by a break and then resumption of activity under Antoninus Pius. The earliest inscription for the main fort complex at Mons Claudianus dates to the twelfth year of Trajan (AD 108/9). The ceramic assemblage at a *hydreuma* just north of the main complex is largely Trajanic in date (but with one ostrakon of Nero, AD 68), and a gateway seems to have been set up in the fifth year of Domitian's Tribunician powers (AD 85/6) (*CIL* III 24 = *ILS* 5741 = *I. Pan* 37 = *SEG* XXXVI, 1399).⁷⁶ It was also the case that a series of *hydreumata* were established along the route to Mons Claudianus by the Prefect Sulpicius Similis (AD 108/9) (*I. Pan.* 37).⁷⁷ The first reference to Mons Porphyrites comes from Pliny and the ceramic assemblage in the seabaths outside the fort at Wadi Abu Ma'amel indicate activity from the mid-1st to early 3rd century, but with much of the material belonging to the 2nd century, and only a comparatively limited amount to the 1st century. Indeed, the general impression of the excavators is that the main fort was established in the latter 1st to early 2nd century with the settlement growing outside it.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Nappo and Zerbinì 2011, 65: '...includes the age of Nero and part of the age of Vespasian, when the Eastern trade experienced a new revival, also thanks to the infrastructures built in the Eastern Desert by Vespasian'.

⁷⁵ For a summary, see Cobb 2015.

⁷⁶ Maxfield 1997, 34–41, 111; Peacock and Maxfield 2001b, 423–45.

⁷⁷ Bagnall, Bülow-Jacobsen and Cuvigny 2001, 329–30.

⁷⁸ Pliny *NH* 36. 11. 57; Peacock and Maxfield 2001d, 12–13, 19; 2007b, 417–19.

The correlation between the increasing activity at the quarries and the high levels of traffic through the Eastern Desert, Flavian-period (re)construction of fortlets, the insecurity implied by the Krokodilô ostraka (early 2nd century) and the series of sorties/campaigns against the indigenous populations (latter 1st to early 2nd century), seem to suggest a causal link. Whether the Roman state was doing more than simply reacting to an increase in attacks by the nomadic groups of the Eastern Desert, and deliberately (re)fortified some of these areas, especially the Koptos–Hormos route, as part of a coherent policy is hard to say. If the latter was the case, part of the motivation may have been to maintain strategic access to the Red Sea, where the (patchy) evidence suggests some form of naval force there.⁷⁹ No doubt the Roman state wished to maintain unfettered access to the Red Sea to allow for diplomatic communications with polities in East Africa, southern Arabia and India, as well as allowing for occasional joint-military operations (as seen in the Late Antique period).⁸⁰

Given the potential dangers posed by the nomads of the Eastern Desert during the latter 1st and 2nd centuries, Young's assertion that the stations lining these routes were not primarily defensive but more to do with the prevention of smuggling needs to be reassessed.⁸¹ Part of his argument rests on the fact that merchants and travellers employed private security. This is certainly indicated by the Muziris papyrus (mid-2nd century), which records arrangements for the provision of private escorts to protect the high value consignments being transported to Koptos; similarly evinced by the Koptos Tariff which records a charge of five drachmas for guards ([φυλ]άκου δραχμὰς πέντε) crossing the Eastern Desert.⁸² However, given the number of soldiers that appear to man the fortlets (*ca.* 15–24 on average) it would have been beyond the capacity of the Prefect of Berenike to provide large escorts to most travellers, especially at peak travelling seasons. Those soldiers who did act as escorts probably would have sought help from the nearest fortified station in case of attack. Private security would have been necessary to protect travellers and caravans crossing between the stations. Indeed, the security function of the fortlets is apparent from an inscription set up to dedicate the creation of the *Via Nova*

⁷⁹ For the evidence for this, see Strabo 17. 1. 45; P.004; Van Rengen 2011, 335–36; Villeneuve 2007, 24–25; Speidel 2015, 89.

⁸⁰ For examples of diplomatic contact, see *Res Gestae* 5. 31; Strabo 15. 1. 4, 73; Suetonius *Augustus* 21; Cassius Dio 54. 9, 68. 15; Paulus Orosius *History Against the Pagans* 6. 21. 19; *Periplus* 23; *SHA Hadrian* 21; Florus 4. 2; *Hou Han Shu* 88; *I-Wen Lei-Chu* 76; *Nan-Fang Tsao-Ma Chuang* 9; *Itinerarium Egeriae* 6. 4. 7. For an Axumite military expedition against the kingdom of Himyar (in Yemen) assisted by the Byzantines, see *Martyrium Sancti Arethae* 27–29.

⁸¹ Young 2001, 69–74.

⁸² Muziris Papyrus: *P.Vindob* G 40822 Recto, column 2, lines 2–4; Koptos Tariff: *OGIS* 674 = *IGRR* I, 1183.

Hadriana, a route running from Antinopolis (Sheik 'Ibada) across the Eastern Desert and down the Red Sea coast to Berenike.⁸³ It states explicitly that the route was designed to be level, run through safe-county, and be equipped with plentiful wells, stations and guard-posts.⁸⁴

Impact on the Red Sea Trade

It has been argued that the rising levels of traffic crossing the Eastern Desert, and the increased presence of "external peoples" at the stations, quarries and ports, encouraged more attacks by groups of indigenous nomads. Greater access to camels also afforded more potential for swift and wide-ranging raids. This raises the question: did these increased attacks impinge on the operation of the Red Sea trade over time? This is a distinct possibility. As noted above, the archaeological evidence reveals a notable decline in activity at Berenike during the 2nd century, and to a lesser extent at Myos Hormos as well. The number of archaeologically visible goods at sites in East Africa, southern Arabia and India also show a marked downturn in the 2nd century. This certainly does not mean trade ceased. Pieces of evidence like the Muziris Papyrus and some inscriptions at sites connected with the trade suggest that commercial activity continued into the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Nevertheless, the broad trends suggested by the archaeological evidence and, to some extent, Roman coin finds in India, point to a 1st century peak followed by a 2nd century downturn.⁸⁵

Explaining this downturn solely in terms of attacks by indigenous nomads would be a mistake, but this does not mean it was not an important factor. Indeed, the decline appears to be more dramatic in terms of archaeologically visible goods (wine amphorae, metal wares and glass wares) than coinage (a fair portion of aurei were still being exported in the early to mid-2nd century) which may be explained by the responses of merchants. It perhaps became less profitable to have large caravans transporting numerous goods in kind. Conversely, a smaller number of more easily guardable caravans transporting high-value, low-weight coins (and other similar items) would have been cheaper. One of the key targets of nomadic raids seems to be the camels themselves, as indicated by one of the Krokodilô ostraka which refers to a group of *barbaroi* stealing 18 of these animals.⁸⁶

⁸³ Sidebotham and Zitterkopf 1998; Sidebotham, Zitterkopf and Helms 2000.

⁸⁴ Young 2001, 78–79: '(Hadrian) Built the new *Via Hadriana* from Berenike to Antioe, through safe and even places by the Red Sea, and equipped at intervals with plentiful wells, stations and guard-posts.'

⁸⁵ Cobb 2015.

⁸⁶ Cuvigny 2005, 36 – K534.

The establishment of the Trajan's Canal (Amnis Traianus) – which ran from the Nile at Babylon (south of Old Cairo) and along the Wadi Tumilat to the port of Klysma at the head of the Heroopoliticus Sinus (Gulf of Suez) – and the aforementioned *Via Nova Hadriana* (early–mid-2nd century) may, in part, have been a response to the danger posed by the nomads.⁸⁷ The canal would have allowed cargo to reach the port of Klysma on barges and then to be loaded onto ships for a southbound journey with the wind behind them. The return journey northwards, however, would have been more challenging. This is due to the prevailing northerly winds which ships needed to beat against. A harder challenge for large, more unwieldy ships, but more feasible for smaller, manoeuvrable vessels.⁸⁸ The *Via Nova Hadriana*, as noted from the inscription, was explicitly set up to offer security. The fact that it ran parallel to the coast for the best part of 500 km until the far north of the Eastern Desert where it ran across towards the Nile, may have left travellers less exposed to the nomadic populations of the region.

It is difficult to say how frequently either route was in use during the 2nd century. In the case of the *Via Nova Hadriana*, there is little evidence to substantiate its regular use, leading to a debate about whether it was intended for civilian or administrative purposes.⁸⁹ Given that use of this route entailed a much greater overland travel time (and the attendant costs involved), it may have proved unattractive for commercial use, despite Hadrian's intention. The commercial use of the canal has proven more contentious. Aubert has expressed doubt about its use and suggests that it was difficult to navigate, except around the period of the Nile flood; though others have criticised this view.⁹⁰ Indeed, while the canal seems to show more evidence for use in the Late Antique period, the literary and papyrological evidence, nevertheless, suggests it was sufficiently navigable from the period of the Nile flood (summer) to at least January, while comments by Ptolemy (*Geography* 4.5) and Lucian (*Alexander the False Prophet* 44) make it clear that it was in use during the 2nd century.⁹¹

⁸⁷ The canal had been established, or re-dug, on the route of earlier canals at least by AD 112 (Posener 1938; Mayerson 1996, 119; De Romanis 2002, 22). A number of ancient authors report that the canal had its origins in the Pharaonic period: Arist. *Mete.* 1. 14. 20–28; Strabo 17. 1. 25–26; Pliny *NH* 6. 33. 165 (Sesostris); Herodotus 2. 158–159; Diodorus Siculus 1. 33. 7–12 (Necho II). It is claimed that Darius I restored it, followed by Ptolemy II – seemingly confirmed, in the latter case, by the Pithom stele (270/69 BC) (Cohen 2006, 308; Sidebotham 2011, 179).

⁸⁸ Young 2001, 76; Aubert 2015, 40–41; Whitewright 2007, 77–87.

⁸⁹ Young 2001, 78–79 (civilian use); Sidebotham and Zitterkopf 1997, 226; 1998, 354 (administrative use).

⁹⁰ Aubert 2015, 40. For a critique, see Sidebotham 2016, 916–17.

⁹¹ De Romanis (2015) suggests that smaller ships sailing to ports like Adulis (southern Red Sea) will have more easily been able to make use of the port of Klysma.

While it is difficult to state in absolute terms the degree to which overall Roman participation in the Indian Ocean trade declined during the 2nd century, or how many merchants shifted their trading patterns to make greater use of the port of Klysma (by-passing the nomad problem), there is little reason to doubt that increased acts of violence caused a shift in trading activity. It is interesting to note that there is possible evidence for the temporary abandonment of Didymoi in the third quarter of the 2nd century, being reoccupied around AD 176–177; while there also appears to be the violent destruction of a shrine in phase 6 at Dios, which possibly occurred around the second quarter of the 3rd century.⁹² While merchant activity was not dependent upon the operation of these stations, it seems reasonable to infer that evidence of conflict in the region is hardly likely to be conducive to trade.

By the mid to late 2nd century, perhaps because of an emboldened attitude, and possibly because there were sparse pickings along the Koptos–Berenike and Koptos–Myos Hormos routes, some of the nomadic groups turned their attention to traffic further north in the Eastern Desert, although we may be dealing with different groups of ‘barbarians’.⁹³ Ostraka found at Mons Claudianus and Umm Balad record the threat posed by these nomads, who will have been interested in the camels and the supplies (not the quarried stone objects).⁹⁴ It seems they were threatening enough to disrupt supplies and hindered work by making it dangerous to leave the main settlements/fortified stations. The evidence certainly suggests that by the 3rd century direct Roman participation in the Indian Ocean trade was at a lower ebb compared to 1st century levels of activity. Wilson has suggested that one of the reasons why the duty rate for eastern imports went from 25% (*tetarte*) to 12.5% (*octava*) by the reign of Alexander Severus (AD 222–235) is that private traffic had declined considerably. The Roman state was no longer able to offer the same level of protection.⁹⁵ However, it may be the case that a lower tax rate was intended to entice merchants to participate in the Red Sea trade.⁹⁶

⁹² Brun 2011, 128; Brun, Cuvigny and Reddé 2011, 159–60; Cuvigny 2012b, 2; 2012c, 43–46; *I. Did.* 3 (Didymoi); Cuvigny 2010, 249 (Dios).

⁹³ Cuvigny 2014, 184; Power 2012.

⁹⁴ *O. Claud.* inv. 4888 (AD 145), 7309 (AD 152/53), 7226 (*ca.* AD 150–90), 7255 (AD 189), IV 851 (end of 2nd century); *O. Ka. La.* inv. 31. See also *P. Bagnall* 8 (AD 186/87). See Cuvigny 2014, 179–82.

⁹⁵ Wilson 2015, 27–28 – the latest date for the *tetarte* is AD 174, and the earliest for the *octava* is AD 227 (*Codex Justinianus* 4. 65. 7).

⁹⁶ Sidebotham (2016, 915–16) notes that it is a ‘chicken-and-egg’ argument as to whether lucrative tax revenue from private trading activity encouraged the Roman state to promote it further or whether state interest encouraged participation. He also notes that this lowered tax rate may reflect a decline in overall trade levels by this period.

Co-operation

So far the main focus of the paper has been on hostile relations between the indigenous nomads and the 'external peoples' traversing or inhabiting parts of the Eastern Desert and Red Sea littoral. It is important to note, however, that not all attacks were committed by indigenous groups – economic pressures, plague and social tensions led some people to abandon the Nile region and take up a life of banditry.⁹⁷ More importantly, there are incidents of co-operation, cohabitation and accommodation (or at least appeasement) between some of the indigenous peoples and the travellers, soldiers and inhabitants originating from outside the region. Some of the indigenous peoples may have found it profitable to seek employment in the protection of caravans. For example, in the Ptolemaic period, some Blemmyes appear to have been involved in the supervision of the roads to judge from an inscription at Bir 'Iayyan (*ca.* 97 km east of Edfu).⁹⁸ Moreover, some indigenous peoples may have chosen to (temporarily) reside in the Nile region.⁹⁹

As we have observed with Pukubis, the Ichthyophagos, some indigenous peoples lived at Myos Hormos.¹⁰⁰ He may have been one of the Arabaigyptioi Ichthyophagoi which Claudius Ptolemy locates near Myos Hormos.¹⁰¹ A Greek dipinto on an Egyptian amphora from Myos Hormos may also be evidence of this sort of cohabitation. It mentions an individual designated as a Trogodytes.¹⁰² Similarly an ostrakon from Didymoi appears to refer to a 'barbarian' craftsman making buckets in Koptos (*O. Did.* 40).¹⁰³ A number of indigenous peoples seem to have engaged in minor commercial transactions with non-indigenous inhabitants. An ostrakon from Xeron specifies the price to charge the *barbaroi* for a *chous* (= 12 *kotylai* or 3.12 litres) of oil, specifically 24 drachmas.¹⁰⁴ Likewise two Trajanic period ostraka from Mons Claudianus refer to individuals called Arabes who were involved in bringing fresh fish to the quarry (*O. Claud.* inv. 529, 830).¹⁰⁵

⁹⁷ Young 2001, 85; Sidebotham 2011, 163. Part of the plot of Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesian Tale* (3. 11. 4. 3) rests on an Indian caravan being attacked by bandits.

⁹⁸ Gates-Foster 2012, 197.

⁹⁹ This appears to have been the case with some Blemmyes during the 3rd–2nd centuries BC (Dijkstra 2012, 246).

¹⁰⁰ Thomas 2007, 151, 158; Ostrakon O512. See also *O. Krok.* 49 (dating to AD 109), a fragmentary text which Cuvigny interprets as referring to an indigenous fishmonger Alabites who reports on robbers (Cuvigny 2014, 174–75).

¹⁰¹ Cuvigny 2014, 172–73. The term Arabaigyptioi Ichthyophagoi may indicate either a cross-cultural influence or intermixing between Egyptians and Ichthyophagoi.

¹⁰² Cuvigny 2014, 171.

¹⁰³ Brun and Reddé 2011b, 20.

¹⁰⁴ Cuvigny 2014, 178–79, 185–88; *O. Xer.* inv. 465 (*ca.* AD 115–130).

¹⁰⁵ This term need not necessarily denote a specific designation of 'Arab' ethnicity, but may simply mean, more broadly, desert dwelling nomads (Cuvigny 2014, 169–71).

Besides private transactions, there is evidence for payments made by the state. The aforementioned series of 96 ostraka from Xeron, mentioning individuals with indigenous names, record orders for the distribution of wheat to them. They date to the 3rd century, either to the reign of Alexander Severus or the reign of Gallienus. It is difficult to know the purpose of these payments, since this is not specified. Two logical suppositions are that some of these nomads were being paid off (not to cause problems) or that they were being paid for services rendered, potentially caravan guards. Both ideas are speculative and, as yet, unprovable.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, an ostrakon from Didymoi (*O. Did.* 41) refers to a *dekanos* with a groups of five barbarians – sent by Baratit – receiving one *kolophonion* (of wine) and 12 pairs of loaves, probably as part of a work party (*ca.* late 2nd to early 3rd century).¹⁰⁷

The process of ‘acculturation’ is apparent from correspondences, which from the Severan period onwards, show indigenous peoples who had adopted “foreign” names receiving military allowances in Roman camps.¹⁰⁸ The aforementioned Baratit, who is referred to as a *hupotyranos* (sub-tyrant) of the *barbaroi*, even had a letter in Greek written to one of the curators on the Berenike route. Lassányi suggests that these ‘barbarian’ tribes effectively controlled the desert routes in the 3rd century.¹⁰⁹ It is tempting to suggest that these payments could be tied into a shifting policy of appeasement.¹¹⁰ The sporadic conflicts of the latter 1st and 2nd centuries perhaps giving way to a more conciliatory approach by the Roman state in the 3rd century. This is, of course, not to say that acts of violence ceased.¹¹¹ No doubt, incidents of conflict and co-operation took place across the centuries.¹¹² Nevertheless, in broad terms, it seems reasonable infer from the available evidence that quite frequent acts of violence gave way to a great degree of co-operation by the 3rd century.

¹⁰⁶ For these distributions, see Cuvigny 2014, 188–94.

¹⁰⁷ Cuvigny 2014, 187.

¹⁰⁸ Lassányi 2012, 251. It is possible that there are at least eight Roman, three Greek and six Egyptian names mentioned in the 96 ostraka from Xeron, potentially indicating that some ‘barbarians’ had acculturated, adopting ‘foreign’ names (Cuvigny 2014, 192). See also Satzinger 2014, 204–09.

¹⁰⁹ Lassányi 2012, 251. The *praesidia* seem to be abandoned during the course of the 3rd century. Ceramic evidence suggests that indigenous peoples began to occupy some of these sites (Brun, Cuvigny and Reddé 2011, 162; Power 2012, 287).

¹¹⁰ Cuvigny (2014, 194–97), is of the opinion that the *barbaroi* mentioned in the 3rd-century ostraka from Xeron (relating to grants of supplies) are Blemmyes. As evidence of this she points to the fact that they are reported as being active in Upper Egypt in this period, as well as noting that the title ὑποτύραννος (sub-tyrant) is often connected to the Blemmyes, and that their the names show no obvious Arab connection (though similarity with later Blemmyan names is also limited).

¹¹¹ One ostrakon from Didymoi dating to the beginning of the 3rd century refers to a *monomachos* (messenger) who reports that he and his group were attacked by some *barbaroi* known to them (Iekoun being their leader) (*O. Did.* 44).

¹¹² A papyrus from Berenike broadly dating to the latter 1st century records the distribution of bread to some *barbaroi* (*P. Ber.* 266; Ast and Bagnall 2016, 56–58).

Conclusion

The desire for the mineral resources and access to the Red Sea induced “external peoples” to intrude into the Eastern Desert. These activities meant that supplies needed to travel unhindered across the region and for the Ptolemaic and Roman governments to manage water supplies. Periodic violent confrontations with the indigenous populations also required the presence of soldiers and a certain number of fortified stations to protect travellers and residents of the ports, quarries and mines. That the Ptolemies needed to protect travellers from the depredations of the nomads should caution us against assuming the Julio-Claudian period was distinctly more peaceful than the periods preceding or following it. However, it does seem reasonable to connect the major building activity taking place from the Flavian period with increasing security problems. It seems very likely that the contributing factors to this were the high levels of commercial traffic and intensified exploitation at the quarries of Umm Balad, Mons Porphyrites and Mons Claudianus. However, during the course of the 2nd century the increased depredations may have impinged upon the level of Roman trade, or at least encouraged some merchants to use more northerly ports like Klysma. By the 3rd century the evidence may, very tentatively, suggest that a more conciliatory approach was adopted by the Roman state (of course conflict and cooperation with the nomadic populations existed throughout various periods). By the latter part of the 3rd century the Roman military abandoned the fortlets.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum.</i>
<i>I. Didymoi</i>	Cuvigny 2012a.
<i>I. Kanais</i>	A. Bernand, <i>Le Paneion d'El-Kanais: les inscriptions grecques</i> (Leiden 1972).
<i>I. Koptos</i>	A. Bernand, <i>De Koptos à Kosseir</i> (Leiden 1972).
<i>I. Memnon</i>	A. Bernand and É. Bernand, <i>Les Inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon</i> (Cairo 1960).
<i>I. Pan</i>	A. Bernand, <i>Pan du Desert</i> (Leiden 1977).
<i>IGRR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes.</i>
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i> (Berlin 1892–1916).
<i>O. Ber.</i>	Bagnall, Helms and Verhoogt 2000; 2005; Ast and Bagnall 2016.
<i>O. Claud.</i>	Unpublished – see Cuvigny 2014.
<i>O. Did.</i>	Cuvigny 2012a.
<i>O. Dios</i>	Unpublished – see Cuvigny 2014.
<i>O. Ka. La.</i>	Unpublished – see Cuvigny 2014.
<i>O. Krok.</i>	Cuvigny 2005.
<i>O. Xer.</i>	Unpublished – see Cuvigny 2014.
<i>OGIS</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> (Leipzig 1903–05).
<i>Periplus</i>	<i>Periplus Maris Erythraei</i> – Introduction, Translation and Commentary by L. Casson (Princeton 1989).

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AN ACHAEMENID INSCRIPTION FROM PHANAGORIA: EXTENDING THE BOUNDARIES OF EMPIRE*

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Abstract

The paper considers whether an Old Persian inscription from Phanagoria relates to Darius I or his son Xerxes, coming down in favour of Darius. The archaeological background for Darius' campaign on the Taman Peninsula, and its continuation by Xerxes, is examined. Darius most probably left a garrison in Phanagoria. The Achaemenid Cimmerian Bosphorus is placed in its Black Sea context. The inscription together with the situation in Colchis show a now greater extent to the Achaemenid empire, thus the Black Sea 'circle' was closed.

Nowadays, not much new evidence appears in classical archaeology that will change our basic perceptions. Recently, we have been privileged by a discovery at Phanagoria of an Old Persian inscription that is unique not only for the whole Black Sea coast (Fig. 1) but which changes our knowledge of the extent of the Achaemenid empire. My aim here is to advance my opinions, backed up with supporting evidence; it is not intended as criticism of any colleagues publishing on these matters. I base myself heavily on my previous writings on the same subject, all composed before the inscription was known or published.¹ It largely confirms the correctness of my conclusions. I shall give only essential bibliography because of space – lengthy bibliographies appear in my earlier writings as well as the writings of others.

* I should like to extend my thanks to colleagues for their help and advice and for sending me publications: to Amélie Kuhrt for pointing me in the right direction; to Nicholas Sims-Williams and Rüdiger Schmitt for their expert advice on the inscription; to Alexandru Avram, Archil Balakhvantsev, Stanley Burstein and Oleg Gabelko for publications and discussion; to Viktor Kopylov, Alexandr Podossinov and Ehsan Shavarebi for publications; and not least to Vladimir Kuznetsov for publications, for his warm hospitality in Phanagoria in June 2019, for showing me the latest excavations and material, and for the photograph of the inscription reproduced in this article. The inscription is kept in the Centre for the Study of Phanagoria, next to the site. Unfortunately, I was unable to see it because it was on temporary exhibition elsewhere.

¹ Especially Tsetskhladze 2008b; 2013a; 2018a.

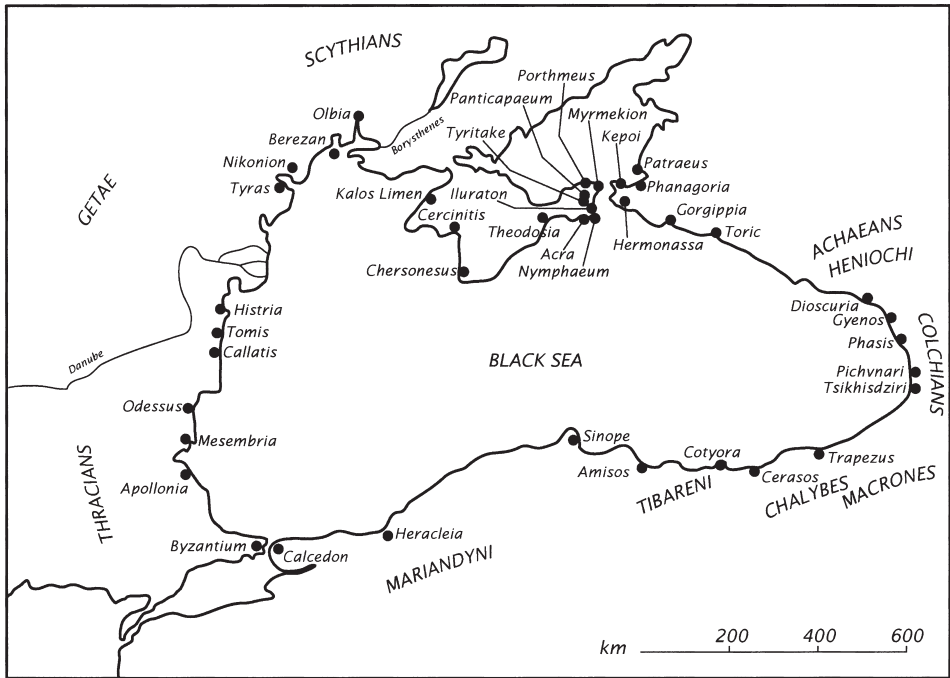


Fig. 1: Map of the Black Sea showing major Greek cities and local peoples (author's map).

Persians Entering into Europe/Conflict between Asia and Europe: A Brief Note

The purpose of Darius' Scythian expedition was to punish the Scythians for what they had done in the Near East long before (Herodotus 4. 1). It has received much attention. Our main source is the bulk of Herodotus Book 4. The problems of and with this text have been discussed many times already,² and I shall not do so here.

It has been accepted that the campaign took place in *ca.* 513/2 BC,³ though we have lacked evidence to confirm that this approximate date is indeed the exact one. S. Burstein's study, 'A New *Tabula Iliaca*: The Vasek Polak Chronicle' shows the correctness of this date:

Lines IIB 32–37: In *FGrH* 252 B8 the assassination of Hipparchus, the brother of the Athenian tyrant Hippias (514), and Darius I's Scythian campaign are both dated to the year 513/12. The Getty *Tabula Iliaca* proves that the puzzling entry (cf. Balcer 1972a, 103, for a review of the scholarly literature on this passage) is merely the result of Cutter d's arbitrary combination of two separate entries from his source, the original *Chronicon Romanum*. This discovery eliminates from the *Chronicon Romanum* one of

² See, for instance, Asheri *et al.* 2007; Hind 2011; Tuplin 2010; 2011; Tsetskhladze 2018a.

³ Georges 1987; Balcer 1972a; Cameron 1975; Chernenko 1984, 7–16; Briant 2002, *passim*.

the principal chronological errors ascribed to it on the basis of *FGH* 252 B. The solitary kappa in line 37, which was cut directly under the eta of $\epsilon\tau\eta$ in line 36, is all that Cutter d inscribed on the Getty *Tabula Iliaca* of what clearly was the *Chronicon Romanum*'s date from Darius I's Scythian expedition, $\Phi\text{KH} = 513/12$.⁴

It is clear that Darius' expedition took place.⁵ The problems lie with its extent, which is not very well known, importance (for both sides) and the details. Reading Herodotus gives one the impression that it was of great importance for the Achaemenids, but Ctesias *History of Persia* F13. 21⁶ and Strabo 7. 3. 14 provide just short summaries of the event, probably showing that it was somewhat less significant for Darius than Herodotus makes out. Surprisingly enough, this campaign brought the Greek cities of the entire Black Sea and even the Scythians into the Achaemenid empire (see below). From this point of view alone, of course the expedition deserves much more attention than it has hitherto received.

Darius' campaign was not just some quick expedition. In 519 BC, he had ordered Ariaramnes, the satrap of Cappadocia, to cross over to Scythia and to take male and female prisoners of war (Ctesias *History of Persia* F13. 20). Ariaramnes could reach Scythia by sea and the Cimmerian Bosphorus. This event is now considered as an historical fact,⁷ which can be supported in general by archaeological evidence (that also demonstrates that Ariaramnes reached the Taman Peninsula and its Greek cities: see below).

Darius first conquered the southern and western Black Sea, for which the wealthier sources have been studied widely (see below). The questions currently focus on the northern and eastern Black Sea (see below). What written evidence do we have to show that (at least) the northern Black Sea had been included in the Achaemenid domains? Let us return to Ctesias:

And while things were going so well for Ninus, he conceived a strong desire to subdue the whole of Asia between the Tanais and the Nile. ... He therefore appointed one of his friends as satrap of Media, while he himself attacked the tribes in Asia in an effort to subdue them. And in the 17 years he spent there he became master of them all, except the Indians and the Bactrians.

...

Amongst the lands on and adjacent to the coast he subdued Egypt, Phoenicia and also brought under his control Coele Syria, Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Lycia; and in addition to these Caria, Phrygia, Mysia, and Lydia. He added the Troad, Phrygia on the Hellespont,

⁴ Burstein 1984, 160–61.

⁵ Hartog 1988.

⁶ About Ctesias and his sources, see Burstein 2018; Llewellyn-Jones and Robson 2010; Wiesehöfer *et al.* 2011.

⁷ Koshelenko 1999, 133–41; Nieling 2010, 127–28; etc.

Propontis, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and the barbarian tribes who live on the Black Sea coast as far as the River Tanais. He came to rule the land of the Cadusians and the Tapyrians, that of the Hyrcanians and Drangians, and in addition the Derbices, Carmanians, Choromnaeans, and furthermore the Borcanians and Parthyaean, and he attacked Persis, Susiana, and the region called Caspiana, the passes into which are extremely narrow and are consequently called the Caspian Gates (*History of Persia* F1b. 2. 1–3).

The events Ctesias ascribes to Ninus are astonishingly reminiscent of the overseas policies pursued by Darius and their outcomes (known from his inscriptions). Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that Ctesias should really be talking about him, not Ninus. Darius' aim, clearly elucidated in the passage above, was the subjugation of the lands between the Nile and the Don (Tanaïs). He succeeded after a series of campaigns lasting over 17 years, pushing the borders of his domains as far north as the Tanais, thus undoubtedly including the Cimmerian Bosphorus within them.

Herodotus gives clear evidence about the inclusion of Colchis in the Achaemenid empire; this too is corroborated by archaeological evidence as well (see below).

Background

The relationship between the northern Black Sea/Bosporan kingdom and the Achaemenid empire had been touched on before the discovery of the fragmentary Old Persian inscription in Phanagoria in the summer of 2016. In 1997, the late N.F. Fedoseev published an article which concluded, based on the study of gems, coins and some Persian and Persian-inspired objects, in combination with written sources, mainly Ctesias, that the northern Black Sea had been under Achaemenid control.⁸ This was criticised by some colleagues who considered that all such objects had come to the region from Asia Minor, from the mother-cities of those Greek colonies, in the way of economic and cultural contacts. Interestingly, they wrote that Persian influence (including political influence) on the northern Black Sea could not be excluded, but that there was no direct evidence for it.⁹

The late G.A. Koshelenko wrote about Ariaramnes' journey to the Bosporan kingdom, which he dated to 519 BC, as a precursor for Darius' Scythian expedition. According to Koshelenko, the Cimmerian Bosphorus was freed from the Achaemenids during Pericles' Pontic expedition.¹⁰ This paper was also met with criticism. In collaboration with O.M. Usacheva, Koshelenko published an article in Ukrainian in 1992 (in *Arkheologiya* [Kiev]), in which 'Gylon's treachery' (Aeschines 3. 171–172) is discussed: the Bosporan king gave Gylon (Demosthenes' maternal grandfather)

⁸ Fedoseev 1997. See also Fedoseev 2012; 2014; 2018.

⁹ Molev 2001. See also Molev 2006; 2008; 2016. Cf. Yatsenko 2011.

¹⁰ Koshelenko 1999.

Kepoi as reward for his surrender/betrayal of Nymphaeum to the Bosporan kingdom. Koshelenko drew parallels with the reward given to Themistocles when he entered Persian service, concluding that this practice was one sign that the Cimmerian Bosporus was under Achaemenid rule.¹¹

In 2004, V.P. Yailenko published a short and controversial note on Darius' military action in the Cimmerian Bosporus (republished with small additions in 2010), in which he discussed lines 21–31 of the V Behistun inscription of Darius.¹² In combination with information provided by Ctesias (*History of Persia* F13. 20), he suggested that the Cimmerian Bosporus had been included in the Achaemenid empire, citing as additional support the *Tabula Capitolina* (IG XIV, 1297), going as far as to suggest that Cyrus himself had been responsible for its incorporation.

M. Treister has published extensively on the metal objects of the northern Black Sea. He collected much evidence for his important article on Achaemenid and Achaemenid-inspired objects found there.¹³ He does not examine the question of whether the northern Black Sea/Cimmerian Bosporus was part of the Achaemenid empire. Nor did V.R. Erlikh consider the possibility in his study of Achaemenid metal objects from the Ul'ski necropolis and Ulyap in the Kuban region. Interestingly, he thought that these objects were manufactured somewhere in the Near East or in Transcaucasia.¹⁴ J. Nieling, in the same collection of articles on the impact of the Achaemenids on the Black Sea area,¹⁵ touched upon some key questions about Achaemenid objects and the information written sources conveyed about the northern and eastern Black Sea, arriving independently at the same conclusion as Koshelenko: that Ariaramnes' expedition really did happen and dating it to 519 BC.¹⁶

Phanagoria Inscription

The fragment, engraved on a light grey marble slab, was found during excavation of the Upper City/Acropolis of Phanagoria in the Taman Peninsula (Fig. 2).¹⁷ The stratigraphic context is a small mud-brick building above the ruins of the ancient fortifications, which were burnt and destroyed at the turn of the second quarter of the 5th century BC.¹⁸ The mud-brick building in turn was damaged by fire in the

¹¹ Summarised in Koshelenko 1999, 139.

¹² Yailenko 2004; 2010, 7–10.

¹³ Treister 2010. See also Treister 2014.

¹⁴ Erlikh 2010.

¹⁵ Nieling 2010; Nieling and Rehm 2010.

¹⁶ For minor publications, see Zavoikin 2015.

¹⁷ Kuznetsov and Nikitin 2017.

¹⁸ The fortifications are not yet published. They will be after excavation of them is concluded (Kuznetsov and Nikitin 2017, 154, n. 1). I was able to view the very impressive fortification system thanks to Vladimir Kuznetsov.

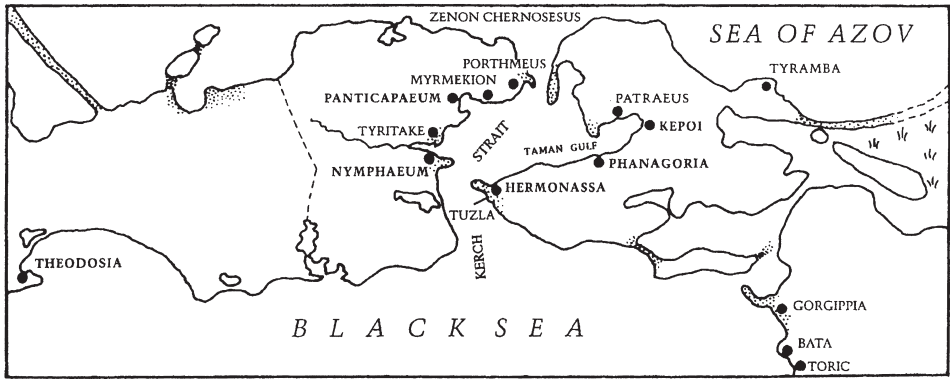


Fig. 2: Map of the Taman Peninsula showing major Greek colonies. Not to scale (author's map).

mid-5th century or a little later, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the arrival of the inscription here.¹⁹ What survives (41.2 × 35.9 × 11.8–14.8 cm) is apparently but a small fragment, some 10–15%, of a large Achaemenid royal stele. The front surface is elaborately polished; the cuneiform characters deeply engraved (up to 1.2 cm). The rear is unpolished, and the top, bottom and left sides are broken. Traces of polishing may be seen on part of the right side of the extant slab, marking the right margin of the inscription, but the front edge of the right-hand side is damaged and no marginal line survives (Figs. 3–4).²⁰

The publishers transliterate the inscription as follows:

1. --]vaha(?)[--
2. --]ša | xaša[--
3. --]a(?)vama | a[--
4. --]yama | a[--
5. --](?)ma | a(?)[--
6. --] | marata(?)[--

Not really being specialists in Old Persian, they asked the opinion of Prof. G.P. Basello of Naples University, reproducing his letter in their article:

It seems that there are no known comparisons in the extant Old Persian corpus, except for the first two extant lines where the signs -v-h- (line x+1) should be part of the genitive of 'Darius', maybe in the royal titular of Xerxes, so '[Xerxes, the king, son] of Darius, [the king]'; obviously there are many other possibilities, since we have only a few signs.

¹⁹ Kuznetsov and Nikitin 2017; 2019.

²⁰ On mud-brick dwellings in Phanagoria, see Kuznetsov 2018. For some issues in the study of Archaic Phanagoria, see Kuznetsov 2019b.



Fig. 3: Old Persian inscription from Phanagoria (courtesy V.D. Kuznetsov).

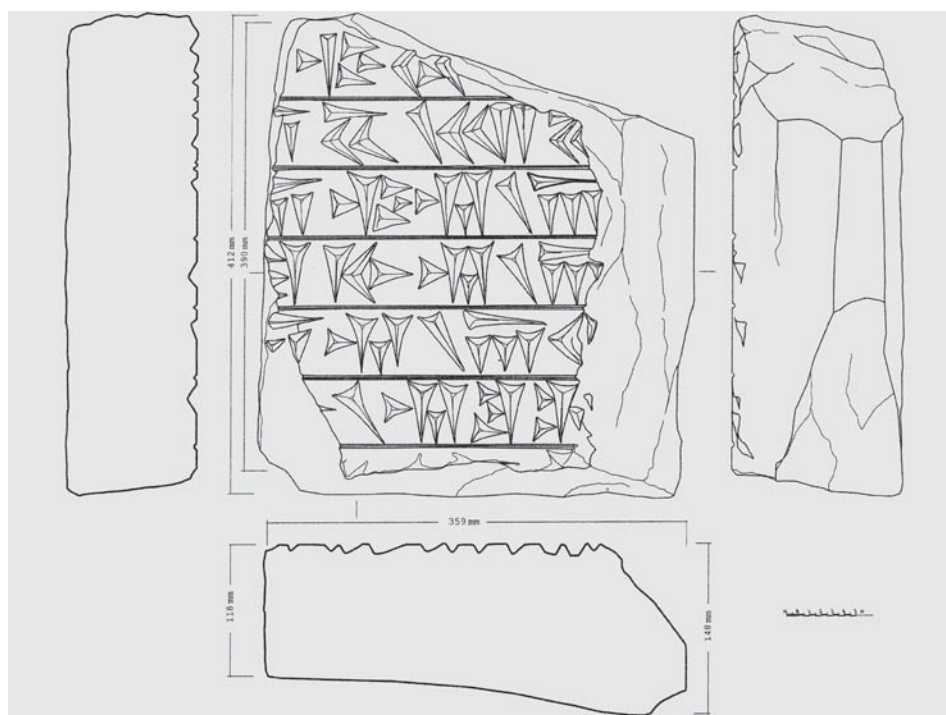


Fig. 4: Drawing of Old Persian inscription from Phanagoria (after Kuznetsov and Nikitin 2017, 155, fig. 1).

In the fourth extant line, r-y-m is puzzling. This sequence is attested only in tow Old Persian words but none is suitable here, I think, so maybe it is a new word.

In the sixth extant line I read m-r-t[i-y-..., probably 'man', not 'Miletus'.

Here is my full reading with highly tentative restorations:

- (x+1) d-a-r-y]-v-h-[u-š x-š-a-y-Θ-i-y-h-y-a : p-u-ç-a : Θ-a-t-i-y : x-š-y-a-r-š-a :
x-š-a-y-Θ-i-y :
- (x+2) d-a-r-y-v-]u-š : x-š-[a-y-Θ-i-y : ??? (cf. the inscription XV)
- (x+3) p-ru-?]u-v-m : a-[...
- (x+4) ...]r-y-m : a-[...
- (x+5) : a-]d-m : a-k[u?-u-n-v-m : ??
- (x+6)] : m-r-t[i-y-
- (x+7)]? [

The first sign on lines x+2, x+3 and x+5 could be also 'd' instead of 'u'.

I too am not a specialist and also sought advice from two distinguished scholars of Old Persian, Prof. Nicholas Sims-Williams and Prof. Rüdiger Schmitt.²¹ Likewise, I reproduce their comments on the inscription, sent to me by e-mail:

Possibly your Russian colleagues interpreted x-š-[as the beginning of the name of Xerxes, which is in principle possible. In that case I do not see that the preceding word could be the name of Darius – at least the word for 'son' should come between the two names – but one would need to see exactly what they propose in order to judge the argument.

That the inscription is part of a royal inscription is of course probable, as this is the case with all, or virtually all, Old Persian inscriptions. Very likely it is an inscription of Darius, but an inscription of Xerxes or even a later ruler is not impossible, so far as I can see.

What can be read with certainty (or near certainty) is as follows:

- 1]-v-h-[
- 2 d-a-r-y-v-]u-š : x-š-[a-y-θ-i-y
- 3]•-v-m : a-[
- 4]•-y-m : a-[
- 5]•-m : a-•[
- 6] : m-r-t[-i-y-

... line 2 probably mentions King Darius. The only other word which can be restored with a high degree of probability is martiya 'man' in line 6. The other fragmentary words can all be restored in several ways and it would be arbitrary to choose one restoration in preference to any other. Enough is preserved to make it clear that this inscription does not merely duplicate any known inscription, nor does it consist of the standard formulae. Hence, it is impossible to restore the text or suggest a meaningful context (*Nicholas Sims-Williams, 14/2/18*).

²¹ On old Persian inscriptions, see Kuhrt 2007, 469–508; Schmitt 2009.

And

- 1]-v-h-[
- 2]-ŸuŸ-š : x-š-[
- 3 :] Ÿ?Ÿ-v-m : a-[
- 4 :] Ÿt²Ÿ-y-m : a-[
- 5] ?-m : a-?-[
- 6] : m-r-Ÿt-Ÿ-[

Ad 2: Only one of four wedges, so that *i*, *u* and possibly also *d* are possible.

Ad 3: Only the right end of the character (two vertical wedges and a horizontal above them), so that *a*, *i* and *u* are possible; -u-š could be the end of d-a-r-y-v-u-š/Dārayavauš/Darius and x-š- the beginning of x-š-a-y- -i-y/xšāya iya/‘king’.

Ad 4: Only one element, so that *t* (which has five wedges) is only a vague possibility.

Ad 5: Also only one element (a vertical, not filling the height), so that *a*, *d*, *i* and *u* are theoretically possible. At the end only the angle at the beginning of the sign is preserved, so that a lot of possibilities are given.

Ad 6: Only part of *t* preserved, but certain, perhaps the beginning of some case form of the word m-r-t-i-y-/martiya-/‘man’.

A special question is, whether in the last line the surface before the first sign is preserved or is bevelled, that means: whether there is missing a character or is an intentional space in the text?

Of course, it suggests itself to think of Darius as the author of the text. And indeed there is a hint which might be interpreted this way in line 2, but it remains rather vague and for the time being quite uncertain, since other sequences and phrases point to another direction and are not really compatible within the whole of the inscription. ... Old Persian inscriptions are quite stereotyped and mostly are combinations of known phrases repeated again and again. In sum, we can only identify a couple of characters, but not one single complete word (*Rüdiger Schmitt*, 18/2/18).

Thanks to its very fragmentary nature, it is clearly very difficult to be certain whether the inscription relates to Darius or to his son Xerxes, but the balance of opinion, which I share, lies with Darius. In these circumstances other evidence should be considered as well to see how the inscription and it relate and align. My aim is to use mainly archaeological evidence.

Several articles about the inscription have appeared already, mainly philological but one from an historical perspective (which considers that it belongs to Darius).²² Two philologists consider the inscription to relate to Darius,²³ whereas V.D. Kuznetsov, a classical archaeologist, is alone among historians and archaeologists in his certainty

²² Rung and Gabelko 2018.

²³ Avram 2019, who told me that he is preparing a large article which will provide an historical perspective; Shavarebi 2019, who gave the inscription its short title, DFa.

that it concerns Xerxes (based on the circumstances of its discovery in a ruined house). He has devoted a large article to the relationship between Xerxes and the Bosporan kingdom, an expanded version of which appeared recently in English.²⁴ Furthermore, another historian, A. Balakhvantsev, denies that the Cimmerian Bosphorus was part of the Achaemenid empire.²⁵

The inscription has been used as a doormat for the mud-brick dwelling where it was discovered. This use of earlier inscriptions in later dwellings is quite well known. Just to give two examples: the very well-known Pistiros inscription²⁶ and my own experience as excavator at Pessinus in Central Anatolia, where inscriptions or pieces of them used thus were found in modern houses. In any case, the Phanagoria inscription was broken before the house was destroyed.

One detail of the inscription deserves attention: the back of the stone was not worked up, which rather suggests that it formed part of some public building or temple. In Byzantium, for example, two pillars bearing inscriptions of Darius were encountered, one used to build the altar of Orthosian Artemis and the other, covered with Assyrian writing, was left beside the temple of Dionysos (Herodotus 4. 87).²⁷ It is possible that such a public building or temple in Phanagoria was demolished or destroyed (see below), for one reason or another, and that several pieces of inscription were scattered around. Perhaps future excavation will yield more of these – for example, it was previously thought that Phanagoria lacked a fortification system, but one has recently been discovered. It must be said that Phanagoria was a very important city from its foundation by Teans in about 542 BC.²⁸ After the establishment of the Greek Bosporan kingdom it became capital of the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, just as Panticapaeum became capital of

²⁴ Kuznetsov and Nikitin 2017; 2019; Kuznetsov 2017; 2019a. Initially, Kuznetsov thought it concerned Darius, he also read 'Miletus': <http://theartnewspaper.com/news/russian-archaeologists-uncover-ancient-persian-stele-inscribed-with-a-message-from-king-darius-io/%20> (consulted 31 July 2016).

²⁵ Balakhvantsev 2018. He kindly told me that he and his collaborator are preparing an article on Iranian names in early Phanagoria. It will appear in *AWE*.

²⁶ Velkov and Domaradzka 1996.

²⁷ 'Having viewed the Pontus, Darius sailed back to the bridge, of which Mandrocles of Samos was the chief builder; and when he had viewed the Bosphorus also, he set up by it two pillars of white marble, engraving on the one in Assyrian and on the other in Greek characters the names of all the nations that were in his army; in which were all the nations subject to him' (Herodotus 4. 87).

'Having then come to the river and there encamped, Darius was pleased with the sight of it, and set up yet another pillar there, graven with this inscription, "From the sources of the river Tearus flows the best and fairest of all river waters; hither came, leading his army against the Scythians, the best and fairest of all men, even Darius son of Hystaspes and king of Persia and all the mainland"' (Herodotus 4. 91).

²⁸ See, for instance, Tsetskhladze 2002.

the European side (Strabo 11. 2. 10).²⁹ Again, recent investigations have unearthed the palace of Mithradates VI, when we had no idea that Phanagoria was one of his residences, as was Panticapaeum. Phanagoria is also the burial place of his wife, as we know from the tombstone inscribed ‘Hypsicratea, wife of Mithradates VI Eupator’.³⁰

Achaemenid Garrison?

In 1937, a fragmentary Old Persian inscription was discovered in a vegetable garden in the ‘Cock Castle’ district of Gherla in Transylvania, an area inhabited in antiquity: indeed the Roman *castrum* was almost opposite, about 1 km distant. Repeated excavation brought to light a large number of objects from the ruins.³¹ The fragment of the clay tablet is 47 mm high × 52 mm (maximum) wide × 5–6 mm thick. Its surface is chipped off in various places, but the four lines of inscription can still be read:

Line 1]y ^a δ ^a i y ^a :
Line 2]a s ^a p ^a h ^a y ^a
Line 3] š ^a y ^a : h ^a
Line 4] k ^a u n ^a u š ^a

Detailed investigation demonstrated that the clay fragment is authentic.

Original	Present	Normalised transcription
Line 1		[<i>Dārayavanuš</i> : <i>xšāyadīya</i> :]
Line 2		[<i>vazraka</i> : <i>xšāyadīya</i> : <i>xšā</i>]
Line 3	Line 1	[<i>yadīyānām</i> : <i>xšā</i>] <i>yadīya</i> :
Line 4	Line 2	[<i>dahyūnām</i> : <i>Višt</i>] <i>āspahy</i>
Line 5	Line 3	[<i>ā</i> : <i>puça</i> : <i>Haxāmani</i>] <i>š^aya</i> : <i>h</i>
Line 6	Line 4	[<i>ya</i> : <i>imam</i> : <i>tacaram</i> : <i>a</i>] <i>kunauš</i>

‘Darius the great king, the king of kings, the king of countries, son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenian (is the one) who had this palace built.’

²⁹ See now the hefty exhibition catalogue (from the Pushkin Museum, Moscow): Kuznetsov and Tolstikov 2017.

³⁰ Kuznetsov 2007, 238–43. Recently, shipwrecks of the Late Hellenistic period were discovered in the Taman Gulf.

³¹ On the inscription, related studies, its transcription and the question of authenticity, see Harmatta 1953.

As J. Harmatta remarks,³² the most difficult question is how this inscription reached Gherla. It could hardly have been erected in Transylvania by Darius, so Gherla must be a secondary site. If the cultural layer containing it were modern, then it must have got from Persian to Transylvania in modern times, with its original site to be sought within erstwhile Persian territory (such as Asia Minor). If the layer were Roman or earlier (Dacian), then this route is much less probable. The earlier we go the more likely that the inscription was a monument of Persian rule in Thrace. As we know from Herodotus (4. 87, 91), Darius erected several inscriptions in Thrace, and that the architectural and epigraphic remains of Persian rule were carried off in all directions by locals after Persian rule had ended: he witnessed one such in Byzantium. Thus the Gherla fragment might have been the model text of such a Persian inscription erected in the North Balkans and spirited away to Transylvania after the Persian collapse. But the matter can be settled with some probability only after archaeological investigation of the site.³³

Indeed, the interpretation of the inscription, where it was found and how it reached there is necessarily speculative. Perhaps, as in Histria (see below), an Achaemenid garrison was stationed at Gherla and the soldiers brought the inscription with them. Otherwise, it is very difficult to explain its presence.

Archaeology

There is archaeological evidence which requires explanation and interpretation.³⁴ In the last third of the 6th century BC, the Greek Taganrog settlement, in the far north-east of the Sea of Azov, ceased to exist. About the same date, the middle–last quarter of the 6th century, there are traces of fire in the Greek colonies of Kepoi, Myrmekion and Porthmeus. The latter two also revealed fortification walls dating to the middle/second half of the 6th century. Traces of destruction have been identified at other sites at the end of the 6th century and the first–second quarters of the 5th century.³⁵ About 13 settlements also showed traces of fire. The fortification walls of Phanagoria were erected soon after its establishment (possibly by the end of the 6th century). Some traces of fire were also noticed in Patraeus.

Clearly, times were difficult for the Greeks and the Greek cities of the Taman Peninsula in the second half/end of the 6th century. All of the destructions has been explained by military friction with the Scythians. It must be said that all the difficulties experienced by the Cimmerian Bosphorus are, in the literature, always

³² Harmatta 1953, 10–11.

³³ As far as I know, the site has never been excavated.

³⁴ What follows is a brief summary of Tsetskhladze 2013, 208–11 (with detailed bibliography).

³⁵ About the 5th century, see below.

ascribed to the Scythians.³⁶ This is erroneous. In the Archaic period the Scythians were a nomadic people living on the steppes of the Kuban and the northern Caucasus. We have meagre, if any, evidence of a Scythian presence in the Kerch and Taman peninsulas in the Late Archaic–Early Classical period. Some scholars have counted ten graves allegedly (but disputably) belonging to Scythians in the Taman Peninsula, dating between the 6th and 4th centuries. All contain weapons – but a warrior grave is not necessarily a Scythian grave;³⁷ it might even be Greek. Moving to the eastern Crimea, the territory was intensively settled by the Scythians only from the second half of the 5th century BC. Furthermore, Scythian elite *kurgans* were erected near Nymphaeum, Panticapaeum, Phanagoria, Kepoi or (possibly) Hermonassa after the middle of that century.³⁸ This was the time when the Scythians were become sedentary (or semi-sedentary). Moreover, there was practically no local population on the Taman Peninsula in the Archaic period. The same situation is now noted around Berezan and Olbia.³⁹ Thus, according to new investigations, it would seem that when the Greeks first arrived in the northern Black Sea they were the first settlers: there were no local inhabitants in the coastal area until the end of the 6th/beginning of the 5th century BC.⁴⁰

It is more logical to link the evidence of military activity in the Taman Peninsula to the coming of the Persians – first Ariaramnes, then Darius I during his Scythian expedition – than to non-existent Scythians. Obviously the Greeks resisted Persian incursion. Darius followed the Scythians all the way along the shore of Lake Maeotis and even across the Tanais (Don) river (Herodotus 4. 120–122) – demonstrating that the Achaemenids were not far from the Taman Peninsula.

Important evidence has been unearthed from the Ulski burial ground and the Ulyap ritual complex (Table 1):

³⁶ For the latest, see Fedoseev 2012; 2014; 2018.

³⁷ Fedoseev 2012; 2014; 2018.

³⁸ Fedoseev 2012; 2014; 2018.

³⁹ Gavriluk 2017; Gavriluk and Tymchenko 2015; Kopylov and Rusakov 2016a; 2016b.

⁴⁰ According to new studies, the first Greek pottery from the territory of Chersonesus in the Crimea dates well into the 5th century BC, not from the last quarter/end of the 6th century, as hitherto supposed. This territory, before the arrival of the Greeks, was populated by the local Taurians; the Greek pushed them inland and into the mountains (Khrapunov 2018).

Table 1. Achaemenid metal objects from the Cimmerian Bosphorus and wider area, 7th–6th centuries BC (after Treister 2010, 233; Erlikh 2010, 58–62).⁴¹

No.	Object	Origin	Date
1.	Silver rhyton	Krivorozhe Scythian barrow, Don area	Late 7th/early 6th c.
2.	Silver rhyton	Lyubotin barrow no. 2, forest steppe of Ukraine	Late 7th/early 6th c.
3.	Bronze bridle-strap separators	Ulski	Middle/second half of 6th c.
4.	Silver plaque depicting reclining mountain goat	Ulski	Middle/second half of 6th c.
5.	14 fine silver phalerae or forehead straps	Ulski	Middle/second half of 6th c.
6.	S-shaped cheek pieces	Ulski	Middle/second half of 6th c.
7.	Golden end-piece shaped like a horse's head with zoomorphic depictions and incrustations	Ulski	Middle/second half of 6th c.
8.	Silver handle from vessel probably an amphora or burner shaped like a deer	Ulski	Middle/second half of 6th c.
9.	Fragment of silver cup phiale with leaf ornament	Ulski	Middle/second half of 6th c.
10.	Silver phiale	Ulyap ritual complex 4	Middle/second half of 6th c.

The Achaemenid objects recovered are a clear exemplar of how common it was within the ancient Persian empire for the ruling dynasty to give gifts to local chiefs and members of the local elites in order to bind them in friendship and peaceful relations.⁴² The silver rhytons from Krivorozhe and Lyubotin barrows (Table 1.1–2)

⁴¹ At the end of his article, Erlikh (2010) asks where these objects were manufactured, Transcaucasia or Asia Minor. It would be unreasonable to propose satrapal manufacturing centres in the former at such an early stage. By the end of the 6th century BC, when Colchis and Iberia were incorporated in the Achaemenid empire (see below), this would be a plausible suggestion, as can be demonstrated, for instance, in Colchis by the gold from Vani and in Iberia by the Akhlagori Treasure. We can also assume that such a centre existed in Armenia (for the latest, see Treister 2015). Thus, it must be obvious that the objects listed were produced in Asia Minor.

⁴² An incomplete list of objects received as diplomatic gifts or through exchanges, gift-giving, etc. includes bronze, silver or gold tripods, cauldrons, wine cups, jars and bowls; weapons and armour; cloaks, tunics, gowns and blankets; horses and horse-trappings; slaves; livestock; various natural resources and sums of money (from the mid-6th century onward). In the Classical and Hellenistic periods kings might even offer estates and cities. For more, with references and bibliography, see Tsetskhladze 1993–94, 27–31; 2010, 42; van Wees 2002; etc. For Achaemenid and Greek gift-giving, see Mitchell 1997.

are most probably objects brought back by Scythians returning from their Near Eastern campaign.⁴³

The Coming of Xerxes

It appears that Darius did not cross the Kerch Strait, or did so only to raid; but Xerxes completed what his father had begun.

The city of Porthmeus, which possessed an impressive fortification system, was destroyed in the first quarter of the 5th century BC: traces of fire have been recorded everywhere. The same can be seen at Tyritake about 480 BC. Here, bronze arrowheads of Scythian-type were found and the fortification walls had been built hurriedly. At Myrmekion there is destruction of stone buildings throughout the excavated area; impressive stone walls existed here until the middle–third quarter of the 5th century BC.⁴⁴ If we turn to Panticapaeum, where 20 Scythian-type arrowheads have been found in the destructions level, the fortification walls there were destroyed at the same time as Phanagoria: 480 BC.⁴⁵ Simple stone dwellings were replaced by subterranean ones and, at the same time, an iron- and bronze-working shop was established not far from them: scales of armour found nearby might indicate that this workshop was for the production of armour and weaponry. Traces of destruction and fires have been discovered at Panticapaeum as well.⁴⁶

This series of heavy destruction of the cities of the eastern Crimea demonstrates military activity in this part of the Cimmerian Bosphorus – heavier damage than the Greek cities of the Taman Peninsula experienced during the arrival there of Darius I. As noted before, all of these developments were ascribed to the Scythians, but, as I mentioned above, no Scythians existed here at this time: as we now know, they arrived after the middle/end of the 5th century BC, which is when Scythian royal tombs appeared not far from the Greek cities of the eastern Crimea. We should not be mistaken in connecting all of this destructions with the coming of Xerxes and the resistance of the Greek cities to his conquest.

To whom do the Scythian-type arrows belong? It is known that the Achaemenid army used the weapon types of peoples included within their empire, for instance the Scythian *akinakes* and Scythian armour. Thus the same could be said about arrowheads. They form abundant chance finds in Anatolia where too they most probably belonged to Achaemenid conquerors.⁴⁷

⁴³ The Scythians not only brought back Near Eastern objects but Near Eastern craftsmen as well (Petrunko 1995).

⁴⁴ Tolstikov 2001, 403. See also Tolstikov 2007. On the 5th century, see Zavoikin 2015.

⁴⁵ I am most grateful to V.D. Kuznetsov for the information about Phanagoria.

⁴⁶ Tolstikov 2001, 399. See also Tolstikov 2007; Kovalenko and Tolstikov 2013.

⁴⁷ Hellmuth and Yalçikli 2006; Tsetschladze 2018b, 531–33 (with references).

Conquest brought not only destruction to the Cimmerian Bosphorus but, later, Achaemenid influence, spreading from the end of the 5th century to the then newly established territorial Bosporan kingdom.⁴⁸

Further evidence shows that the Cimmerian Bosphorus and later the Bosporan kingdom were under the control of the Great King. After the Early Classical period, the coin standard of Panticapaeum changed from the Aeginetan to the Persian.⁴⁹ Some coin types also bore the image of an eight-pointed star or of a half moon, both interpreted as a reflection of an Achaemenid political orientation.⁵⁰ Official inscriptions from the Bosporan kingdom show Achaemenid influence on the titu-lature of the ruling Spartocid dynasty;⁵¹ in particular, there are Achaemenid symbols in the Baksinsk tomb, in a grave identified as that of the Bosporan king Satyrus I (d. 389/8 BC).⁵² Further interesting information derives from the study of personal names. In the northern Black Sea, in particular, quite a number of names of Persian origin occur,⁵³ even a Darius in Panticapaeum, while Cyrus can be found in Callatis and Xerxes in Apollonia Pontica.⁵⁴

Before turning to more archaeological material it must be underlined that the Achaemenid presence is always difficult to trace in it,⁵⁵ not least due, paradoxically, to the creation of Achaemenid court art and culture, which drew on those of all the

⁴⁸ Examining the broader aspects and the context of the Graeco-Persian wars, it has been suggested that the Persians wished to destroy the Milesian thalassocracy (*cf.* Herodotus 6. 7). Earlier, with the Ionian Revolt, Persian support for the Ionian cities of the Black Sea had ceased. It is indeed possible that a fleet operating from Sinope or Heraclea Pontica destroyed the Ionian 'network' including in the northern Black Sea (Nieling 2010, 127). Another possibility is that, in the course of the Graeco-Persian wars, the Achaemenids had temporarily withdrawn from this territory, which they had acquired through the campaign of Ariaramnes (see above) and the Scythian expedition of Darius. The ensuing power vacuum provided the circumstances for the coup in Panticapaeum that established the Archae-anactid tyranny (*cf.* Hind 1994, 488; Burstein 2006, 139). This dynasty may have had a Milesian origin. Any or all of these events might have brought about, or contributed to, the destruction of various cities in the Cimmerian Bosphorus. On the (supposed) establishment of the Bosporan kingdom in 480 BC, see Tolstikov 1984 (and see below). The author followed the suggestion of Y.G. Vinogradov, which was published only as a summary of an oral presentation.

⁴⁹ Fedoseev 1997, 311–12; Nieling 2010, 131.

⁵⁰ Fedoseev 1997, 311–12; 2018.

⁵¹ Tokhtasev 2001. To give a few examples: after the annexation of Sindica and of other local peoples, the Bosporan rulers styled themselves king(s) of the Sindi, Toreti, Dandarii and Psessi (*CIRB* 6, 1037–1038), or king(s) of the Sindi and all the Maeotae (*CIRB* 8), or archon(s) of Bosporus and Theodosia, of all Sindica, Toreti, Dandarii and Psessi (*SEG* LII 741). After conquering the Greek cities of the Cimmerian Bosphorus – altogether 30 – and the surrounding local population, the Bosporan kingdom encompassed some 5000 km² and a population of 100–120,000 citizens and subjects (Hind 1994, 476).

⁵² Fedoseev 2012, 319; 2014; 2018; Vinogradov 2014a; 2014b.

⁵³ Zgusta 1955, 59–72, 273–78; Fedoseev 1997, 312–13; 2018.

⁵⁴ Fraser and Matthews 2005, 87, 204, 260 *s.vv.*

⁵⁵ Miller 2010; 2011, 337; Boardman 2011, 199.

subject regions and peoples, and adopted and adapted to create something distinctive in its own right that was superimposed on the original culture of the Persians themselves ('Persianising' them?). Moreover, 'Persianisation' is hard to identify, whatever it might be, because it was deliberate Persian practice and ideology both to leave the cultural identity of subject peoples intact and to maintain their ethnic identity (the *pax Persica*).⁵⁶ Objects surviving from the far reaches of the Achaemenid empire are mainly gold, silverware, jewellery and arms, not only hard to date but difficult to tie to particular centres of production. All may be labelled 'Achaemenid international style', but it is difficult to make more precise identifications such as 'Achaemenid court-style art', 'Achaemenidising satrapal art', or 'Perso-barbarian art'.⁵⁷

Table 2. Achaemenid/Achaemenid-inspired objects, 5th–4th centuries BC
(after Treister 2010, 223–33; 2014).

No.	Object	Origin	Style
1.	Sword with golden overlay	Chertomlyk	Achaemenid
2.	Silver rhyton	Seven Brothers tomb no. 4	Achaemenid-inspired
3.	Silver bowl	Solokha	Achaemenid-inspired
4.	Silver bowl	Zhirnii	Achaemenid-inspired
5.	Silver bowl	Zelenskoi	Achaemenid-inspired
6.	Silver rhyton	Kul-Oba	Imitation Achaemenid style

The Seven Brothers tombs have been identified as the burial place of the Sindian kings,⁵⁸ whose territory had later been incorporated in the Bosporan kingdom. A rhyton from Seven Brothers deserves attention (Table 2.2). It was produced in a workshop in Asia Minor *ca.* 450–425 BC⁵⁹ and is most probably a diplomatic gift.⁶⁰ Another local people included in the Bosporan kingdom were the Maeotians.⁶¹ A considerable quantity of Achaemenid or Achaemenid-inspired golden objects, silverware, jewellery and arms, and their imitations, have been found in the

⁵⁶ Brosius 2011, 136, 138; see also Tuplin 2011.

⁵⁷ Miller 2010; Rehm 2010.

⁵⁸ Goroncharovskij 2010.

⁵⁹ Treister 2010, 227.

⁶⁰ Goroncharovskij 2010, 88–89; Treister 2010, 248–50.

⁶¹ There were several local peoples living to the east of the Taman Peninsula, their material culture(s) practically unknown. The Sindians lived in Sindica (*PPE* 65; Ps.-Arrian 65. 24; Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.*), either as a separate territory or later occupying the Taman Peninsula (Polyaenus *Strat.* 8. 55; Diodorus 20. 25; Strabo 11. 2. 10). To the south-east of them was the territory of the Kerketians and Toretians (Ps.-Scylax 72–75; Strabo 11. 2. 1; Pliny *NH* 6. 17). There were other tribes too (Terekhova *et al.* 2006).

northern Black Sea and even in its hinterland.⁶² As a rule, these were given by Great Kings to officials, vassals, etc. As mentioned above, these gift-giving practices and what items were used as gifts are known from written sources and archaeology.

Let us consider other characteristic items of Achaemenid culture such as glass alabastrons, amphoriskoi, tukh-tebe, etc., known well from many necropoleis of the Cimmerian Bosphorus.⁶³ In 1984, the Hermitage received from the Academy of Sciences a complete Achaemenid glass bowl of the late 5th–first half of the 4th century BC, origin unknown but presumed to be from the Cimmerian Bosphorus, with relief ornamental design in the shape of a 12-petalled rosette formed of pointed lotus leaves.⁶⁴ Recently, a glass bowl was discovered in a grave of Starokorsunsky site no. 2 in Maeotian territory; it dates with the other grave-goods to the second quarter of the 4th century BC.⁶⁵ This type of bowl, as well as other glass items, was a typical exemplar of Achaemenid gift-giving practice.

A notable quantity of Achaemenid seals have been found in the northern Black Sea area, especially in the Cimmerian Bosphorus: 19, dating to the 5th–4th centuries BC (Table 3). Fifteen have provenance; the other four are allegedly from Kerch (see Table 3).⁶⁶ Of the 15, six come from Panticapaeum, capital of the Bosporan kingdom, others from the Bosporan cities of Anapa, Nymphaeum and Phanagoria, the rest from elsewhere including Chersonesus. Some are fine examples executed in Achaemenid court style; one carries the name of King Artaxerxes; another has a Lydian inscription. Most were cut in Anatolia, and the iconography on them is typically Achaemenid.⁶⁷ These seals are a clear indication of the presence of officials and ambassadors, and thus of an Achaemenid presence itself. Recently, an Achaemenid coin was found not far from another Bosporan city: Kytaeum.⁶⁸

⁶² Treister 2010.

⁶³ Kunina 1997, 52–60.

⁶⁴ Kunina 1997, 255, no. 47.

⁶⁵ Limberis and Marchenko 2016.

⁶⁶ Treister 2010, 252–56; see also Fedoseev 1997; 2018; Nikulina 1994, *passim*.

⁶⁷ Boardman 2000, 163, 166, 351; Nieling 2010, 131–33; Fedoseev 1997; 2018; Treister 2010, 252–56.

⁶⁸ Fedoseev 2012, 319; 2018.

Table 3. Achaemenid seals (after Treister 2010, 252–56).

No.	Seal	Stone	Depiction	Date	Origin
1.	Cylinder	Blue chalcedony	Persian wearing tiara, hands raised, facing a radiate goddess, standing on lion's back	Early 4th c. BC	Blagoveshchenskaya near Anapa
2.	4-sided prism	Cornelian	a. Persian holding bow b. Bearded Greek in himation playing with a dog c. Naked woman stretching d. Two cocks fighting	Early 4th c. BC	Blagoveshchenskaya near Anapa
3.	Cylinder	Discoloured	Persian king in battle with Greek warriors; a symbol of Akhuramazda above	5th c. BC	Panticapaeum 1834
4.	Cylinder	Cornelian	Persian king, two sphinxes, a Demon under a palm tree; a symbol of Akhuramazda above	5th c. BC	Panticapaeum 1842
5.	Scaraboid	Cornelian	Two sphinxes sitting in crowns; over them a Lydian inscription	5th c. BC	Panticapaeum Pavlovskaya battery
6.	Scaraboid	Discoloured	Sphinx	5th c. BC	Panticapaeum 1852
7.	Scaraboid	Chalcedony	Persian warrior leaning on a spear	4th c. BC	Panticapaeum 1839, tomb II in barrow on way to Churubash
8.	Scaraboid	Chalcedony	Running sphinx	First half 4th c. BC	Panticapaeum, Mt Mithradates, burial 25/1907
9.	Scaraboid	Chalcedony	Bear; group of leaping lions	First half 4th c. BC	Seven Brothers barrow 3
10.	Scaraboid	Obsidian	a. Cow with calf b. A symbol of Ahuramazda	First half 5th c. BC	Nymphaeum, barrow 24.1876, tomb 19 1876, warrior
11.	Scaraboid	Chalcedony	Winged lion standing on hind paws	First half 4th c. BC	Nymphaeum, barrow 5/1868
12.	Octagon	Chalcedony	Persian king in struggle with a lion	5th–4th cc. BC	Great Bliznitsa tumulus
13.	Cylinder	Cornelian	Mounted Persian with a spear	4th c. BC	Chersonesus
14.	Scaraboid	Chalcedony	Female with a phiale in hand	Middle–second half of 4th c. BC	Phanagoria
15.	Cylinder	Chalcedony	Horse galloping to the right; a symbol of Ahuramazda above	Late 5th–4th c. BC	Smela, Cherkassy Region
16.	Cylinder	Chalcedony	A Persian king and defeated enemies	Late 5th–4th c. BC	Panticapaeum?
17.	Scaraboid	Discoloured	Two Persian hunters in chariot	5th–4th cc. BC	Panticapaeum?
18.	Scaraboid	Discoloured	A Persian archer	First half 4th c. BC	Panticapaeum?
19.	Scaraboid	Discoloured	A Persian female with vases	4th c. BC	Panticapaeum?

The Question of Saca/Scythians

Much has been written about the identity of the Saca and the different categories of them.⁶⁹ It is accepted that Saca is a synonym for the Scythians because of what Herodotus wrote about the peoples participating in Xerxes' expedition against Athens.⁷⁰

Table 4. Persian royal and other inscriptions mentioning Saca and others (Kuhrt 2007, *passim*).

No.	Saca, etc.	Inscription
1.	a. as a country; b. as a people	DB
2.	Who are beyond Sogdiana	DPh
3.	Who are beyond Sogdiana	DH
4.	a. who drink <i>hauma</i> ; b. with pointed hats; c. beyond the sea	DSe
5.	a. who drink <i>hauma</i> ; b. with pointed hats; c. beyond the sea	DNa
6.	a. who drink <i>hauma</i> ; b. with pointed hats	A?P
7.	a. who drink <i>hauma</i> ; b. with pointed hats	XPh
8.	Cimmeria – Babylonian term for the Scythians	DSaa
9.	a. of marsh; b. of plain	DSab
10.	Yauna/Ionians beyond the sea	DPe
11.	a. of marsh; b. of plain	Tell el-Maskhoutha canal stele

Furthermore, he also mentions them fighting at Marathon (Herodotus 6. 113) and Plataea (Herodotus 9. 31, 71), and Xenophon that they took part in a royal pageant of Cyrus II (*Cyr.* 8. 3. 9–19). Herodotus noted (1. 201) that, in the opinion of some, the Massagetae were a Scythian people living beyond the River Araxes.

Without getting into detail, Saca/Scythians is used in Achaemenid royal inscriptions as a generic term for the nomads living along the whole of the northern borders of the Achaemenid empire. Saca who drink *hauma* and those who wear pointed hats, on account of their position in the inscriptions, have been identified as the Saca/Scythians living in the broad territory of Central Asia. This is also reflected (recently) in the archaeological evidence.⁷¹ The Saca of marsh and of plain have been interpreted as all of the Scythians of the empire's northern periphery, not as two distinct groups.⁷² Indeed, the northern periphery of the empire (such

⁶⁹ See, for example, Lebedynsky 2006; Kuhrt 2007, *passim*; Tuplin 2010, 294–98; Potts 2012.

⁷⁰ '... The Sacae, who are Scythians, have high caps tapering to a point and stiffly upright, which they wear on their heads. They wore trousers and carried native bows and daggers and, in addition, axes, which they called "sagaris". These were Amyrgian Scythians but were called Sacae, for the Persians call all Scythians Sacae...' (Herodotus 7. 64).

⁷¹ Potts 2012.

⁷² Kuhrt 2007, 482.

as the Cimmerian Bosphorus and, especially, the Ukrainian steppes) had plenty of marshes and plains. Thus, here there should be no disagreement with A. Kuhrt's position.⁷³

The Saca living between the Caspian and Aral Seas had been incorporated into the Achaemenid empire by Cyrus between 550 and 530 BC.⁷⁴ They are also mentioned by Herodotus (3. 90–94) in his list of satrapies. Several of the peoples and countries he names are not, however, listed in Achaemenid royal inscriptions, and *vice versa*.⁷⁵ It is important to note that, to the north of the aforementioned Saca, 80 Achaemenid or Achaemenid-style objects of the end of the 6th–3rd centuries BC (silver, silver-gilt and gold vessels; jewellery, arms, etc.) have been discovered in tombs of the local nomadic elite of the South Urals.⁷⁶ One is an alabastron with a quadrangular inscription containing the name of Artaxerxes I. Several are objects that might be termed 'prestige goods', which could be interpreted as diplomatic gifts. It is difficult to give a precise historical explanation for their presence, but obviously they demonstrate a long-term relationship, in which Achaemenid interest in this region's gold resources might have been prominent.⁷⁷

Some Achaemenid objects were found in the Pazyryk tumuli in the Altai.⁷⁸ A hand-knotted carpet from the fifth tumulus, most probably produced in a Bactrian-Sogdian workshop and influenced by Achaemenid artistic practice, has been interpreted as a gift made by the Achaemenid king to the local chief.⁷⁹ As another example, an electrum vessel from the Kul-Oba tomb depicts a Scythian soldier binding the wounds of his companion. This has echoes in Herodotus (7. 181), which talks of Persians treating wounds with myrrh and binding them with strips of the finest linen.⁸⁰

Although the delegations and people(s) on the Adama relief are susceptible to various interpretations, Delegation XIX has been identified as the Scythians, and Delegations XI and XVII as Saca of other sorts.⁸¹ This surely demonstrates that the Scythians of the northern Black Sea were part of the Achaemenid empire. The painted battle scene on the Munich Wood once again obliges us to consider the iconography of the Saca/Scythians. Most probably it depicts the enemies of the Great King, shown as undifferentiated nomads and intended to be understood as

⁷³ Kuhrt 2007, 482.

⁷⁴ Jacobs 1994, 257–60; 2007; Briant 2002, 127–28; Lebedynsky 2006, 45–49.

⁷⁵ See Asheri *et al.* 2007, 540–42.

⁷⁶ Treister 2010, 236–50; Treister and Yablonskii 2012. See also Yablonskii 2017.

⁷⁷ Treister and Yablonskii 2012 I, 288; *cf.* Olbrycht 2015.

⁷⁸ For the latest, see Treister and Yablonskii 2012 I, 48–49.

⁷⁹ Kuhrt 2007, 842.

⁸⁰ Kuhrt 2007, 587.

⁸¹ Briant 2002, 175. See also Shahbazi 1982; Potts 2012.

the nomads of the North (Saca/Scythians, etc.).⁸² Of course, the Great King must vanquish his enemies, especially mere nomads: such is a vital part of the propaganda of the royal image.

The Persepolis tablets provide evidence that those in prominent positions included not just Indians and Egyptians but also Scythians.⁸³ The Elamite Treasury tablet PT1 mentions one Shakka, who worked under Baradkama, Treasurer at Persepolis 490–480/79 BC, perhaps as his deputy. His name means ‘the Scythian’.⁸⁴ Another Elamite tablet from Persepolis, PF 1790, names Shaddukka the Zappiyan, possibly ‘a hypocoristic of “the Scythian (girl)”’.⁸⁵ Were these two by origin Scythians from the steppes of the northern Black Sea or just generic Saca (nomads)?⁸⁶

Placing the Cimmerian Bosphorus in the Pontic System: South and West

More information, widely discussed, comes from the southern Black Sea.⁸⁷ Nearly all local peoples living around the Greek cities here were included in the XIX satrapy of the Achaemenid empire and were obliged to pay 300 talents (Herodotus 3. 94). The major Greek cities were Sinope and Heraclea Pontica.⁸⁸ Sinope established three colonies of her own here, and Heraclea Pontica two – Chersonesus Taurica, and Callatis on the western Black Sea. We know little about Sinope before the 5th century BC, when it fell under a tyranny before the appearance of Athenian settlers. Sources make it clear that Sinope acknowledged the power of the Great King and provided ships for the satrap Ariaramnes (Ctesias *FGH* 688 fr. 13 [20]) and also during the Graeco-Persian wars (Diodorus 11. 3. 8). Archaeological evidence of Sinope’s inclusion in the Achaemenid empire is provided by metal objects which can be considered as gifts from the Achaemenid kings.⁸⁹ Furthermore, some rock-cut tombs from the southern Black Sea display Achaemenid features, and Achaemenid-type pottery is found in the region.⁹⁰

⁸² Summerer 2007, 18–20.

⁸³ Kuhrt 2007, 764.

⁸⁴ Kuhrt 2007, 787–88.

⁸⁵ Kuhrt 2007, 799–800.

⁸⁶ In their table and appendix of ethnonyms and pseudo-ethnonyms in Persepolis, Henkelman and Stolper (2009, 274–75, 300, 306) mention neither Scythians nor Saca.

⁸⁷ See, for example, Burstein 1976, 26–28, 41–42; Summerer 2003; 2005. On Greek colonies and local peoples of the southern Black Sea, see Tsetskhladze 2007 (with bibliography).

⁸⁸ Tsetskhladze 2007, 164–68.

⁸⁹ Summerer 2003. For the situation in Heraclea Pontica, see Summerer 2005. We cannot exclude the existence of satrapal manufacturing centre(s).

⁹⁰ Dönmez 2007, 1211–12.

Paphlagonians recognised Cyrus and in return were left free from satrapal control (Xenophon *Cyr.* 8. 6. 8).⁹¹ But this changed sometime before 513 BC, during preparations for the Scythian expedition, when the Bithynians and Mariandynoi recognised Persian control, and they and the Paphlagonians and Cappadocians were placed under the satrap of Dascyleum (Herodotus 4. 85; 3. 90). According to Ctesias, all this happened a little before the Scythian expedition (*FGH* 3C1, 688F13.20), not just all local peoples but the Greek cities of the southern Black Sea, including Heraclea Pontica, belonged to the Persian empire.⁹² But what then was the status of these cities? Ancient authors indicate that, while acknowledging Persian over-lordship, paying tribute and supplying ships, as during the Scythian expedition and the Graeco-Persian wars, the cities were granted by the Great King the privilege of retaining their own laws and institutions as well as freedom from the meddling in their internal affairs by satraps and other officials.⁹³ Subsequently the situation changed, especially from the beginning of the 4th century BC when difficulties increased between Sinope, Heraclea Pontica, and also Amisos, and the local satraps. Sometimes the satraps laid siege to the cities. Heraclea Pontica and Sinope concluded an agreement to assist one another in the face of military threat, but this was after the Greek cities had most probably been freed from Achaemenid dominion in the later 5th century BC.⁹⁴

In the wake of Darius' Scythian expedition, Thrace formed part of the Achaemenid empire,⁹⁵ as attested by written sources and archaeological material.⁹⁶ Achaemenid and Achaemenid-style luxury goods found in Bulgaria demonstrate that local chiefs were recipients of gifts from Achaemenid kings.⁹⁷ How the Greek cities on the Thracian Black Sea coast fitted into this is unclear, but there is no evidence of hostile relations between them and either the Achaemenids or the locals. It is commonly believed that Thrace was not under Achaemenid control for long. The Odrysian kingdom, better considered as a proto-state, though thought to have been formed in the Late Archaic period, yields no significant archaeological evidence of

⁹¹ We know little if anything about the local population in the Archaic period. Either archaeologically or from written sources. Thanks to Xenophon's *Anabasis* we are much better acquainted with the situation in the Classical period, though the local population is considered mainly through the eyes of the Greeks (Tsatskheladze 2007, 180–91).

⁹² Burstein 1976, 26–28.

⁹³ Burstein 1976, 27.

⁹⁴ Burstein 1976, 41–42.

⁹⁵ See Briant 2002, 141–44; Badian 2007.

⁹⁶ Baceva 2012; Balcer 1972b; 1988; Boteva 2011; etc.

⁹⁷ Archibald 1998, 79–92.

the emergence of a local power until the mid-/late 5th century BC, when fortified settlements and the well-known Thracian royal tombs first appear.⁹⁸

Thucydides (2. 97) makes clear that the Odrysian kingdom was organised after the Achaemenid fashion: the Odrysian kings required tribute from other territories and from the Greek cities. The tribute was quite high, equivalent to 400 talents in gold and silver. In addition, gifts of gold and silver of similar value were demanded, as were other goods. Gifts were made not only to the king but to other Odrysian minor kings, demonstrating that the Odrysian kingdom was not centralised or strong and had administrative region.⁹⁹ We still do not know who the Odrysians were, or how this small, local tribe united many others and exercised power over Greek cities. Were they clients of the Achaemenids, or protected by them? Indeed, perhaps the Achaemenids never left Thrace as was supposed: Athenian iconography often depicts the Thracians and their clothing in ways similar to the Achaemenids.¹⁰⁰ If a gold mask and bronze head belonged to the Odrysian rulers of Thrace,¹⁰¹ as some believe, they look very Oriental. The origin of the Odrysian kings is not known. They may have been planted by the Achaemenids. Another important aspect is the type of royal tomb – similar ones are known in Anatolia.¹⁰²

By paying tribute, the Greek cities were generally left alone to practise their own way of life. Once again, we lack evidence of hostility between Greeks and locals; on the contrary, Greeks were allowed to live alongside locals in the hinterland and were protected by local rulers.

Odrysian elite culture can probably be used to indicate the continued presence of the Achaemenids.¹⁰³ As in Colchis, we find a mixture of local, Greek and

⁹⁸ Archibald 1998, 93–176.

⁹⁹ ‘As for the tribute which came in from the barbarian territory and from all the Hellenic cities over which the Odrysians acquired sway in the time of Seuthes – who, succeeding Sitalces on the throne, brought the revenues to a maximum – its value was about 400 talents in coin, and was paid in gold and silver; and gifts in equal value to the tribute, not only of gold and silver, but besides these all manner of stuffs, both embroidered and plain, and other articles for household use, were brought as offerings to the king, and not for him only, but also for the subordinate princes and nobles of the Odrysians. For these kings had established a custom which was just the opposite of that prevailing in the kingdom of the Persians, namely, to take rather than to give; indeed it was more disgraceful for a man not to give when asked than to ask and be refused. This custom was observed among the other Thracians also; but the Odrysian kings, as they were powerful, followed it more extensively; indeed it was not possible to accomplish anything without giving gifts’ (Thucydides 2. 97).

¹⁰⁰ Tsiafakis 2000.

¹⁰¹ See, for example, Kitov 2005, 68, 91–93. Theodossiev 2011, 22, fig. 4, and 35, fig. 23. The bronze head, from a life-sized statue, is considered to belong to Seuthes III.

¹⁰² Much has been written about Thracian royal tombs. I cite my own article because it places the phenomenon in a wider context: Tsetskhladze 1998. See also *Trakiiskite* 2011, especially 140–99.

¹⁰³ I do not wish to imply that the Thracians were not indigenous inhabitants but rulers do not necessarily need to be local. The best example is the Spartocid dynasty, probably Thracian in origin (one of many suggestions about their antecedents), which came to power in 438/7 BC in the Bosporan kingdom.

Achaemenid elements. The Odrysians, like the Achaemenids, had a strong liking for precious metal objects. Typical Achaemenid shapes were adopted and reworked, with the style of objects very often indicating their production by Greeks or by skilled local craftsmen versed in both traditions.¹⁰⁴

It was accepted that the Achaemenid's name for their Thracian satrapy was Skudra,¹⁰⁵ though recent studies have emphasised that the location of Skudra/Skudria is unknown, as is the identity of the Yanna people, though it is accepted that they were Ionians.¹⁰⁶

We find that the relationship between the Scythians and the Greek cities of the northern Black Sea mirrors that between the Odrysian kingdom, which Thucydides (2. 97) clearly states was organised along Achaemenid lines, and nearby Greek cities. From the late 5th century BC onwards, just when they were turning their back on nomadism, the Scythians demanded taxes and tribute from the Greek cities. As in the Achaemenid empire, tax and tribute were discharged not just with money or precious metal objects but with the skilled labour of Greek craftsmen, whom the Scythians used to create their local elite culture.¹⁰⁷

If we turn to the Getic lands, revised interpretation of the relationship between Histria (in modern Romania) and the Achaemenids has been suggested recently.¹⁰⁸ As a result of Darius' Scythian expedition (513 BC), when he passed through the Greek cities of the western Pontus *en route*, an Achaemenid garrison was established at Histria. Archaeological material of human and animal sacrifice (horses and donkeys) in Tumulus XII, beginning of the 5th century BC, demonstrates that this garrison was massacred.¹⁰⁹ This is the time of the Ionian revolt and a Scythian raid in 496 BC. The Achaemenids destroyed Histria in about 490 BC as punishment for its support of the Ionians in their revolt. Histria, like the Greek cities of Thrace, was freed from Achaemenid domination in 479 BC: restoration of the sacred area of Histria dates to *ca.* 475–450 BC.¹¹⁰ Achaemenid silver objects were found in the hinterland of Dacia – yet further evidence of the pervasive Achaemenid practice of giving gifts to the local elites.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Zournatzi 2000.

¹⁰⁵ Bacheva 2012; etc.

¹⁰⁶ Tuplin 2010, 294–98; Rollinger and Henkelman 2009; Henkelman and Stolper 2009; Rollinger 2006; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001a; 2001b.

¹⁰⁷ Tsetskhladze 2010, 45–50, 53–54.

¹⁰⁸ Avram 2017.

¹⁰⁹ Alexandrescu 2010. Some Scythian objects were found as well and Alexandrescu suggested that these derived not from those nomadic Scythians who had participated in Xerxes' army. On the few Scythians (if they did indeed live) in Romanian territory, see Vulpe 2012.

¹¹⁰ Avram 2011; 2017. Cf. Badian 2007.

¹¹¹ See articles in Alexandrescu 1999; Avram 2011.

Eastern Black Sea Littoral

Another problem region (like the northern Black Sea and the Cimmerian Bosphorus) is Colchis. Whether it was part of the Achaemenid empire is a question first raised by A.I. Boltunova in 1979.¹¹² Having studied the information of Herodotus thoroughly, she concluded that it was indeed under the control of the Great King – as part of the XIX satrapy, in view of tribes living next southwards of Colchis being so. She also concluded that Colchians were, as a rule, paying tribute and participating in military campaigns, etc. One aspect that received much attention from her was the information in Herodotus (3. 97) that Colchians paid to the Achaemenids 100 young men and 100 girls. This had previously been translated as a ‘voluntary payment’, with scholars concluding from this that Colchis was not an Achaemenid possession. She demonstrated the word ‘voluntary’ was nowhere to be found in the original but had been understood and introduced by translators. Her work was completely ignored because it ran against the line of official Georgian scholarship.

Thus while Colchis had hitherto been viewed by some as a buffer state,¹¹³ shielding the Achaemenid empire from attack by local Caucasian tribes, re-evaluation of existing information, not least written sources (primarily Herodotus 3. 93, 97; 7. 79), combined with new archaeological evidence demonstrates that the eastern Black Sea was indeed dominated by the Achaemenids.¹¹⁴ This is visible, first of all, in some architectural techniques and buildings – the most important is a fragment of a double protome, typical of an Achaemenid column, found at Sairkhe in the mountainous part of Colchis. Excavation of the very rich graves of the local elite, dating to the middle of the 5th century BC and later, primarily at Vani (ancient Syrius) in Central Colchis and Sairkhe, both of which were probably centres of sceptuchies (Strabo 11. 2. 18),¹¹⁵ has unearthed many golden objects. These graves yielded, along with local and Attic grave-goods, typical Achaemenid bracelets, phialae (even a glass one from Sairkhe), a pectoral made in a satrapal manufacturing centre in Egypt, etc. Stylistic analysis demonstrates that they were made in Achaemenid

¹¹² See Boltunova 1979.

¹¹³ Tsetskhladze 1993–94.

¹¹⁴ Among previous publications, see Knauss 2005; Ivantchik and Licheli 2007; Tsetskhladze 1993–94; 1994; 2001; 2003; 2018b, 522–33. On the Scythians in Colchis, who had connections with the Achaemenids, see Tsetskhladze 2011a, 96–115; 2018b, 514–22 (and table 10 at pp. 516–17 ‘Scythian and Scythian-type object from Colchis’, arranged by the 19 sites from which they were recovered).

¹¹⁵ This demonstrates that Colchis, like the Odrysian kingdom, was not a strong, centralised state. Georgia historiography uses ‘Vanis kvekana’, ‘Kobuletis kvekana’, etc., translated as ‘land of Vani’, ‘land of Kobuleti’. These lands are considered as separate sceptuchies.

satrapal centres including Egypt (the pectoral).¹¹⁶ It is obvious that these objects were gifts from Achaemenid kings to the local rulers of Colchis.¹¹⁷

Vani and Sairkhe yielded some Achaemenid pottery.¹¹⁸ Interesting evidence comes from a locally produced rhyton from Gomi: it depicts Achaemenid combat training.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, Colchians were paying tribute to the Achaemenids (as mentioned above),¹²⁰ and they also participated in Xerxes' army.¹²¹

The most convincing evidence is that of so-called Colchian coins: tetradrachms and didrachms, dated on stylistic grounds to the middle/second half of the 6th century, and allegedly demonstrating the then existence of a Colchian kingdom. But, as underlined recently dating coins only on stylistic and typological grounds can produce misleading results, both for date and origin.¹²² These coins depict lion heads and bull heads, akin to the coinage of Persian kings of the middle/second half of the 6th–5th century BC, and these images, especially the bull's head, have striking similarities to the satrapal coinage of Mysia, Lydia and Caria.¹²³ Furthermore, in 1990, not far from Vani, the Sulori Treasure was discovered. It contained more than 700 Colchian coins, one Achaemenid, one Lydian and one possibly Lydian. The hoard had been buried in the middle of the 5th century BC, according to the date of the Persian coin.¹²⁴

¹¹⁶ All of these are listed and discussed in Tsetskhladze 2018b, 522–33. See pp. 526–29 for table 11, which presents a summary of Achaemenid finds from Colchis arranged by site – eight sites). See also Boardman 2002.

¹¹⁷ The origin of the Colchian kings is also unknown, and we would probably not be in error for suggesting that they too were planted by the Achaemenids in the middle–second half of the 5th century BC. It is better to describe Colchis as a proto-kingdom, not a kingdom.

¹¹⁸ See, for instance Kacharava and Kvirkvelia 2008, 172, pl. 34.

¹¹⁹ Tsetskhladze 2018b, 530, fig. 56.

¹²⁰ 'Gifts were also required of the Colchians and their neighbours as far as the Caucasian mountains (which is as far as the Persian rule reaches, the country north of the Caucasus paying no regard to the Persians); these were rendered every four years and are still so rendered, namely, an hundred boys and as many maidens' (Herodotus 3. 97).

¹²¹ 'The Mares wore on their head the plaited helmets of the country, carrying small shields of hide and javelins. The Colchians had wooden helmets and small shields of raw oxhide and short spears, and swords withal. The commander of the Mares and Colchians was Pharandates son of Teaspis. The Alarodians and aspires in the army were armed like the Colchians; Masistius son of Siromitres was their commander' (Herodotus 7. 79).

¹²² Kovalenko and Tolstikov 2013.

¹²³ Tsetskhladze 2008a, 439–40 (with bibliography). Real Colchian coins were minted from the middle of the 5th century BC (Tsetskhladze 2013b, with references). In one opinion, which seems realistic, minting took place at Phasis, the main Greek city in Colchis, under Achaemenid auspices (see Furtwängler 2002).

¹²⁴ Tsetskhladze 2018b, 510, table 7, nos. 1, 2 and 8.

It is possible that one or two Achaemenid seals have been found in Colchis,¹²⁵ but in burial 24 at Vani, dated to the third quarter of the 4th century BC (according to a coin of Panticapaeum found there),¹²⁶ more than a thousand golden objects were found, but most remarkable is an Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian octagonal stamp seal made of chalcedony. This is a very unusual find for Colchis. It cannot be interpreted as evidence of a relationship between Assyria or Neo-Babylonia and Colchis since it is of much earlier date than the burial. The conclusion that it was brought here by the Achaemenids is reinforced by the discovery of Achaemenid and Achaemenid-type objects in the grave.

When was Colchis incorporated in the Achaemenid empire? Not during Darius' Scythian expedition but afterwards.¹²⁷ Darius' troops could travel not only via sea but by land along the Caucasian Black Sea coast – this was one of the routes the Scythians took when pursuing the Cimmerians to the Near East (Fig. 5).¹²⁸ It is very difficult to say when Achaemenid rule ceased because Achaemenid objects continued to exist in Colchis into the 4th century BC – as is the case in other parts of the Pontus.

Another ancient Georgian kingdom, situated in the east of the country, was Caucasian Iberia. Until recently, scholars also denied that it had been part of the Achaemenid empire and downplayed Achaemenid influence. But mounting evidence has overturned this. Like in Colchis, there are Achaemenid and Achaemenid-type gold and silver objects, demonstrating gift-giving.¹²⁹

The discovery in Gumbati of part of a large Achaemenid capital demonstrates the existence there of the substantial palace of an Achaemenid ruler. Capitals of this kind have been found in a few other places.¹³⁰

Most striking is pottery: not only have a large number of Achaemenid vessels been found but even more locally produced examples. In reality, very few have truly local shapes.¹³¹

¹²⁵ Mentioned in Gagoshidze 2009, but with no details given. For gems and seals found in Colchis, see M. Lordkipanidze 1975; and for more recent discoveries, see Kacharava and Kvirkvelia 2008, 188, pl. 41.

¹²⁶ Kacharava 2005; Kacharava and Kvirkvelia 2008; *Colchis* 2005. For recent excavations in Vani, see Kacharava 2018a. See also Kacharava 2018b.

¹²⁷ Herodotus does not mention Colchis in his account of Darius' Scythian expedition.

¹²⁸ See, for instance, Tekhov 1980.

¹²⁹ See conference papers published in *AMIran and Turan* 32 (2000), 1–279; Tsetskhladze 2008b. The best examples are golden objects from the long-discovered Akhagori Treasure. For some of these, see now N. Lordkipanidze 2015, 314–17, figs. 196, 197. The excavation of some settlements in Caucasian Iberia demonstrates that Achaemenid rule reaches as far as the Great Caucasus (see, for instance, Narimanishvili 2009).

¹³⁰ Furtwängler 1995; Furtwängler and Knauß 1996.

¹³¹ Narimanishvili 1991.

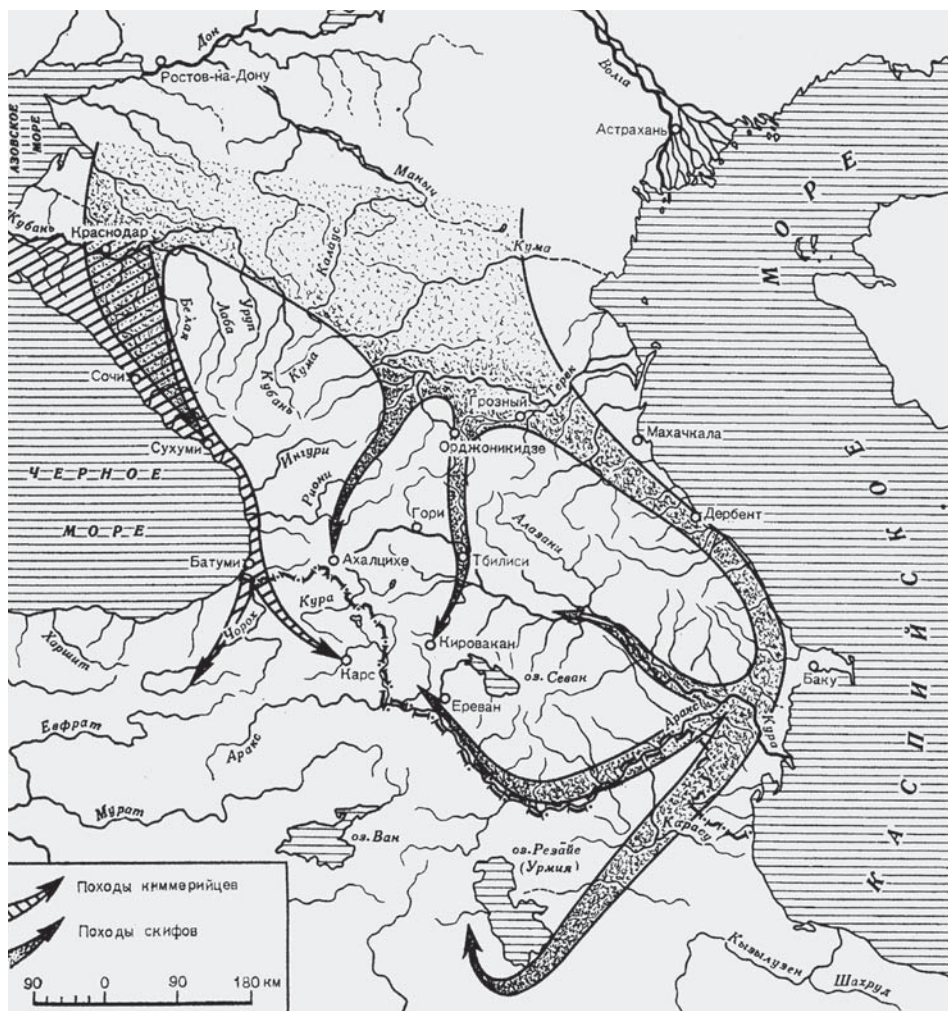


Fig. 5. Map showing Scythian movement southwards through the Caucasus (after Tekhov 1980, map 1).

The number of typical Achaemenid gems and seals in Iberia is six, the most recent one dating to the 2nd/1st century BC¹³² – quite an impressive number, second to the quantity of such seals found in the Bosporan kingdom (see above).

One outstanding feature is Achaemenid influence on the everyday life of the Iberian elite, including the architecture of Mtskheta, the capital city, and other royal residences (all of the 2nd–1st centuries BC), as well as religion (fire temples and

¹³² Dzavakishvili 2009.

complexes).¹³³ It continued strongly until after the dismantling of the Achaemenid empire. This may suggest that displaced Achaemenid craftsmen reached Iberia and settled there.¹³⁴

The question arises of which satrapy contained Colchis and Caucasian Iberia. Based again on Herodotus (3. 93), we can suggest that these two ancient Georgian kingdoms formed part of the Armenian satrapy. It is known that people under Achaemenid suzerainty, as mentioned above, paid taxes and tribute when the Great King demanded them, and furnished him with troops and provisions when he required them. This is precisely what Colchians did (Herodotus 3. 97; 7. 79).

Conclusions: Bringing the Evidence Together

It seems convincing that the Old Persian inscription from Phanagoria belonged to Darius I, thus the picture emerging of his Scythian expedition is that it was no chance affair but long planned, starting with the reconnaissance campaign of Ariaramnes in 519 BC to the Cimmerian Bosphorus and beyond. It seems that there was no local population living on or near the shore when the Greeks arrived in the Cimmerian Bosphorus and other parts of the northern Black Sea. They appeared at the very end of the 6th/beginning of the 5th century BC in the Crimea.¹³⁵ The same situation was met by Ariaramnes, who dealt only with Greek cities. The destruction of this time should be connected to the coming of the Achaemenids and not to the non-existent Scythians here.

In 513/2 BC the Great King started his expedition against the nomadic Scythians via the Bosphorus and the western Black Sea, entering the homeland of the nomadic Scythians in the deep Ukrainian steppes. The Persians pursued the Scythians without catching sight of them. In the deep hinterland they had to confront the Hallstatt locals¹³⁶ and their settlements, which were political and economic centres, both impressive and defended: Trakhtemirov, Nemirov, Belsk,¹³⁷ etc. Traces of destruction have been unearthed in some of these settlements. Yet again, it is commonly ascribed to the Scythians, whereas it is much more logical to link it to the Achaemenids. Some have identified Belsk as Gelonus, the city of the Budini and Geloni burnt down by the Persians (Herodotus 4. 108, 123).¹³⁸ It must have

¹³³ Gagoshidze 2000.

¹³⁴ Tsetskhladze 2008b.

¹³⁵ For the latest, see Gavrilyuk 2017. She reached this conclusion through detailed study of handmade pottery, especially that from Berezan and Olbia. Some others have come to the same conclusion based on different (kinds of) evidence. See, for example, Fedoseev 2018.

¹³⁶ Bruyako 2005, 40–87 (according to whom the territory of the northern Black Sea hinterland was inhabited by Hallstatt people).

¹³⁷ Belsk does not appear to be Hallstatt but populated rather by a local agricultural populations.

¹³⁸ See Tuplin 2010, 287 (with bibliography). B.A. Shramko, who excavated Belsk for many years, believed that it was indeed the city of Gelonus (Shramko 1987).

taken quite an effort to do this because Belsk occupied 4020 ha, had a defensive perimeter of 25 km (with ramparts 9 m high and ditches over 5 m deep) and a population of 4000–5000: overall it contained three smaller fortified settlements (Western, 72 ha; Eastern, 65.3 ha; Kuzeminskoe, 15.4 ha) and about nine other populated places.¹³⁹ Darius, having crossed the Tanais and some shores of the Sea of Azov, arrived in Phanagoria, where he most probably left a garrison, as in Histria – but unlike in Histria, he erected an inscription. It seems unlikely that he crossed the Kerch Strait except, perhaps, to undertake raids.

The creation of the Bosporan kingdom and how its rulers conducted themselves – close to the practice of Achaemenid kings – is of significant interest. Previously, based on information from the untrustworthy Diodorus Siculus (12. 31. 1), the foundation of the Bosporan kingdom had been dated to 480 BC, which is when the Archaeanactid dynasty took over Panticapaeum. According to recent studies, this, if this actually happened, was a local development and did not mark the creation of the Bosporan kingdom as a territorial state. (The origin of the Archaeanactidae is uncertain; they were possibly of Milesian origin.) In reality the Bosporan kingdom as a territorial state was really established when the Spartocids, who were to rule for 330 years, came to power in 438/7 BC. Their origin is even more obscure – suggestions include Greek, Sindian and Sarmatian, but Thracian is favourite. Their conduct of policy is heavily reminiscent of the Achaemenids. Thus, once can suggest strongly that Spartocus I, the founder of the dynasty, who ruled until 433/2 BC, was set in place by the Achaemenids.¹⁴⁰ Stayrus I (433/2–389/8 BC) expanded the state through conquest, but much greater expansion occurred during the reign of Leucon I (389/8–352/1 BC). He conquered several Greek cities (including Sindian Harbour, which he renamed Gorgippia in honour of his brother, Gorgippos, whom he sent there as governor) and peacefully incorporated the local population beyond the Taman Peninsula. By the late 4th century BC, the creation of the territorial Bosporan kingdom was complete.¹⁴¹

The returning Achaemenids conquered Colchis *en route*. Xerxes, continuing his father's campaigns (he, if not his father, ultimately subduing the Scythians),¹⁴² crossed from the Taman Peninsula to Kerch. His campaign initially resulted in the destruction of Panticapaeum and other cities. Seals found here in the Cimmerian Bosporus and elsewhere demonstrate the existence of Achaemenid officials and

¹³⁹ See, for instance, Tsatskheladze 2019, 8–11 (with bibliography).

¹⁴⁰ As mentioned above, we have the same situation in Thrace with the establishment of the Odrisian dynasty and their Achaemenid-style of rule.

¹⁴¹ On new developments, with old and new bibliography on the Bosporan kingdom, see Tsatskheladze 2013a.

¹⁴² The best evidence, as mentioned above, is the inclusion of Scythians/Saca and Colchians in Xerxes' army. At the same time, the Colchians were paying tribute.

even ambassadors. As in other parts of the Black Sea the relationship with the local population was based on gift-giving.

It is difficult to ascertain when the whole of the northern Black Sea was freed from the Achaemenids. As mentioned above, it has been suggested that this happened during Pericles' Pontic expedition. There are problems with this explanation, however, because the only source for the expedition is Plutarch, and it is disputed whether it happened and if, in reality, it was intended to free the Black Sea from the Achaemenids, etc. There is no consensus.¹⁴³

It is true that neither royal inscription nor Herodotus mention the Bosphorus, the Cimmerian Bosphorus or the Scythians as being subjected by the Achaemenids. The list of satrapies and peoples of the Achaemenid empire given by Herodotus and the inscriptions differ.¹⁴⁴ But royal inscriptions have two mentions which demonstrate with high probability that the Scythians and the northern Pontus were under Achaemenid rule. First of all, DPe, paragraph 2, mention the 'Yauna/Ionians beyond the sea'. Nearly all North Pontic Greek cities were established by Ionians. Thus it would not be a mistake to suggest that this shows that the Bosporan kingdom and neighbouring Greek cities fell under Achaemenid sway.¹⁴⁵ And what about the Scythians? I agree with M.A. Dandamaev when he writes:¹⁴⁶

Although Darius' Scythian campaign remained without success, Darius had marched deep onto Scythian territory in pursuit of his ever retreating adversaries. This justified Darius in including the Black Sea Scythians into the list of subject peoples by the name of the 'Scythians across the Sea'.

¹⁴³ In detail, here is the information given by Plutarch in his biography of Pericles (20. 1–2): '[Pericles] also sailed into the Euxine Sea with a large and splendidly equipped armament. There he effected what Greek cities desired, and dealt with them humanely, while to the neighbouring nations of Barbarians with their kings and dynasts he displayed the magnitude of his forces and the fearless courage with which they sailed whithersoever they pleased and brought the whole sea under their control. He also left with the banished Sinopeans 13 ships of war and soldiers under the command of Lamachus to aid them against Timesileos. When the tyrant and his adherents had been driven from the city, Pericles got a Bill passed providing that 600 volunteers of the Athenians should sail to Sinope and settle down there with the Sinopeans, dividing among themselves the houses and lands which the tyrant and his followers had formerly occupied.' Some accept that this expedition took place in 437/6 BC. The overall reason for it is disputed, with some believing that it was to secure the inclusion of the Black Sea cities in the Athenian-dominated Delian League. Certain names in the fragmentary Athenian Tribute List of 425/4 BC allegedly mention Pontic, especially North Pontic cities, but reconstruction of their names from the few remaining letters is open to doubt. For the problems of interpreting and dating Pericles' expedition, see Tsetskhladze 1997 (with bibliography). The passage mentioned neither Colchis nor Colchians. Despite this, some Georgian scholars believe that the expedition was concerned with Colchis as well: Inadze 1982, 134–80.

¹⁴⁴ Asheri *et al.* 2007: appendix by M. Brosius.

¹⁴⁵ *Contra* Tuplin 2010, 296–97.

¹⁴⁶ Dandamaev 1989, 150–51.

To sum up, with the inclusion of the northern Black Sea (especially the Bosporan kingdom) and the eastern Black Sea (Colchis), the Achaemenid empire extended its borders beyond what had hitherto been supposed, and the whole of the Black Sea became a 'Persian Lake'.

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ONCE MORE THE NABONIDUS CHRONICLE (BM 35382) AND CYRUS' CAMPAIGN IN 547 BC

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Abstract

This paper sheds new light on the hotly debated question of which country Cyrus attacked in 547 BC, therefore dealing once more with the broken toponym of the Nabonidus Chronicle obv. ii 16. The reading of the sign(s) has been highly influenced by later classical sources, which place Croesus' defeat against Cyrus somewhere around the corresponding year 547 BC. A collation has made it clear that no reliable reading can be inferred with absolute certainty. Instead of placing a cornerstone of Anatolian and early Persian-Teispid history exclusively on this ambiguous evidence, a new approach to this vexed topic is suggested. The contextualisation of the whole text passage leads to the conclusion that the region of Urartu depicts the most convincing hypothesis so far.

Introduction

After more than 100 years of intense debate on how to interpret the partly broken toponym in line obv. ii 16 of the so-called Nabonidus Chronicle (BM 35382), some very recent publications claim to have finally solved the problem by being able to definitely 'read' and identify the country that was the object of Cyrus' campaign in Nabonidus' ninth year, i.e. 547 BC. Since the debate and the various 'identifications' of the toponym have considerable repercussions on the question of how to reconstruct Anatolian and early Persian-Teispid history in the middle and second half of the 6th century BC, it is of utmost importance to clarify what we definitely know and what we do not know with certainty, to highlight the borderline between 'reading' and 'interpreting' and to make apparent the premises of our reconstructions. Moreover, it is also salient to demonstrate how possible solutions of the vexed problem could be achieved, thus putting the debate on much more substantial and promising ground. This paper will illustrate that any assumed 'definite' reading of the crucial passage is driven by presuppositions that trace back to chronological speculations of much later classical sources. Whereas earlier contributions appear to have been conscious of this connection, more recent articles seem to be fairly ignorant about this interdependency, hence confounding 'fact' and 'claim', 'proof' and 'hypothesis'.

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This paper will proceed in three steps. In the first section we will focus on the basis of the entire discussion, i.e. the classical chronographic tradition and the immanent problems related to how classical scholars achieved a date for Cyrus' campaign against Croesus. In the second section we will present an overview of the history of the various 'decipherments' of the broken toponym of the Nabonidus Chronicle obv. ii 16. In the third and last section we will suggest a solution on how to interpret the broken toponym that is not primarily based on 'reading' but on contextualising the relevant passage of the Nabonidus Chronicle.

The Nabonidus Chronicle and the Classical Chronographic Tradition: How the Ancients Dated Cyrus' Campaign against Croesus

For over 100 years, the correct reading of the broken toponym in line obv. ii 16 of the Nabonidus Chronicle has remained the subject of a lively and not yet adequately resolved debate.¹ The cuneiform tablet reports events under Nabonidus (556–539 BC), the last Neo-Babylonian king, and the early years of Cyrus' reign (*ca.* 559–530 BC), but was written nearly 200 years thereafter in Hellenistic times.² For Nabonidus' ninth year, i.e. 547 BC, Grayson offered the following reading and translation:

- 15: ... *ina* ⁱⁱⁱ*Nisanni* ^m*Ku-raš* *šār* ^{kur}*Par-su ummāni-šū id-ke-e-[m]a*
 16: *šap-la-an* ^{uru}*Ar-ba-'-il* ^{id}*Idiqlat i-bir-ma ina* ⁱⁱⁱ*Aiiari ana* ^{kur}*'Lu'-u[d-di(?) ...]†*
 17: *šarra-šū idūk bu-šd-a-šū il-qí šu-lit šá ram-ni-šū <AŠ> lu ú-še-li [...]*³

- 15: In the month Nisan Cyrus (II), king of Parsu, mustered his army and
 16: crossed the Tigris below Arbail. In the month Iyyar [he marched] to Ly[dia]†.
 17: He defeated its king, took its possessions, (and) stationed his own garrison (there) [...].⁴

In the appendix Grayson stated that he had collated the original tablet once more and therefore changed the reading of the toponym into ^{kur}*'Lu!?-ú!?'-[du? il-lī]k*⁵. This is – not very surprisingly – exactly the Babylonian writing of the toponym (*Lu-ú-du*) that became apparent in Grayson's times, whereas earlier interpretations based their 'readings' on the Assyrian way of writing the name of the Anatolian land

¹ An overview of the enormous amount of literature can be found in Cargill 1977; Rollinger 1993, 188–97; 2008, 56–57; Kokkinos 2009b, 1–2; Räthel 2015. Amélie Kuhrt also commented on this issue: Kuhrt 1988, 120, n. 62.

² Waerzeggers 2015, 96, 115–16.

³ Akkadian text according to Grayson 1975, 107.

⁴ English translation according to Grayson 1975, 107.

⁵ Grayson 1975, 282.

(*Lu-ud-du*) that was well known from the very beginning of the debate.⁶ However, Grayson discloses the fact that the 'traces are ambiguous' and argues further that 'such a reading is suggested by historical probability rather than any clear indication from the traces'. Reflecting on this matter it is crucial to show why the connection with Lydia was suggested in the first place. For that very reason those written sources which contain a date for Cyrus' victory over Croesus, have to be put under scrutiny. Hence, not only the above quoted text passage of the Nabonidus Chronicle will be discussed but also the Greek chronographic tradition.

Herodotus, one of the earliest and in any case most substantial Greek sources for Croesus' defeat, details the story of Croesus and informs about Cyrus the Great's conquest of Lydia with its capital Sardis. When exactly Herodotus (1. 86. 1) thought this to have happened, remains unclear.⁷ To be precise, Herodotus offers an elaborate relative chronology for the Mermnad dynasty of the Lydian kings, providing the length of each of the five Lydian kings' reigns from Gyges to Croesus.⁸ But he does not clarify the date of Croesus' defeat and thus the end of the Lydian dynasty any further. Even though numerous connections with primary sources of the Neo-Assyrian empire and Egypt exist,⁹ no sound absolute chronology can be established. The case of Gyges in the Neo-Assyrian sources gives an illustrating example: Prism A (ii 111–120) of Ashurbanipal's (669–631/27 BC) annals¹⁰ refers to Gyges' death though without providing a precise date. Therefore, the date of this text can only offer a *terminus ante quem*, namely before 645 or 643 BC.¹¹ Assuming that the other references to Gyges in Prism B (ii 86b–iii 4) and F (F ii 10–20) imply that Gyges was still alive then, these texts in turn provide a *terminus post quem*. Consequently, Gyges must have died between 645/3 BC and 649/8 BC¹² or 646/5 BC.¹³ For the sake of convenience modern scholars assume a date of about 645 BC for Gyges'

⁶ Bagg 2007, 158; Zadok 1985, 213; cf. also below n. 61.

⁷ Bichler 2004, 213.

⁸ Herodotus 1. 15. 1 (Gyges reigned 38 years); 1. 16. 1 (Ardys 49 years, Sadyattes 12 years); 1. 25. 1 (Alyattes 57 years); 1. 86. 1 (Croesus 14 years).

⁹ For example, Payne and Wintjes 2016, 120–21.

¹⁰ For an up-to-date transliteration and English translation, see the website of the RINAP project: <<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/rinap5/corpus>>.

¹¹ These dates can be inferred from the mention of the *limmu* official Šamaš-dāninani. As the *limmu* list of the Neo-Assyrian empire only stretches from 910 until 649 BC (Millard 1994), there is some uncertainty about the precise date of Šamaš-dāninani's office. A discussion of the exact date can be found in Cogan and Tadmor 1981, 230; Reade and Walker 1982, 120–22; Fuchs 2010, 421 (with the suggestions 644, 643 or 642 BC).

¹² Texts of the version B either name the *limmu* official Bēšunu or Aḫu-ilāya, which according to Millard (1994, 54, 62, 91) means 649 and 648 BC respectively.

¹³ Texts of Prism F all name the official Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu, who has been assigned either to the year 646 or 645 BC: Aynard 1957, 12–15; Fuchs 2010, 421.

death.¹⁴ Using Herodotus' information about the length of the reign of the other four Mermnad kings (132 years) the dynasty would have ended – at least in theory – in 513 BC! An apparently impossible result, as Cyrus only lived until 530 BC.¹⁵ Herodotus' numbers for the reigns of the Mermnad kings are obviously too high and have therefore been regarded critically concerning their historical value. These numbers are understood at least partially as constructs by Herodotus himself or his source(s).¹⁶ For that very reason, a combination of Herodotus' relative chronology of the Lydian kings together with the mentioned Lydian kings in primary Akkadian and Egyptian sources cannot form a methodologically sound basis for the absolute chronology of the Mermnad dynasty.¹⁷ New research on the Lydian coins of Croesus and his father Alyattes has opened the possibility to use archaeological contexts to date both regents according to the pottery chronology. As a result, new dates have been proposed, which assign Alyattes' reign a range from about 635 BC until shortly after 585 BC and date Croesus' ascension to the Lydian throne already in the 580s BC.¹⁸

Modern consensus on the date 547 BC for Croesus' defeat relies exclusively on Greek chronographic tradition¹⁹ that sets the event between 548 and 545 BC. The very fragmentary state of preservation poses a serious challenge when dealing with these texts.²⁰ The *Chronikoi Kanónes*²¹ of the Christian author Eusebius (3rd/4th century AD) serve as a sort of collecting basin for the otherwise lost chronographic works, but characteristically even his text from the early 4th century AD has not survived in its original Greek form. Two important transcripts above all offer, however, an important insight, namely the Latin copy of Jerome from the second half of the 4th century AD²² and the Armenian manuscript tradition from the 5th century AD.²³ Originally, Eusebius' Chronicle comprised two

¹⁴ *Contra* Kalaitzoglou 2008, 53–63.

¹⁵ Hinz 1983.

¹⁶ Busolt 1895, 458; Strasburger 1956, 143; Fehling 1985, 93–97; Ivantchik 1993, 109–11; Parker 1997, 63; Bichler 2004, 213; Haider 2004; Brehm 2013, 96; van Dongen 2013, 49; Wallace 2016, 169–72.

¹⁷ *Contra* Kalaitzoglou 2008, 41–65.

¹⁸ Dale 2015; Wallace 2016.

¹⁹ The most comprehensive study about ancient Greek chronography is still Mosshammer 1979. More recent contributions are Möller 1996; 2001; 2004a; 2004b; 2005; 2006; Panchenko 2000; Taylor 2000; Kōiv 2001; Christesen 2007; Feeney 2007; Kokkinos 2009a; 2009b; 2013.

²⁰ Mosshammer 1979, 97.

²¹ For the Chronicle of Eusebius, see Mosshammer 1979, 29–83; Croke 1982; Adler 1992; Burgess 1999, 21–109; Burgess and Kulikowski 2013, 119–26.

²² Helm 1956 is to be regarded as the standard edition.

²³ Karst's German translation from 1911 is still the best available means of access even though he does not provide the original Armenian text but only its German translation. Dating the Armenian manuscript tradition in the 5th century AD now seems to prevail (Christesen and Martirosova-Torlone

books. In the first, *Chronographia*, different lists of officials and kings were displayed separately and consecutively.²⁴ In the second book Eusebius synchronised the various lists of kings (*fila regnorum*) in table form and noted the historical events and persons in the according line, also named *spatium historicum*. There Eusebius placed the battle between Croesus and Cyrus right next to the row, where he listed the Olympiads, the years after Abraham and the reigns of various kings. Jerome²⁵ lists this entry in Ol. 58.1 (548/7 BC) and in the Armenian text tradition²⁶ the entry appears between Ol. 58.3 (AA 1470 / 546/5 BC) and Ol. 58.4 (AA 1471 / 545/4 BC). The minor difference of one year for the date of the fall of Sardis can be explained by the copying process of the manuscripts. A misplacement of the historical event by a single line would have had the consequence of shifting the date by a whole year. This also applies to the placement of the first Olympiad in the different text traditions of Eusebius: Jerome placed it 1241 years after Abraham (AA 1241), the Armenian version 1240 years thereafter (AA 1240).²⁷

Moreover, the dates provided by ancient Greek chronography are usually expressed with eponymous dates, such as the Attic archons and the Roman consuls, or with Olympiads in reference to the Olympic Games every fourth year in classical antiquity. Additionally, ancient authors and chronographers frequently relied on giving a time interval between a reference point, which could be the present or an episode in the historical or mythical past, and the event at hand. For better understanding, the dating method applied by ancient authors is normally rendered in BC/AD dates. The concept of eponymous dating obviously differs greatly from the modern comprehension of time and implies some challenges concerning absolute chronology. Ancient authors could, for example, name the same eponymous official for a given year, but nevertheless adduce differing time intervals between corresponding dates. This paradoxical situation is probably best known from the diverging chronologies of Varro (1st century BC) and Livy (1st century BC/AD) for the Roman past.²⁸ Thus, the inherent method of ancient chronography means that

2006, 45–48; Drost-Abgarjan 2006, 261), even though Karst (1911, XI–XII, LIV) proposed a significantly later date in the 8th century AD. A more recently made manuscript find has made a new edition essential, and this is currently in preparation (Drost-Abgarjan 2006).

²⁴ Codex pages in ancient Greek from the first book, hitherto preserved only in the Armenian text tradition, have become known in recent years. An edition of these pages is underway: Grusková 2013.

²⁵ Helm 1956, 103b^h.

²⁶ Karst 1911, 189.

²⁷ Mosshammer 1979, 80. For admittedly practical reasons, this one year difference has been ignored in the conversion into BC dates above, as it would seem impractical not to equate Ol. 1.1 with 776 BC. The reference to the years after Abraham is given in addition to avoid any confusion.

²⁸ Cornell 1995, 401–02.

a variation of a couple of years for the same historical event in different texts is to be expected. This applies even more so for the Greek Archaic period (*ca.* 800–500 BC), where ancient and modern scholars alike have difficulties providing a comprehensive chronology.²⁹

Besides Eusebius three further chronographic texts mention the date when Cyrus conquered the Lydian empire and its capital city Sardis, which shall be discussed briefly in chronological order.³⁰ The author of the Chronicle of Paros (3rd century BC), also called the Parian marble, applied the method of counting down the years until the Athenian (and Parian) archon of the year 264 BC. Additionally he named the Athenian archon to date each of the entries. In line A 42 the text mentions Croesus' defeat, but the interval is unfortunately broken off and a secure reconstruction has proven to be impossible.³¹ The only safe conclusion is that the author puts this event before Darius' seizure of power in 520/19 or 519/8 BC³² in line A 44, as the preceding line A 43 does not preserve the interval either. In the question of a precise date this inscription is, therefore, not helpful.

Apollodorus³³ (2nd century BC) seems to have used the date 547/6 or 546/5 BC, as can be inferred from the following information. According to him (*FGH* 244 F 28 *apud* Diogenes Laertius 1. 37–38), as Diogenes of Laertius (3rd century AD) reports, Thales of Milet was born in Ol. 35.1 (640/39 BC) and died in the 58th Olympiad (548/7–545/4 BC) at the age of 78 years. The relevant information concerns the additional detail that Thales was a contemporary of Croesus, whom he advised to cross the Halys river by diverting its course. Hence, the date of Thales' death is used to date the end of Croesus' reign, which ended not long after Croesus decided to cross the Halys. However, as is common in

²⁹ A notorious example of the difficulties connected with the chronology of the Greek Archaic period are the highly diverging dates for Pheidon of Argos in antiquity, which translate as belonging to a range from the 9th to the early 6th century BC: Köiv 2000; 2001.

³⁰ In the following, only the most crucial chronographic texts are treated and especially those which in our opinion can provide clues towards determining an absolute date. See however the more sceptical view of Tuplin: 'The essential point to grasp is that the only surviving text from this tradition to give a precise date for the fall of Sardis (Jerome's version of Eusebius' Chronicle) puts it in Olympiad 58.1 = 548/7 and that all other statements about Greek chronographers' views on the matter are the result of speculative attempts to make sense of numerically and substantively conflicting data' (Tuplin 2010, commentary *BNJ* 691 F 1).

³¹ For the year 541/40 BC, see the highly influential, but rather problematic, supplement by Jacoby (1904a, 13, 171).

³² The name of the Athenian archon of this line is not preserved. As the *Marmor Parium* applies inclusive and exclusive counting methods (Jacoby 1904b, 82–84; Rotstein 2016, 2), it remains unclear which exact year has to be assumed here.

³³ For Apollodorus' chronicle, see Jacoby 1902; Pfeiffer 1968, 253–57; Dorandi 1982; Montanari 1996; Christesen 2007, 13; Feeney 2007, 19–20; Burgess and Kulikowski 2013, 87–88.

chronographic texts, the maths does not add up with the aforementioned numbers.³⁴ In order to maintain the information about the death of Thales in the 58th Olympiad and the old age of supposed 78 years, Thales' year of birth must be assumed not to have fallen in Ol. 35.1 (640/39 BC) but in Ol. 39.1 (624/3 BC).³⁵ Depending on whether one applies inclusive or exclusive reckoning³⁶ Apollodorus appears to imply a date of 547/6 (Ol. 58.2) or 546/5 BC (Ol. 58.3) for the fall of Sardis.

The *Chronicon Romanum*³⁷ is a miniature chronicle inscribed on limestone under the reign of the emperor Tiberius (AD 14–37). In analogy to the *Marmor Parium*, this text reports events from the Roman and Greek past with intervals. Its starting point AD 15/16, however, is not directly explained in the preserved part, but has to be inferred from the information about Sulla's military campaigns.³⁸ The chronicle mentions the start³⁹ and end of Croesus' reign⁴⁰ alike, but in both lines the numbers of the interval are missing. Fortunately, the Getty table,⁴¹ which is also called the Vasek Polak Chronicle, is better preserved. Scholars assume that the same workshop produced both miniature chronicles, as they exhibit strong parallels.⁴² Thus, one hypothesises that the intervals of the Getty table refer to the same starting point in AD 15/16. Given this assumption, the 561 years from Croesus' defeat until the 'present'⁴³ imply a date 546/5 BC for the end of Croesus' reign. Sextus Julius Africanus (2nd/3rd century AD) placed the end of Croesus' reign in the 58th Olympiad (548/7–545/4 BC).⁴⁴

³⁴ In many chronographic lists the numbers appear faulty, for example those in the classical tradition about the Assyrian kings: Rollinger 2011, 323, n. 44.

³⁵ Mosshammer 1979, 256–57; Kokkinos 2009b, 3–4.

³⁶ Hellenistic chronographers used both inclusive and exclusive reckoning, but no theoretical treatise has survived. In general, only additional information provides insight which of the two methods is the most likely in each case.

³⁷ For the *Chronicon Romanum*, see IG XIV 1297 = FGH I BNJ 252 (the parallel text of the Getty table was unknown to Jacoby but is included in *Brill's New Jacoby*); Burgess and Kulikowski 2013, 309–10 (English translation); Rotstein 2016, 59–60 (Greek text with English translation). General information about the *Tabulae Iliacae* is provided by Squire 2011.

³⁸ Jahn 1873, 79.

³⁹ BNJ 252 F 3.

⁴⁰ BNJ 252 F 6.

⁴¹ BNJ 252; Burstein 1984; SEG 33 802; Rotstein 2016, 61–62 (Greek text with English translation).

⁴² Burstein 1984, 157.

⁴³ BNJ 252 F 6a.

⁴⁴ Wallraff 2007, 182–85.

Table 1: Overview of the Greek chronographic tradition for the fall of Sardis.

Author	Date for Croesus' defeat
<i>Marmor Parium</i> (3rd century BC)	interval is broken off
Apollodorus (2nd century BC)	547/6 or 546/5 BC ⁴⁵
Getty table (1st century AD)	546/5 BC = 561 years until 'present' (AD 15/16)
Sextus Julius Africanus (2nd/3rd century AD)	548/7–545/4 BC
Jerome (4th century AD)	548/7 BC
Armenian tradition of Eusebius (5th century AD)	between 546/5 BC and 545/4 BC

Despite Herodotus being the closest in time to the historical event, he – contrary to later chronographers – did not provide an exact date. This aligns well with the general picture that, with the introduction of Olympiad dating, the chronology of 6th century BC Greece was only afterwards established with (pseudo-)precision.⁴⁶ As authors of the 5th and 4th century BC did not use such precise absolute dates, an exact chronology was established *post festum* by applying chronographic methods such as synchronisations as well as the *acme* and generation principle.⁴⁷ Therefore, it appears very likely that later authors created a precise date relying on Herodotus without having any additional primary information!⁴⁸ Worth mentioning is the fact that later chronographers provide a shorter time span for the Mermnad dynasty by roughly 20 years than Herodotus does.⁴⁹ This constitutes an interesting instance, because Hellenistic chronographers tend to provide higher dates for the Archaic period than their precursors.⁵⁰ Summing up the evidence of ancient Greek chronography for Croesus' defeat, it becomes obvious that, in Hellenistic times (and not earlier), there was some consensus around the traditional date 547/6 BC. However, we should not be persuaded solely by the neat accuracy of this precise date but rather see it as a result of the chronographic context with the necessary caution regarding its historical value.

Complementary to earlier discussions about the date of Croesus' defeat, modern scholars can also refer to archaeological research in the city of Sardis. There archaeologists have excavated a destruction layer with findings of military equipment and skeletons of soldiers killed in action, which they relate to the military campaign of

⁴⁵ Assuming that the death of Thales is to be synchronised with Croesus' defeat and that the confusion with the numbers can be sufficiently resolved.

⁴⁶ For the difficulties involved, see Shaw 2003.

⁴⁷ Fehling 1985. However, see Gehrke 1990, who argues for a possible higher reliability of later chronographic sources.

⁴⁸ Bichler 2004, 213, n. 23.

⁴⁹ An overview of the different sources with the reign lengths can be found in Kaletsch 1958, 2.

⁵⁰ For examples in the Parian marble, see Kellner 2017, 82–83.

Cyrus the Great against Croesus.⁵¹ According to archaeological methodology, the pottery sherds cannot point to an exact year for this event but rather provide a *terminus post quem*. Applying the conventional chronology,⁵² most Greek pottery of this destruction layer dates from around the middle of the 6th century BC and not a single piece belongs to a time after the 540s BC. No red-figure vases at all were found.⁵³ Hence, archaeology can only place the destruction roughly in (or shortly after) the decade of the 540s BC.⁵⁴

The Broken Toponym of the Nabonidus Chronicle obv. ii 16: A History of the Various 'Decipherments' and 'Readings', or How Modern Scholars Interpreted the Passage

Given the uncertainties of the chronology of Archaic Greece even in the 6th century BC,⁵⁵ scholars have pinned their hopes on possible cuneiform sources to precisely date Cyrus' victory over Croesus. Already shortly after the arrival of the Nabonidus Chronicle at the British Museum in 1879 Assyriologists were engaged with the content of the damaged line on the obverse ii 16 and the historical implications of its interpretation. The whole discussion focusses on the reading of the very fragmentary toponym, the target of Cyrus' military campaign in Nabonidus' ninth year (547 BC). Only the first sign – or depending on different opinions the first two signs – of the country's name is still visible on the tablet. Theophilus Pinches,⁵⁶ one of the first scholars to deal with the text, read IŠ,⁵⁷ without, however, attempting to restore the country's name. Immediately thereafter Floigl was the first to suggest the weighty connection with Sardis, trying to substantiate the Greek chronological date 547 BC. He referred to the then usual reading Isparda for Sardis in the Bisutun inscription of Darius.⁵⁸ To our knowledge Floigl did not collate the tablet, but he exclusively relied on the reading suggested previously by Pinches,

⁵¹ Greenewalt 1992; 1997; Cahill 2010. Snodgrass (1983; 1985) terms the seemingly unproblematic combination of historical and archaeological sources 'positivist fallacy' and hence calls for caution in this regard.

⁵² For a theoretical consideration of a lower absolute chronology for the Greek pottery, which Francis and Vickers have suggested, see Cahill and Kroll 2005, 602–03.

⁵³ For an overview of the Greek pottery in connection with the destruction layer, see Greenewalt 1992, 254–55, n. 15; Cahill and Kroll 2005, 599–604, 607, 607, 611. For the imported Greek pottery in Sardis in general, see Schaeffer *et al.* 1997.

⁵⁴ Cahill and Kroll 2005, 605; Greenewalt 2010, 11, 18, 24.

⁵⁵ For example, Ehrhardt 1992.

⁵⁶ Pinches 1882, 142, 159 (he had given the lecture in 1880).

⁵⁷ The indexes of the cuneiform signs were slightly different at this time. For this reason Pinches actually named the sign IS, which is nowadays read as IŠ or ÍS.

⁵⁸ Floigl 1881, 125, n. 1.

who did not make the connection with Lydia and Sardis. In 1894 Hagen published a new edition of the Nabonidus Chronicle, where he frankly stated that the country's name was damaged. In a footnote, he brought forward the suggested reading SU.⁵⁹ A little later, in 1898, Lehmann-Haupt⁶⁰ started a new attempt to verify Lydia as the aim of Cyrus' military campaign in 547 BC. After reading Hagen's edition Lehmann-Haupt asked the curator of the cuneiform collection in the British Museum, Theophilus Pinches, whether the fragmentary sign could be linked with Lydia. Lehmann-Haupt assumed the country's name to have been written *Lu-ud-di* according to Neo-Assyrian standards that were just drawn from already published inscriptions of Ashurbanipal.⁶¹ Pinches passed the information to Lehmann-Haupt that after having checked the relevant signs multiple times, he could read LU with certainty. Moreover, he now claimed even to be able to distinguish a further sign, i.e. a very fragmentary UD. Thus, only after knowing what should have been read, the desired evidence was finally found! Lehmann-Haupt⁶² expressed his view in a handful of articles, which led to the establishment of the *opinio communis* in scholarship that Croesus' reign ended in 547 BC and that this was now definitely proven by a Babylonian Chronicle.

Before continuing the discussion of the text passage in question, two important points should be underlined. First of all, the different readings suggested by various scholars exhibit clearly how difficult it is to read the fragmentary sign with certainty. Second, the reconstructions of the country's name are deeply intertwined with the information gained from Greek sources and the interpretation of the historical context.

The reading LU of the sign at the damaged end of line obv. ii 16 of the Nabonidus Chronicle was never entirely undisputed: already in 1915 Hüsing⁶³ launched the possibility that Cyrus' military campaign targeted Urartu and hence opted for the reading Ú⁶⁴ of the damaged sign. In *Babylonian Historical Texts Relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon* (1924) Smith also provided a copy of the whole

⁵⁹ Hagen 1894, 219, n. 82. According to Cargill (1977, 100) the drawing of the Nabonidus Chronicle in Hagen's publication was made by Friedrich Delitzsch, who wrote the addenda to Hagen's contribution.

⁶⁰ Lehmann 1898.

⁶¹ Lydia (^{kur}*Lu-ud-di*) is mentioned in eight passages in Ashurbanipal's inscriptions. See the preliminary on-line edition of RINAP 5: <<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/rinap5/pager>>. Cf. also Bagg 2007, 158. Lehmann-Haupt could not rely on a standard publication, where the different writings of the name of Lydia were given according to Babylonian sources. See Zadok 1985, 213, where the few attestations write the toponym as *lu-ú-dula*.

⁶² Lehmann 1902, 344; Lehmann-Haupt 1921, 113–14; 1929, 123–25.

⁶³ Hüsing 1915, 178.

⁶⁴ Hüsing writes U, but this can only refer to the sign Ú.

tablet. Similar to Grayson's above-mentioned statement, Smith confirmed that 'the name of the land probably begins *Lu ...*'.⁶⁵ Smith only had to refer to the established 'fact' that Cyrus marched against Croesus in 547 BC to make his reading more plausible. A look at Smith's copy, however, highlights the problem of this sort of argument, as the corresponding sign does not exhibit the shape of LU.⁶⁶ König⁶⁷ on the other hand followed Hagen's suggestion to read SU and did not attempt an interpretation, but refused a connection with Lydia on historical grounds.

Amendments of the suggested readings were repeatedly made: Smith, for example, changed his opinion 20 years after his original publication about the Nabonidus Chronicle, but nevertheless insisted upon the connection with Lydia. Instead of LU he now read IŠ, even though in his opinion LU was not entirely impossible.⁶⁸ Lambert and Sachs also collated the tablet with the result ZU-x[...],⁶⁹ but in 2010 Lambert changed his opinion in favour of LU.⁷⁰ In 1977 Cargill⁷¹ demonstrated the serious problems associated with this text passage and concluded that it cannot provide any evidence for the fall of Sardis; Kuhrt⁷² and Schaudig⁷³ later reached a similar conclusion.

More recent collations appeared to establish a nearing consensus with the reading Ú and the possible interpretation Urartu, as Oelsner⁷⁴ and Waters⁷⁵ have both argued for a clearly visible Ú sign. Since then other scholars have followed their suggestion.⁷⁶ However, in a further collation Finkel⁷⁷ now excluded the possibility of reading Ú and SU/ZU. Furthermore, he remarked that even the sign KUR is written differently from usual. Glassner obviously agreed with this, as he opted for the reading ^{<kur>}*Lú-ú-[dī]*,⁷⁸ otherwise unattested for Lydia. The new edition of the Babylonian Chronicles by Finkel and van der Spek also appears to return

⁶⁵ Smith 1924, 101.

⁶⁶ Already pointed out by Oelsner 1999–2000, 379.

⁶⁷ König 1931, 180–81.

⁶⁸ Smith 1944, 36, 135, n. 74.

⁶⁹ Grayson 1975, 282.

⁷⁰ Lambert's collation is mentioned by Zawadzki 2010, 147, n. 27.

⁷¹ Cargill 1977.

⁷² Kuhrt 1988, 120, n. 62.

⁷³ Schaudig 2001, 25, n. 108.

⁷⁴ Oelsner 1999–2000, 379.

⁷⁵ Personal information quoted by Rollinger 2008, 56.

⁷⁶ Haider 2004, 86; Stronach 2007, 165; Rollinger 2008, 56–57; Kokkinos 2009b, 19; Cahill 2010, 344; Marek 2010, 155, 189; van Dongen 2013, 49.

⁷⁷ Finkel's statement about his collation is quoted by Zawadzki 2010, 147, n. 27.

⁷⁸ Glassner 2004, 236. To the best of our knowledge, Glassner is the only one who suggests this particular reading.

to the reading LU for Lydia,⁷⁹ as a statement of van der Spek reveals. Van der Spek reported once more a collation of the chronicle by himself, Mark Geller, Irving Finkel and Stefan Zawadzki in 2013. Their unison conclusion was that the sign is to be read as LU and that Ū should be regarded as impossible.⁸⁰ Therefore, van der Spek proposed the reading KUR *Lu-ú*-[du GI]N for the end of line obv. ii 16. This immediately became a ‘fact’ in further scholarly discussions.⁸¹

What remains from an exclusively palaeographic point of view is the fact that the crucial sign obviously proves very difficult to be read, which is not only caused by its fragmentary state but also by its placement on the edge of the tablet. Finkel⁸² at one point even suggested that Assyriologists would never have dared a confident reconstruction of the broken toponym, if it were not for the link with Herodotus, as the traces of the sign are just too fragmentary.⁸³ The different and repeatedly changed opinions of various scholars should probably serve as a warning against identifying the sign with too much certainty, even more so as this tiny fragment implicates far-reaching historical conclusions. In Fig. 1 (below), the various suggested readings and respective signs are shown. As the line is so central for the history of Anatolia and the Near East in the 6th century BC a new collation was undertaken by Angelika Kellner.⁸⁴ As the picture of the relevant passage of the tablet demonstrates (Fig. 2), in our opinion a ‘definite’ conclusion on how to read the sign is simply not possible. From all the suggestions brought forward we would tend to exclude the reading of the sign as IŠ. However – and this is equally important to note – to the best of our knowledge no secure reading can be inferred.

⁷⁹ Selim Adalı has also personally checked the sign on the tablet and concluded that it is to be identified as LU in 2014: Payne and Wintjes 2016, 14, n. 6.

⁸⁰ van der Spek 2014, 256, n. 184: ‘On March 12, 2013, I collated the tablet together with Mark Geller, Irving Finkel, and Stefan Zawadzki, and we all agreed that the reading *Lu* is by far the most acceptable reading, while *ú* is impossible.’ Note, however, that Rocío Da Riva was also present at this occasion, although she is not mentioned by van der Spek. She writes in an e-mail of 21 November 2016 to RR: ‘Ich war im BM als Bert [van der Spek] die Tafel kollationiert hat, und er hat mich natürlich auch gefragt, was ich dort sah/las, M. Geller war auch dabei, und auch I. Finkel. Wir 4 [scil. van der Spek, Geller, Finkel und Da Riva] haben die Tafel ganz, ganz genau angeguckt und: Bert und Mark sahen LU, ich sah eher Ū, und Irving sah beides.’ And in an e-mail from 22 November 2016 to RR she adds: ‘Ich hatte damals auch die Tafel kollationiert, mE ist Ū ‘not impossible’. Aber das bedeutet nicht, dass man *ú*-[*rash-tu*] zwangsläufig lesen muss, oder?’ Van der Spek’s affirmative reference to Stefan Zawadzki is obviously due to a confusion since he, in the very same note, refers to Zawadzki 2010, 147, n. 27, and earlier collations by W.F. Lambert and I. Finkel (cf. above nn. 70 and 77). In any event, the claim that the reading Ū ‘is impossible’ hardly appears to be tenable.

⁸¹ Rung 2015, 8, n. 3; Thonemann 2016, 152 with n. 1; Wallace 2016, 168 with n. 1.

⁸² Finkel’s statement is quoted by Zawadzki 2010, 147, n. 27.

⁸³ See Rollinger 1993, 190.

⁸⁴ We would like to thank the Curators of the British Museum for granting access to the tablet.

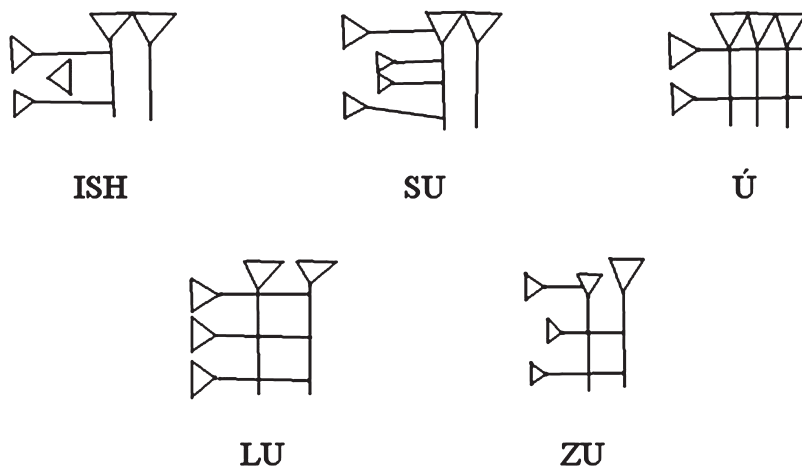


Fig. 1: Overview of the various signs suggested for the broken toponym.



Fig. 2: Detail from the Nabonidus Chronicle obv. ii 16 (© Trustees of the British Museum).
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Thus placing the campaign of Cyrus the Great against Croesus in the year 547 BC exclusively on the evidence of the Nabonidus Chronicle is neither sound nor definite proof. Only contextualising the information of the Tigris crossing and scrutinising the historical context independently from the problematic Greek chronographic traditions can lead to new insights.

Contextualising the Evidence of the Nabonidus Chronicle obv. ii 15–18

Let us return to the informations we gain from the Nabonidus Chronicle.⁸⁵ There it is stated that Cyrus (II) of Parsu mustered his army and crossed the Tigris downstream from Arbēla and, in the month of Iyyar, [march]ed to X [???]. He defeated its king (or: put its king to death), seized its possessions, [and] set up his own garrison [there]. After that, the king and his garrison resided there.⁸⁶

Contextualising this evidence can be achieved in two complementary ways. First, we will analyse the geographical perspective of the passage itself. Afterwards we will place this analysis in a larger framework that takes into consideration campaigns in the very same geographical regions.

The Geographical Perspective of Nabonidus Chronicle obv. ii 15–18

The document's geographical perspective immediately reveals an important dimension of argument, although this crucial point is generally all but totally ignored, for the alleged statement that Cyrus crossed the Tigris and marched towards Lydia is very difficult to explain. According to google maps, the distance between Erbil and Sardis is 1739 km, calculating the shortest route through upper Mesopotamia crossing the Euphrates at Birecik and continuing via Gaziantep to the west. However, Cyrus could not have taken this short route, for most of the area was, at least at that time, controlled by the Babylonians.⁸⁷ If the reading Lu-[???] is supposed to be correct, he must have taken a route via eastern Anatolia that was about 2000 km in length. This is slightly less than the distance between Cologne and Moscow (about 2300 km). From this perspective, such an interpretation becomes hardly tenable. It is as if a 19th-century Central European source on Napoleon's campaign against Russia had described the event as follows: 'The French emperor crossed the Rhine below Cologne and marched against Moscow.' Additionally, one has to stress that the perception of space is not an absolute value: 2300 km was a much larger distance in Cyrus' times, when Lydia was perceived to be at the western fringes of the world. Lydia is therefore not

⁸⁵ For more details, see Rollinger 1993, 188–97.

⁸⁶ Nabonidus Chronicle ii 15–18; Grayson 1975, 107.

⁸⁷ Jursa 2003; Rollinger 2003.

really an attractive option for the reconstruction of the toponym. What is clear is that Cyrus marched against a still independent country in the immediate reach of a route along the Tigris. If we want to identify this country as well as the region that might have been the ultimate goal of Cyrus' campaign we have to decode the meaning of Cyrus' river crossing. Apparently for a Babylonian reader of the text the crossing as well as the route along the Tigris were somehow connected with the region that marked the goal of Cyrus' campaign. It is this kind of mental map we will have to have a closer look now.

The Larger Context: Campaigning from the Tigris to the North

As has been demonstrated earlier we know that after the fall of the Assyrian empire the Assyrian heartland was under firm Babylonian control until 539 BC.⁸⁸ It is also worth recalling that considerable parts of the north-eastern Tigris region around Arrapha were part of the Babylonian empire as well. This is important, for it explains, why an otherwise insignificant detail, i.e. the crossing of the Tigris was recorded at all by the Babylonian Chronicle: *Cyrus crossed the Tigris downstream from Arbēla*. The obvious answer is that every Babylonian knew that it was by this route that Cyrus passed through Babylonian territory. But is there anything further we can learn from this passage?

Immediately after the crossing of the river the chronicle reports the goal of Cyrus campaign. From this we may deduce with a high degree of probability that the country and object of Cyrus' campaign was either not too far away from the crossing point or that the combination of the given toponyms, i.e. the Tigris valley and name of the relevant country, immediately referred to a well-known mental map that was well aware of an established route connecting these toponyms. And indeed we do have evidence for such a combination from Neo-Assyrian to Neo-Babylonian and Persian-Achaemenid times. Karen Radner has shown that in order to get from the Assyrian heartland to eastern Anatolia the route along the Tigris is best avoided because of the extremely rough and mountainous terrain. Therefore the Upper Tigris region is most directly and most easily reached by crossing over the Ṭūr 'Abdīn mountain range.⁸⁹ Since the Tigris valley itself offers no easy passage,⁹⁰ two routes west of the Tigris which both lead to the southern and south-eastern piedmont of the Ṭūr 'Abdīn (Mazı Daiları) are much better suited. From these two and their different branches,⁹¹ however, the closest and most easily accessible one enters the Ṭūr 'Abdīn directly from the south-east. There the gentle slopes of the basalt ranges

⁸⁸ Cf. Rollinger 2008.

⁸⁹ Radner 2006.

⁹⁰ See now also Comfort and Marciak 2018, 3, 7.

⁹¹ For other routes cf. Rollinger 2008.

offer fairly easy access to the plateau of the Anatolian highland. This route starting from the Tigris valley of the Assyrian heartland passed the Sufan Çay plain and continued via Midyāt and Savur to the regions of the Upper Tigris.⁹² From the time of Adad-nērārī I (1300–1270 BC) onwards it was used again and again by Assyrian armies. One of the best documented itineraries is the fifth campaign of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 BC) in 879 BC as it is related in his Annals. It starts from Tillê (Tiluli) in Katmuḥḥu and heads forward via Ba Sebrina/Haberli (pass of Iṣtarāte) and Kīvakh (Kibaki) to Midyāt (Matiātu) from where it continues via Savur (Šūru) to the Upper Tigris region. Since the campaign of 882 starts from the source of the River Supnat which can safely be equated with the Sufan Çay it is evident that also the campaign of 879 started from the Sufan Çay plain.⁹³ One of the regions mentioned in these contexts many times is Izalla that has to be located between Nusaybin and İdil/Asakh and may be equated with the Dibek Dağı, an area where the limestone is coated by a layer of basalt from the long extinct volcano of Alem (Elim) Dağı in the vicinity of the source of the Sufan Çay.⁹⁴ This evidence can be compared with what we know from the Babylonian Chronicles about the campaigns of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar in eastern Anatolia in the years after the fall of the Assyrian empire. There it is not only Izalla that appears to be one of the stage goals of the Babylonian army but also the ‘region of Urartu’ (*pīḫāt*^{uru} *Uraštu*) as one of its final objects. This applies for the year 609 BC, when Nabopolassar led his troops to the north on an operation towards the region of Izalla and as far as the ‘region of Urartu (*pīḫāt*^{uru} *Uraštu*).⁹⁵ The same is true for the following two years, when the Babylonian army operated again ‘in the region of Urartu (*pīḫāt*^{kur} *Uraštu*)’. Whereas, for the year 607 BC, Chronicle 4 offers only a very short note with no clear indication about the army’s final destination,⁹⁶ the same document reports an intriguing piece of information for the preceding year 608 BC:

⁹² Cf. now also Comfort and Marciak 2018, 36.

⁹³ Cf. Liverani 1992, 57–62 with fig. 6; Radner 2006.

⁹⁴ Radner 2006, 293. See also Bagg 2017, 263–65. The source of the Sufan Çay (Supnat) is situated at Babil ca. 26 km south-west of Cizre.

⁹⁵ Chronicle 3, ll. 70–74: ⁷⁰LUGAL URI^{ki} *ana re-šu-ut ÉRIN*^{mc}-*šú DU-ma šal-tú* [*ul DÚ*^{us} *ana kur*]-*za-al-la i-li-ma* ⁷¹URU^{mc} *ša KUR*^{mc} *ma-a-du-tú* [...]-*šú-nu ina IZI iš-ru-up* ⁷²*ina UD-mi-šú-ma ÉRIN*^{mc} [*ša* ...] EN *pi-ḫat*^{uru} *U-ra-dš-tu* ⁷³[D]U *ina KUR*(?) [...]^{mc}-*šú-nu iḫ-tab-tu*. ⁷⁴*šu-lu-tu ša* LUGAL [... *ina ša-šú ú-še-lu is-su*]-*hu-nim-ma* ⁷⁵*ana*^{uru} [...] *i-lu-ú*. The king of Akkad came to the aid of his troops, but [did not join(?)] battle. He went up [to I]zalla and he set fire to the [...] in many mountain localities. At this time the troops of [(?) ... m]oved as far as the region of Urartu. In [...] they pillaged their [...] They drove out the garrison that the king of [.. had set up there] and went up to [...]. Cf. Grayson 1975; Glassner 2004; Rollinger 2008.

⁹⁶ Chronicle 4, l. 11: ... *iḫ-[tab]-ta* EN *pi-ḫat*^{kur} [*U-ra-dš-tú*(?) *gi-mi*]^r KUR^{mc} *ik-šu-ud*. ... He [i.e. Nabopolassar] conquered [all] of the mountains as far as the region of [Urartu(?)]. See Grayson 1975; Glassner 2004; Rollinger 2008. But cf. Reade 2003, who proposes to read ... EN *pi-ḫat*

The eighteenth year (of the reign) of Nabopolassar [*ca.* 608 BC], in the month of Elul, the king of Akkad mustered his troops, moved along the bank of the Tigris, climbed the mountain of Bit-Ḥanūniya, a region of Urartu, burned and pillaged towns. In the month of Ṭebeth, the king of Akkad returned to his own country.⁹⁷

Here it is clearly stated that the campaign started at the bank of the Tigris (GÚ ^{id}IDIGNA). However the army followed the river valley only for a certain distance from where it entered the Ṭūr 'Abdīn mountain range (Bit Ḥanūniya) to continue its way to the 'region of Urartu' (*pīḫāt Uraštu*). Thus this source not only testifies that the Babylonian army followed in the footsteps of its Assyrian predecessors by choosing the old and fairly easily passable approaches to the Upper Tigris region. Moreover it proves the existence of a mental map that clearly connected the Tigris region of the Assyrian heartland with the regions of Urartu when referring to a military campaign from south to north. Apparently the most convenient way to reach this 'region of Urartu' was to start out somewhere to the west of the Tigris in the plain of the Sufan Çay and to cross the Ṭūr 'Abdīn by approaching it from the south-east. This route can be documented for about half a millennium; it was the one taken by the Assyrian kings and later by the Babylonian army. Moreover, with a high degree of probability, its ongoing relevance can also be demonstrated in the decades following Cyrus' reign.

When the Babylonian version of the Behistun inscription (DB) deals with the revolts of the first year of Darius' reign in eastern Anatolia (DB §§ 26–30) it talks about fierce resistance in 'Uraštu'.⁹⁸ Darius dispatched his generals Dadaršiš and Omises who had to fight three and two battles, respectively, until they finally quelled the rebellion. The locales where these actions took place are named in DB but we are able to identify only one place name with certainty: Izalla, where Omises fought the last and decisive battle against the Urartians/Armenians (DB § 29) – significantly the same place where about 90 years earlier Nabopolassar fought and from where the Assyrian kings preferred to approach the Ṭūr 'Abdīn. Although we do not know from where the Persians started their military campaigns against Urartu/Armenia it is very probable that this was the Assyrian heartland as it happened in the preceding periods.

tam-tim', '...as far as to the district of the sea (Lake Van)'. He also suggests restoring l. 7 KUR. *za-tu-rī*, Zaduri in the Upper Tigris.

⁹⁷ ¹MU 18^{kām} dAG.IBILA.ŪRĪ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱKIN LUGAL URĪ^{ki} ÉRIN^{mc}-šú *id-ke-e-ma* ²GÚ ^{id}IDIGNA UŠ-ma ana KUR-i šá É-¹Ḥa-nu-ni-ia ³pī-ḫat^{kur} Ū-ra-āš-tu i-lī-ma URU^{mc} *ina* IZI iš-ru-up ⁴ḫu-bu-ut-su-nu ma-diš iḫ-tab-ta *ina* ⁱⁱⁱAB LUGAL URĪ^{ki} ana KUR-šú GUR-ra.

⁹⁸ The Old Persian and Elamite versions of DB have, as equivalent for the Babylonian Uraštu, the toponym Armenia (Old Persian: 'Armina'; Elamite: 'Ḥarminuya'), which appears here for the first time.

This of course touches the question what ‘Uraštu’ in the Babylonian Chronicles actually referred to. Was it just a region or did the term also bear political connotations? To be clear, it is not possible to answer this question definitely. The Babylonian phraseology *pīḫāt Uraštu* (region of Urartu) appears to imply that it is not anymore the former unified kingdom of the 7th century that the Babylonian armies invaded. Indeed, written sources from Urartu come to an end in the forties of the 7th century BC.⁹⁹ This looks very much like as if the Urartian kingdom as it is known from the 9th century onwards did not exist anymore. However, this must not mean that the region was ruled by external powers. One could even take the Babylonian terminology *pīḫāt Uraštu* as indication for the existence of some form of local rule, maybe in a politically fragmented landscape. Also the evidence from the Bisitun inscription appears to imply the survival of remnants of a local consciousness of political independence. This is however only possible if some form of political independence still existed from the second half of the 7th through the first half of the 6th century BC. There is further indirect evidence for this.

We know that Darius I and Xerxes set up inscriptions not only in their favourite residences, like Persepolis and Susa, but also in residences of those former political entities that were conquered by Cyrus and in which the early Achaemenids presented themselves as true and legitimate successors of their Teispid predecessors.¹⁰⁰ This is true for Hamadan and Babylon, but also for Van. The inscription placed at a steep rocky flank of the former Urartian capital was obviously tremendously important, for Xerxes explicitly mentions that his father Darius already intended its construction, but only he was able to achieve this. The inscription only makes sense, however, if the choice of the location commemorates the former capital of a substantial political entity that ended through Teispid conquest. Of course, there is still the question of a Median presence in this area. This is especially due to Herodotus’ testimony that the Medes and the Lydians met at the River Halys (Kızılırmak) to forge an alliance during an eclipse generally dated to 585 BC. Although many historians still treat Herodotus as a sourcebook, simply used like a quarry to rephrase history, in recent years it has become increasingly clear that he has to be dealt with as a literary work completed during the Peloponnesian War, presenting a view on the past, first and foremost, through a Greek lens of around 420 BC.¹⁰¹ In his *Histories* he skilfully elaborates ancient Near Eastern history as a sequence of empires, where empire is modelled according to the perception of the Persian-Achaemenid empire of Herodotus’ own time.¹⁰² However, Herodotus’ Lydian-Median ‘border’

⁹⁹ Cf. the various contributions in Kroll *et al.* 2012. See also Stronach 2012; 2018.

¹⁰⁰ Rollinger 2015, 118–20.

¹⁰¹ Cf., for example, the various contributions in Harrison and Irwin 2018.

¹⁰² Bichler 2000; Rollinger *et al.* 2011.

at the Halys looks very much like a Greek construction of the 5th century to organise ancient Near Eastern history according to a line of succeeding and well defined empires with fixed borders and clear cut historical structures.¹⁰³ In order to prove such a construction of a frontier line it is bound to a legendary story. This is exactly the 'historical' context for localising the Median-Lyidian treaty at the Halys and for the famous story about Thales, the sage who allegedly predicted an eclipse of the sun that brought Median-Lyidian strife to an end.¹⁰⁴ The Medes might have campaigned through Anatolia for a very brief period of time, and they may indeed have concluded a treaty with the Lydians, but there was no permanent Median control of eastern – let alone central – Anatolia in the 6th century BC. Thus, in its last stages the Urartian kingdom may have become disintegrated and fragmented. The monarchy unifying all parts of the country may have disappeared in the second half of the 7th century BC.¹⁰⁵ The evidence of the Babylonian Chronicles fits perfectly into such a scenario. Also the testimony of the Bisitun inscription as well as Xerxes' Van inscription can be adduced as additional arguments for such a historical reconstruction. This does not exclude the possibility of some kind of Median supremacy or overlordship in eastern Anatolia, but if so, it existed only for a very short period of time.

Against this backdrop the evidence of the Nabonidus Chronicle also gains momentum. We do not claim that the reading \dot{U} of the toponym obv. ii 16 is the only possible solution. We also do not claim that this reading is the basis for our historical construction. We do however claim that the first sign of the toponym cannot be definitely identified and that it is impossible to come to a definite decision between the two most probable readings, i.e. either LU or \dot{U} . Such an allegation would be untrustworthy. However, as far as we can see, with the reading LU it is impossible to offer a plausible historical reconstruction of the events involved. This does neither fit to the mental map as it can be reconstructed from the chronicle itself nor to a broader historical context. In contrast, the reading \dot{U} offers the paths for a very plausible historical reconstruction if the toponym is reconstructed as \dot{u} -[*raš-tu*]. To be clear, this is still a hypothesis, but we think it is the most convincing and plausible one based on the sources so far available.

¹⁰³ Rollinger 2003; Stronach 2012; 2018.

¹⁰⁴ See also Lanfranchi 2000.

¹⁰⁵ See also Stronach 2007; 2012; 2018. An important observation is still that of Stronach 2007, 170: 'If Sardis had been the main target of Cyrus' campaign of 547, it is difficult to suppose that Croesus, the last king of Lydia (and the reputed brother-in-law of Astyages) would not have been mentioned by name and that both his dazzling capital and his vaunted treasures would not have earned at least similar notice to that extended to the possessions of Astyages (scil. Nabonidus Chronicle ii 1–4; Grayson 1975, 106)'.

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SOPHYTOS, A GREEK NAME FOR AN ENIGMATIC RULER: A REAPPRAISAL OF AN ONOMASTIC ISSUE*

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Abstract

The Bactrian coins minted with the name of Sophytos have proved to be a true puzzle for researchers into Hellenistic Central Asia. The identification of the personage and the reconstruction of his historical context largely depend on the interpretation of the name and of the few elements present in the coinage. Traditionally, the name Sophytos has been considered non Greek in origin. However, a critical linguistic analysis both of the name and of some epigraphic evidence never before considered points to the fact that the current paradigm is worth reconsidering.

One of the most mysterious figures in the already obscure history of the Hellenistic Far East can be found under the name of Sophytos.¹ His existence is only known through the mention of this name in the genitive form ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ, without a title, in the legend found on a series of coins of differing weights and values – tetradrachmae, didrachmae, drachmae, hemidrachmae, diobols and obols – discovered since the mid-19th century in different points around Central Asia.² Regarding the iconography, there are basically two series. The first of them shows a portrait of a man wearing an Attic helmet on the obverse, while the reverse shows a rooster, a small caduceus and the legend ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ (Fig. 1). The second kind shows the

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¹ Regarding the reconstruction of the nominative form in -τοϛ, compared with the traditional -τηϛ, see below.

² The first publication of one of these coins can be found in Cunningham 1866. That coin had been acquired from the merchants of Rawalpindi (Punjab) (see Whitehead 1943, 65–66). In the early 20th century, Dressel (1904, 89, pl. 4.7) published a new piece that was a smaller denomination (a trihemionbol). By the second half of the 20th century, more pieces began to emerge both from excavations (for example at Ai-Khanoum) and in the coin market and private collections. A catalogue of coins with bibliography about them can be found in Bernard *et al.* 2004, 282, n. 126. However, as Bernard there points out, there are still some coins unpublished in private collections (*cf.* *RNAC* 2017, 119–21).

head of Athena wearing a Corinthian helmet on the obverse, with the same reverse (Fig. 2).³

The group of coins so far discovered allows us to establish an approximate date and place where they were minted. Based on their weight and style pattern, these coins have been associated with the output of a workshop whose main issues were represented by the imitations of Athenian Owls and by another series of coins where the owl was replaced by an eagle in the last quarter of the 4th century in the province of Bactria-Sogdiana (Figs. 3, 4). They have numerous iconographic similarities, such as the complex silhouette of the owl, that of the eagle or that of the rooster and the symbol of the caduceus, which can be found on the coins of Sophytos and on the eagle coins, as well as the signature ΣΤΑ-MNA or simply MNA to the right on the pseudo-Athenian coins, which also accompany the portrait of Sophytos.⁴ Judging by the dispersion of the coins from this workshop, it must have been located in the north of Hindukush, in Bactria, perhaps in its capital, Bactra.

Regarding dates, they were minted after Alexander the Great, since the head of Athena wearing the Corinthian helmet found on some coins is clearly inspired by the Athena who appears on his staters and those of the Successors (Fig. 5). More specifically, the coins bearing the portrait of Sophytos must date from later than 307–303 BC. These pieces imitate the iconography of the coins issued by Seleucus I in Susa and other workshops in the East, which were minted to commemorate the conquest of the Upper Satrapies in 307–303 BC, which for the first time bear the portrait of a Hellenistic ruler wearing a helmet (Fig. 6). Furthermore, the detail of the chinstraps of the helmet in the portrait of Sophytos on the coins is similar to the kind worn by Seleucus.⁵ This imitation of the style and details may also reveal a relationship between the two historical figures, as we shall discuss below.⁶

³ In 2005, Bopearachchi published two new coins that offer a variation to these types – a silver tetradrachm (Fig. 7) and a gold stater (Fig. 8) (see Bopearachchi 2005; Bopearachchi and Flandrin 2005, 196–201; cf. *RNAC* 2017, 119, for a second example of the tetradrachm). The gold stater presents the first type obverse, but with a big caduceus on the reverse and the legend ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ. The silver tetradrachm follows the second type pattern, but the image of Athena is depicted with an Attic helmet and an apparent more masculine appearance. As we will see, these alleged two new types do not change the general temporal and spatial framework in which the coins are placed necessarily. For a more detailed discussion of these coins, see n. 62.

⁴ The best study on these pieces is still that by Nicolet-Pierre and Amandry 1994. They could have been issued by the former satrap of the region, Stasanor of Soloi.

⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002, 173–74. However, the patterns of the chinstraps are different: a panther skin for Seleucus, a bird's wing for Sophytos.

⁶ The analysis of the other iconographic features on the coins, such as the rooster and the caduceus, leads to no conclusive result except the confirmation of its close connection with the Greek world. The possible alternative interpretations of the caduceus and especially the rooster (see Thompson 1936, 33–44; Arnott 2007, 16–18) – which allude to both Greek and other neighbouring cultures – are quite numerous, such that in the case at hand it is easy postulate, as has been done (see below),



Fig. 1: Sophytos (1): *SNG ANS* 21–24; Bopearachchi 1996, 3 (hemidrachm) (source: www.cngcoins.com).



Fig. 2: Sophytos (2): *SNG ANS* 27; Bopearachchi 1996, 4 (source: www.cngcoins.com).



Fig. 3: Ps.-Athenian Owl: *SNG ANS* 9; Nicolet-Pierre and Amandry 1994, 1 (source: www.cngcoins.com).



Fig. 4: Eagle coin: *SNG ANS* 14 var.; Bopearachchi 1999, series 2A (source: www.cngcoins.com).



Fig. 5: Alexander stater: Price 3999a, uncertain Eastern mint. *ca.* 325–300 BC (source: www.cngcoins.com).



Fig. 6: Seleucus I (Susa mint): *SC* 173.5b; *HGC* 9, 20 (source: www.cngcoins.com).



Fig. 7: Sophytos' tetradrachm (after Bopearachchi 2005; source: Roma Numismatics Ltd [www.RomaNumismatics.com]).



Fig. 8: Sophytos' gold stater (after Bopearachchi 2005; source: Roma Numismatics Ltd [www.RomaNumismatics.com]).

In short, from information gleaned from the style, weight and iconography of the coins, we can gather that the person under whose auspices they were issued, probably Greek in origin⁷ or at least a highly Hellenised individual, must have been associated with the Macedonian power, and more specifically with Seleucus, and that he occupied his post, whatever it was, in Bactria in the late 4th century or early 3rd century BC. This is one of the most accepted hypothesis about the coins, except for the name on them, ΣΟΦΥΤΟΥ, and its bearer.⁸

On quite a few occasions, far from providing clarification or corroboration, the coin legend ΣΟΦΥΤΟΥ has been a major focal point of controversy. Indeed, it has traditionally been believed that the name is not Greek, since no parallel had been found in Hellenic anthroponomy. This seems to contradict the data gleaned from the main features of the coins and their iconography, according to which we would expect a Greek figure. Therefore, doubt has been cast on the temporal and spatial ascription of the coins, and a host of alternative theories has emerged, some of which openly contradict the data provided by the numismatic analysis.

all kinds of assessment. Regarding the rooster, its appearance in Hellenic numismatic iconography is so common (Cyzius, Mytilene, Mithymna, Himera, Aspendus, Dardanus, Thrace, Karystos, Tegea, Amphipolis, etc.; cf. Hurter 2006, 193–94) that it is difficult to point to any remotely reliable interconnection. However, based on this broad dispersion, the only certain fact is that the representation of this animal on the coins of Sophytos links up directly with a deeply rooted Greek tradition, rendering it unnecessary to seek ties with other cultures. As for the caduceus, it has traditionally been interpreted as a symbol of Hermes, deity of trade and peace, symbolism to which these coins could refer (see Bopearachchi 2005, 59).

⁷ In addition, Narain (1949) and Bopearachchi (2005, 59–61) have pointed out that the physiognomy of the personage on the coins seems to belong to a Greek.

⁸ See Newell 1938, 231–36; Whitehead 1943; Bopearachchi 1996; Coloru 2009, 139–41, cf. Mørkholm 1991, 73. We do not accept the position of some scholars (such as Frye 1984, 163–64, 168 and Lerner 1999, 20, both with bibliographies, cf. *RNAC* 2017, 106–08, 113–22) who, without criticising the data (they do not even mention the alternative opinions), discard the more obvious contextualisation suggested by the numismatic analysis and have linked Sophytos' issues with some coins allegedly coined by Andragoras. According to Justin (41. 4), he was the last ruler of the Parthian satrapy under the Seleucid empire, and he proclaimed the independence of the province during the Third Syrian War (245–241 BC). The connection between these two coins is based on small iconographic similarities – such as the caduceus and other more questionable ones (see *RNAC* 2017, 109) – and, especially on the lack of a title accompanying the names of both Andragoras and Sophytos. Thus, these authors suggest that Sophytos, like Andragoras, could have been the ruler of an unknown kingdom that recently had become independent from the Seleucid empire. Therefore, they place Sophytos in an indeterminate time *ca.* mid-3rd century BC, roughly contemporary with Andragoras. However, this theory lacks a solid foundation; it does not take in account the historical context and the basis of the link between the coins, i.e. the mention of the untitled name admits of other explanations (see below). In addition, the authenticity of these issues has been questioned by Mørkholm (1991, 119–20; and see Wolski 1956–57, 36–37), especially due to their obscure origin – from dealers or private collections not from archaeological sites (cf. *RNAC* 2017, 106).

The place where the first coins were purchased, the Punjab,⁹ played a crucial role in the identification of the personage who appears on them. Thus, most scholars¹⁰ initially leaned towards an Indian origin for both the coins and the name and figure that appear on them. Furthermore, this figure was equated with a certain Σωπεῖθης, a governor in a region of the Punjab who was a contemporary of Alexander and was mentioned in different literary sources in relation to the Macedonian conquest of the region, including Arrian (*An.* 6. 2. 2), Diodorus (17. 91. 4–92. 3), Strabo (15. 1. 30–31), Curtius (9. 1. 24–35)¹¹ and the *Metz Epitome* (66–67).¹²

However, this interpretation was soon rejected, even by the person who formulated it, given its numerous contradictions.¹³ The early coins had indeed been purchased from the merchants of Rawalpindi¹⁴ and they were therefore totally decontextualised. In fact, very few imitation Greek coins have been found *in situ* in India, and none of Sophytos.¹⁵ Furthermore, the monetary models, which were very different from the Greek ones, had not been immediately altered after the Macedonian conquest.¹⁶ Nor can these coins be ascribed to an Indian weight.¹⁷ On the other hand, as Whitehead¹⁸ noted, if Sophytos was an Indian monarch, he would be the only one who had minted or at least inscribed his name on a coin under the authority of Alexander the Great or his successors. It is possible that an Indian

⁹ See n. 2.

¹⁰ Cunningham 1866; Lévi 1890; Rapson 1897; Head 1906; MacDonald 1922. They were the first to uphold this position. A good critical review of these authors' suggestions, with complete references, can be found in Whitehead 1943.

¹¹ In the majority of Curtius' manuscripts, however, the name appears in the form Sophites (as well as Sopites and Sophithe), which was properly corrected by Müttel 1843, *ad loc.*, as Sopithis and accepted by subsequent editors, considering Arrian – who uses Σωπεῖθου – as the main source (see, for example, Whitehead 1943, 65). Furthermore, in Curtius' own work, names different from those in other sources are not unusual (see Dosson 1887, 156–57; Steele 1919, 49–50).

¹² The mention of this monarch in Justin (12. 8. 10) and Orosius (3. 19. 5) is a conjecture by modern editors based on the manuscripts which contain Cufites, Cufices, Cofites or Cufides. However, as Boerma (1961, 240) states, everything seems to indicate that the reference in the passage is to the Cophen river, confusing it with the Hydaspes, and not to the kingdom of the aforementioned sovereign (*cf.* Goodyear 1982, 11; Yardley and Heckel 1997, 253–54).

¹³ In an 1892 letter sent to Rapson (*apud* Whitehead 1943, 60, n. 4), Cunningham himself pondered the possibility of an Afghan origin. MacDonald (1922, 387–88), in turn, expressed his reluctance to accept the Indian origin of the coin, as upheld by Cunningham in his 1866 publication, and instead associated them with the pseudo-Athenian coinages and the eagle of Bactria based on the coincidence in the orientation of the coinage, the ascription to a purported Attic standard and the representational style.

¹⁴ See n. 2.

¹⁵ The only two coins – one pseudo-Athenian and the other bearing an eagle – found in the south of Bactria were discovered in Sistan (see Bernard *et al.* 2004, 315).

¹⁶ See MacDonald 1922, 387–88.

¹⁷ See Newell 1938, 231–36; Whitehead 1943, 65.

¹⁸ Whitehead 1943, 60–61.

king could entrust the task to a competent Greek artisan, but an Indian governor minting a coin signed by a Greek artist, with Greek facture and style, bearing the Hellenised form of his name, and furthermore in Greek territory, would be unparalleled. On the other hand, identifying the figure on these coins with the Σωπεῖθης from the sources is not possible, since the two personages do not date from the same era.¹⁹

For this reason, more than discarding the idea out of conviction, Whitehead²⁰ suggested an Iranian origin, a thesis which was later accepted by Narain.²¹ Holt,²² in turn, focusing on the figure of the rooster that appears on some coins of Sophytos,²³ ventured – albeit without firm conviction – the possibility that Sophytos was a Carian mercenary based on the nickname ‘roosters’, which, according to Plutarch (*Art.* 10. 3), is what the Persians used to call soldiers from this region of Asia Minor.²⁴ However, beyond suggesting this possibility, he provided no further evidence. In addition, these hypotheses still do not explain the problem that a foreigner ruler could mint coins in a Greek territory, which makes them unfeasible.

Yet despite the criticisms – many of them still unresolved – the supposition of the Indian origin of Sophytos was taken up again and vehemently defended by P. Bernard, G.-J. Pinault and G. Rougemont in a joint article from 2004. Their study associates the issuances with an inscription, a funerary epigram, whose date is uncertain – according to them,²⁵ it is from the mid-2nd century BC²⁶ – of

¹⁹ In fact, it is even complicated to determine whether this is actually a single king or perhaps two named Σωπεῖθης (see Anspach 1903, 70; Berve 1926, §734, 735). In the opinion of Berve, Sopeithes could be a generic title, like Taxiles or Porus (*cf.* Whitehead 1943, 61–62, n. 6; Mookerji 1947; Bosworth 1995, 327–28; 1996, 126). Geographically, Strabo (15. 1. 30) noted that authors gave two possible locations for the kingdom, between the rivers Hydaspes and Acesines or between the Acesines and Hyarotes. Furthermore, one can perceive the existence of two traditions derived from different original sources (see Brown 1949, 52, 75; Pearson 1960, 105–06, 225; Lens Tuero 1994).

²⁰ Whitehead 1943, 65.

²¹ Narain 1949, 93–99; 1957, 4–5. This author also introduced a nuance based on the physiognomy of the portrait: it might be a Greek satrap with an Iranian name prior to Alexander's conquest, thus relating it to his theory of the existence of previous Greek colonies. In this direction, taking advantage of the wide symbolism of the rooster in Greece and the Middle East (see n. 6), it has been proposed (*RNAC* 2017, 119) that this animal in the coins of Sophytos could be related to the Zoroastrian religion. It was the bird of light and hence of righteousness, scattering the darkness and the evil that dwells within.

²² Holt 1995, 97, n. 41.

²³ On the rooster and its numerous possible interpretations, see n. 6.

²⁴ However, there are no possible parallels of this nickname for the Carians in literature, numismatics or in Carian anthroponymy (*cf.* Blümel 1992). See n. 56.

²⁵ Bernard *et al.* 2004, 235–37; *cf.* Hollis 2011, 113.

²⁶ According to Satin (2009, 278) and Del Corso (2010, 4–5), the dating suggested by Bernard, Pinault and Rougemont is based on scant, insufficient palaeographic arguments, rendering it overly speculative. According to a more in-depth palaeographic analysis, they consider that it would be preferable to situate the inscription in the second half of the 1st century BC or in the early 1st century AD,

someone named Σώφυτος, a homonym of our personage, in Kandahar,²⁷ in the former region of Arachosia, which during that period belonged to the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom.²⁸ Their argument²⁹ is based on the analysis of the name Σώφυτος, which they believe is a Greek transcription of an Indian name, *Subhūti*,³⁰ essentially because this person's father, who is also mentioned, has a name which is unquestionably Indian: ΝΑΠΑΤΟΥ.³¹

Though somewhat infrequent, the legitimacy of the name *Subhūti*, which Pinault defends with a significant list of arguments that were not always clear, seems to be proven by the fact that it is attested several times in literary texts, in certain figures within the Buddhist legend, and later in the early 1st century AD in the form *Subhūtika* in the region of Shinkot.³²

However, the linguistic arguments cited in favour of a transcription lack solid footing. The fact that the transcriptions from Indian to Greek show a somewhat lax

which would also makes it contemporary with other epigraphs of the same kind (cf. Mairs 2013, 282–83).

²⁷ The inscription was purchased in an antiques market and therefore is lacking archaeological context, so its provenance is uncertain (see Mairs 2008, 32).

²⁸ See, for example, Bernard *et al.* 2004, 269–81.

²⁹ Cf. Bernard 1985, 160.

³⁰ Lévi (1890, 237) had already suggested identifying the Sophytos on the coins as an Indian monarch from a region called *Saubhūta*, which he suggested calling *Saubhūti*. However, this idea was soon rejected given that the name of the region is a lexical creation of Indian grammarians instead of the name of a real region (see Whitehead 1943, 63).

³¹ See Pinault (Bernard *et al.* 2004, 254–56). Otherwise, the wording and content of the inscription refer to a clearly Greek underpinning. The potential ties with classical Sanskrit poetry which Pinault (Bernard *et al.* 2004, 257–58) tentatively suggests are non-existent, as he himself ended up admitting (cf. Mairs 2013).

³² Other arguments that Pinault cites in favour of the dissemination of the name do not seem correct. On the one hand, Pinault assumes that this anthroponym, which is quite infrequent, spread around Arachosia because by the mid-2nd century BC, the purported date of the inscription (cf. n. 26), this region was profoundly imbued with Buddhism after the reign of the emperor Ashoka. This claim is not entirely accurate. As Bernard (Bernard *et al.* 2004, 329–30, n. 239) himself notes later, judging by the archaeological and monumental evidence, Buddhism must not have been very widespread in Arachosia compared with other regions like Ghazni, as, however, could be expected, since Arachosia is a region that soon after 190 BC, became part of the Graeco-Bactrian empire (see Bernard *et al.* 2004, 269–81). Furthermore, this argument would at most be valid for the Sophytos of the inscription, but not for the Sophytos of the legend on the coins, since Buddhism spread around the Maurya empire after the conversion of its emperor, Ashoka, who ascended the throne *ca.* 269 BC, that is, at least 30 years after the Sophytos of the legend on the coins. On the other hand, Pinault actually stated that because of its etymological meaning of 'wellbeing', 'fortunate', *Subhūti* as an anthroponym would be very appropriate for people from a fortunate dynasty, as Sophytos' seems to have been, judging from the content of the inscription. This seems an argument too contrived, if we bear in mind that precisely what characterises anthroponyms, as opposed to nicknames, is that, unless they are in a literary work, they rarely have meaning, as their purpose is primarily appellative (see, for example, Debus 2002, 13–20).

casuistic³³ allowed Pinault to posit an equivalency based on reasonable similarities which are, however, highly questionable. If it truly is a transcription of the original *Subhūti*, it does not seem like a very good one, which is entirely anomalous given that the author of the inscription shows in-depth knowledge of the Greek language and literature. First of all, the initial syllable /su/ actually has no exact equivalency in Hellenistic Greek, since this language, at this stage, lacks the /u/ phoneme given that in a previous period its pronunciation had changed to /y/, written <υ>.³⁴ In this case, the most common situation, as Pinault also admits, would have been the transcription <Σου> (= /su:/³⁵), which may have a different vowel length but would at least respect its quality. A transcription <Σω> (= /sɔ:/), like the one proposed, does not seem possible since it changes both the length and the quality of the vowel.³⁶ This transcription cannot be justified, as Pinault tried to do, with the assumption that the <Σου> in the Greek anthroponym had no parallels, since this statement is inaccurate. Quite the contrary, it has a very large onomastic base.³⁷ With regard to the transcription of the second element of the compound, -*bhūti*, as -φῦτος,³⁸ the explanation proposed is contrived and lacks solid footing. Pinault seems to forget that the exact graphic equivalency of /u:/ in Greek is <ου>, not <υ>, which, as noted above, is equivalent to /y/ or /y:/. Just as in the previous case, the proposed transcription would entail a difference not only in the articulation of the vowel but also in its length. In contrast, in an attempt to avoid this problem,

³³ As pointed by Hinüber (1985, 1091–92), the same author whom Pinault cites to ground part of his argument, the Greek transcription of Indian names is highly problematic, given that it shows an extremely varied casuistry which depends on the author and the era. In contrast, modern studies on this phenomenon are partial and do not provide a systematic overview, so the conclusions can hardly be extrapolated to other areas.

³⁴ See, for example, Lejeune 1972, §252; Allen 1987, 66–68.

³⁵ For the phonetic discussion we use the terminology proposed by the International Phonetic Alphabet (*IPA*), that means, in this paper, /ɔ/ for an lower mid back vowel, /y/ for a high front rounded vowel, and the diacritics <ː> for the long vowels, <ʰ> for aspirated stops.

³⁶ As a parallel to this, Pinault cites the name of the *Kubhā* river, which is usually transcribed into Greek as Κωφὴν (Strabo 15. 1. 26. 22; Arrian *Anabasis* 4. 22. 5–6, 5. 1. 1; *Dionysius Periegetes* 1140; *Suda* x 2306; etc.). This kind of transcription is the product of Strabo's particular interpretation, and it was the one that happened to be chosen by subsequent authors. However, the transcription of /u/ as <ω> is in no way the most common one, not even in Strabo, cf., for example, Skr. *Suvāstu*, Gr. Χοάσπης (Strabo 15, 1. 26. 23), Σόαστος (Arrian *Indica* 4. 11), Σουάστος (Ptolemy *Geog.* 7. 1. 26), (see Leroy 2016, 147–48; cf. n. 33). This transcription of /u/ as <ω> in Κωφὴν must be motivated by two reasons: first, by a Greek speaker's confusion between the vowels /u/ and /o/, which in Middle Indian, as Pinault (Bernard *et al.* 2004, 252) states, were pronounced quite similarly, and secondly by the acoustic similarity to the Greek adjective κωφός, -ή, -όν, 'silent' and the nouns and verbs from the same etymological family, which abound in Greek.

³⁷ A quick, simple search in the *Lexicon of Personal Greek Names* on-line database (<http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/>) yields more than 70 results: Σουίδας, Σουῖσος, Σουσᾶς, Σοῦρις, Σουινάδης, etc.

³⁸ The quantity of the vowel <υ> is short, see Pindar (*Pythian Odes* 5. 42).

Pinault prefers to assume that *-bhūti* was related to *φυτός* through what he calls an ‘étymologisation synchronique’, and was therefore transcribed into Greek as *-φυτος*. This solution is confusing. On the one hand, not only is *φυτός* pronounced quite differently than *-bhūti* (Greek /p^hytos/ vs. Indian /b^hu:ti/),³⁹ but it also seemed to be quite rare in Greek and, as Pinault himself stated, the form *-φυτος* is also quite rare in Greek anthroponyms (we have only five examples from the whole of Greece).⁴⁰ On the other hand, it is difficult to understand how an ‘étymologisation synchronique’ could have taken place between two words from different languages and with two quite different pronunciations, as mentioned above. With this statement, Pinault seems to suggest that those who transcribed the name – both on the coins and in the inscription – were aware that Greek and Indo-Aryan were related languages which descended from a common root, which would be extraordinary if we consider that we have no evidence that anyone had posited this connection in the ancient world. This is a confusing explanation based on modern studies in Indo-European linguistics which determined that *bhū-ti* and *φυ-τός* do indeed come from the same Proto-Indo-European root, **b^huh₂-*,⁴¹ in an attempt to ignore the large phonetic distance between the two nouns, which would nullify his hypothesis.

Finally, even if we knew that this is a transcription, given the laxness of the rules for transcribing from Indian to Greek and the numerous subjective interpretations that a name like *Subhūti* can have, it would be a complete coincidence to think that the same name was transcribed the same way 150 years apart on both the coins and the inscription, even more so bearing in mind that, according to their own argument, in the literary sources *Subhūti* was transcribed in a totally different way, namely *Σωπείθης*.⁴²

³⁹ For an Indian speaker, Greek <υ> (= /y/) was the equivalent to /i/ in his own language (never /u:/, a totally different sound), as corroborated by some Indo-Greek coins of the 2nd century BC in which <υ> is represented by <ι> (for example: *Dianisiyasa* = *Διονυσίου*) (see Allen 1987, 67).

⁴⁰ It is difficult to suppose that this transcription tried to give a Greek varnish to a foreign name, since it skips any acoustic equivalent, which would unquestionably blur the relationship with the original name, precisely to assimilate to a form which is in no way common in Greek, neither by itself nor as part of anthroponyms. If the resemblance between the two names did not matter, it would have been more logical to look for an anthroponym more frequent in Greek.

⁴¹ Rix 1998, 98–101.

⁴² According to these authors, the *Σώφυτος* on the coins and the *Σωπείθης* in the literary sources may not be the same person, which is clear by the timeline (see n. 19), for example, but are the transcription of the same Indian name. However, to explain the transcription *Σωπείθης*, Pinault (Bernard *et al.* 2004, 253) limited himself simply to stating that it is an adaptation of the name ‘à la grecque’, this time similar to the anthroponyms in *-πείθης*, although he provided no parallel or information to endorse this claim.

At this point, it seems clear that the strongest argument that would somehow support the Indian origin is the name of Sophytos' father, ΝΑΡΑΤΟΥ (Νάρατος or Ναράτης). However, here, too, the data are not conclusive. Indeed, the fact that that father's name has Indian roots does not mean that son's name is Indian, too. The inscription is clearly the reflection of a well-to-do family immersed in an inexorable process of Hellenisation. The literary and mythological reminiscences are the expression of an upbringing that was governed by the Greek system. In this sense, the Hellenophilia that the authors so vehemently upheld might quite logically be reflected in onomastics. Indeed, giving Greek names to sons was in no way an unusual practice throughout the Hellenistic world.⁴³

Consequently, we believe that we have shown with valid arguments that the hypothesis of the Indian origin of the name Σώφυτος, at least as a transcription of *Subhūti*, is overly contrived and, therefore, in our opinion incorrect. Moreover, given its structure, everything invites us to think that it is an *ad hoc* proposal that tries to base a preconceived idea expressed previously by another of article's authors, Bernard,⁴⁴ who now believes that it is confirmed with the appearance of the Arachosian inscription. Thus, now Bernard develops a complex proposal – one that is not without problems – which situates the Σώφυτος of the legends on the coins further south, in Arachosia, as the governor of the zone at the beginning of the Maurya empire, precisely the region from which the inscription of his homonym comes.⁴⁵ In an attempt to avoid the contradictions that arise when comparing the data from the coins with the Indian origin of the issuer, Bernard states that the coins may have been issued by the governor of Arachosia, under the power of the Maurya empire at the request of a Greek colony which was supposedly powerful in the region at this time⁴⁶ following the Greek pattern of the

⁴³ For example, consider the spread of Greek names in Judea prior to the Maccabean Revolt (see Ilan 1987). Regarding Babylonia, see Sherwin-White 1982.

⁴⁴ Bernard 1985, 160.

⁴⁵ In order to reinforce the connection between two Σώφυτος, Bernard (Bernard *et al.* 2004, 320), considers them even relatives.

⁴⁶ The pressure that the Greeks supposedly exerted on the Arachosian authorities to mint coins is wholly dubious. It is implausible to think that one community could force an alternative monetary system to be established within the Maurya state. The survival of a Greek community in the region of Kandahar until the era of Ashoka is undeniable in view of the archaeological record. However, it does not seem possible to argue a political predominance in the era of Ashoka based on two edicts found in the city inscribed in Greek. In fact, two decrees in Aramaic were also found in Kandahar (see Mairs 2008, 31), so we would posit that this community exerted similar power. Furthermore, nothing guarantees that the situation was similar in the era when the coins were issued – 30 years before the arrival of Ashoka. In short, Bernard seems to transpose the situation in which he thinks that inscription was written, i.e. mid-2nd century BC (*cf.* above and n. 26), when Arachosia was already controlled by Graeco-Bactrian kings and the Greek community and culture were dominant,

closest example at hand, the pseudo-Athenians.⁴⁷ The only new development introduced was the name, portrait and depiction of the rooster, although this is not wholly straightforward.⁴⁸

In any case, once the Indian origin of the name has been invalidated, we believe that the hypothesis proposed by Bernard, without even considering the entailed problems, has no basis to be maintained. Nothing suggests that the relationship between the epigraph and the coins extends beyond the homonymy of the main agents, which confirms that the name of our personage is ΣΩΦΥΤΟΣ, not ΣΩΦΥΤΗΣ, as had been thought, which is indeed something. Thus, there is no reason to doubt the most obvious provenance of the coins, meaning that the first Sophytos must be shifted back north.

As we have seen, the name ΣΩΦΥΤΟΣ has not traditionally been considered a name with a Greek origin, which has given rise to a major controversy, since it seems to contradict the most obvious information gleaned from the analysis of the coins. But, what if the name were Greek after all? In 2004, Wolfgang Blümel published a series of new inscriptions from the Carian city of Milas. No. 50 (*SEG* LIV 1134), an epitaph from the Imperial period, contains an anthroponym which is particularly relevant to the argument in this article. The inscription reads as follows:

Στιβὰς μέση Λουκητίου (corr. Blümel, ΛΟΥΚΙΪΤΙΟΥ) Ζωφύτου / καὶ τέκνων αὐτοῦ.

This inscription also makes us more certain of how to read a *tabella defixionis* found in Athens and dated from around the 3rd century BC (*CIA App.* 6.3), where

to the era when Sophytos supposedly issued his coins (4th–3rd centuries BC), when the region was dominated by the Maurya empire and the Greek community must have been much less prominent.

⁴⁷ As mentioned, the issuance of these coins in Arachosia clashes completely with the fact that the majority of pieces were found in the northern part of Hindu Kush, and none in Arachosia. They do not even appear in the most important troves retrieved in Arachosian lands (Mir Zakah I and II and Quetta), where many other kinds of coins from the Achaemenid and Greek era are conserved.

⁴⁸ If there had truly been an Indian governor who imitated pseudo-Athenians, we would have to wonder why he introduced his portrait, a new feature which is unknown among the monarchs from there (see above and Whitehead 1943, 60–61). It would have been more logical to follow the pattern established previously, which did not bear a portrait, which was more in line with their customary practices. On the other hand, the reasons cited to deal with the incongruence of a Maurya satrap depicting himself as his enemy Seleucus are controversial, and its possible symbolic and propagandistic use could hardly be viewed as a sign of proximity to the Greek population. Furthermore the reasons cited to explain the inclusion of the image of the rooster (Bernard *et al.* 2004, 311–14) are questionable, since this image allows numerous interpretations (see n. 6).

we can read the name Ζω[φυ]τίδης (*corr.* Wünsch).⁴⁹ The similarity between these names and that found on the Bactrian coins and in the Arachosian inscription is clear. The only difference is the change in the letters <Z> and <Σ>. However, this difference is hardly meaningful since the mutation between the letters and phonemes represented by /dz/ and /s/, respectively, became common in certain sectors of the vocabulary after the 4th century BC, when the pronunciation of <ζ>, /dz/ became /z/.⁵⁰ Speakers are usually able to distinguish perfectly between /z/ and its unvoiced counterpart /s/, since they are two different phonemes in which the voicing is a clearly distinctive feature and therefore is able to distinguish different meanings. However, the confusion is quite clearly attested in anthroponyms,⁵¹ given their particular nature compared with other nouns, specifically the fact that they lack meaning.⁵² Furthermore, this confusion is particularly common among the names derived from ζῶω 'to live' and σῶς 'safe',⁵³ given that both terms are highly productive in the formation of anthroponyms.⁵⁴ In this sense, it seems clear that the form ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ can be considered a deformation of the original ΖΩΦΥΤΟΥ, a name made up of ζῶω - φυτός which perfectly reflects the most common construction of anthroponyms in Greek, a construction that also has a parallel in the language (*cf.* ζωφυτέω, ζωφυτος).⁵⁵

There is no further useful information that allows us to delimit a more specific origin for Sophytos,⁵⁶ since the interpretation of the other iconographic elements

⁴⁹ Given that he finds no parallel for the name, Oulhen (2010, 632) suggests reconstructing Σω[χρα]τίδης. However, this interpretation does not seem accurate because first, the name did exist, and secondly, it forces the text of the inscription too much.

⁵⁰ See, for example, Lejeune 1972, §107, *cf.* §97; Allen 1987, 67.

⁵¹ *Cf.* Σάθης / Ζάθης, Σαυνάς / Ζαύνας, Σιβοίτης / Ζιβοίτης, Σμιθίνας / Ζμιθίνας, Σμικρίων / Ζμικρίων, Σοῦλος / Ζούλος, etc.

⁵² See, for example, Debus 2002, 13–20.

⁵³ *Cf.* Σῶανδρος / Ζῶανδρος, Σῶαρχος / Ζῶαρχος, Σῶβιος / Ζῶβιος, Σωγέννης / Ζωγέννης, Σῶϊος / Ζῶϊος, Σῶιτος / Ζῶιτος, Σωμένης / Ζωμένης, Σωμάς / Ζωμάς, Σωσῆς / Ζωσῆς, Σωσία / Ζωσία, Σωσίμη / Ζωσίμη, Σῶσιμος / Ζῶσιμος, Σῶσις, Σωσίς / Ζωσίς, Σωσύλος / Ζωσύλος, etc.

⁵⁴ See DELG s.v. ζῶω and s.v. σῶς, respectively.

⁵⁵ The four testimonies that we have of this name – two with <Z> and two with <Σ> – although too meagre to formulate conclusive hypotheses, lead us to think that the dissemination of both forms was regional, west <Z> and east <Σ>. On the other hand, the fact that the second element of this compound name is -φυτός, with a nominative in -os, as shown in the Arachosian inscription, similar to the scant testimonies of this kind of anthroponym, far from questioning its Greek provenance as Pinault assumed, would confirm this origin of the name and not a transcription from a foreign language, which, in turn, would have sought to resemble a much more common form in the language in an attempt to make the Greek veneer more effective.

⁵⁶ Given that the name Sophytos also appear in Caria, one might be inclined to reconsider Holt's hypothesis (1995, 97, n. 41), according to which Sophytos, judging by the alleged connection of the image of the rooster with the Carians, should have been a Carian mercenary (see above and n. 24). A consultation of Carian anthroponymy (*cf.* Blümel 1992) shows that this is not an epichoric name

on the coins is controversial.⁵⁷ In any case, in view of the pointed arguments, we believe that the interpretation we propose about the name Sophytos, apart from being entirely consistent with the linguistic data of the Greek language and the available epigraphic evidence, has the advantage that it could agree with the derived information from the numismatic analysis, according to which one would expect, as said, a ruler, either Greek in origin or highly Hellenised.⁵⁸

Once the problem of the Greek origin of minter's name is solved, in our opinion, the connection suggested by the iconography of the coins between Sophytos and Seleucus in the pointed spatial and temporal context seems to make full sense. Thus, Sophytos could be posited as the governor of the province of Bactria-Sogdiana in the late 4th century BC, after the conquest of the region by Seleucus I, as part of his eastern campaign between 308 BC and 306 BC.⁵⁹ Sophytos, as other regional rulers had already done during Alexander's time,⁶⁰ would have enjoyed the prerogative of coining his own coins in the province. It is possible that this circumstance was allowed by Seleucus in order to facilitate the transition of power, since according to modern historiography the conquest of the satrapy was relatively easy abetted by known Seleucus' diplomatic skills.⁶¹ The fact that the government of Sophytos was subordinated to the Seleucid empire could also explain the inclusion of the iconographic similarities with the portrait of Seleucus on his coins precisely minted to commemorate the conquest of the Upper Satrapies – among them, Bactria-Sogdiana – at this time. Finally, as for the issuance of the coins, it seems logical to

from the region. Nor are there any possible parallels in numismatics which would lead us to conclude that the Carians adopted this nickname. Furthermore, this connection seems to be very weak and the interpretations of the rooster are numerous (see n. 6).

⁵⁷ See n. 6.

⁵⁸ Initially, the fact that it is a Greek name does not necessarily imply that the bearer also is of this origin, although, taking into account the context suggested by the coins, this is the most plausible option. For instance, one could think of a Hellenised local figure (cf. n. 21) or that the name Sophytos, although of Greek origin, was a translation – not transcription – of another language, as in the case of Andragoras, governor of the province of Parthia (see n. 8), which according to Ghirshman (1974), it was a translation of an Iranian name (*contra* Wolski 1975). However, the early chronology of Sophytos lessens the possibility of a deep Hellenisation of an Iranian or an Indian.

⁵⁹ See Justin 15. 4. 11; Plutarch *Demetr.* 7. 2; Diodorus Siculus 20. 53. 4; Appian *Syr.* 55; Orosius 3. 23. 43. Cf. Schober 1981, 140–93; Marasco 1984, 304–14; Mehl 1986, 134–37, 156–93.

⁶⁰ A regional governor's prerogative to issue coins was not unknown in the Hellenistic world. Under Alexander, Balacrus in Cilicia (see Le Rider 2003, 205–10) and Mazaesus in Babylonia (see Le Rider 2003, 274–75) had minted coins in their own names, without this entailing an open challenge to royal authority. It is possible that this prerogative granted by Alexander remained a common monetary practice instated in Persia by the Great King, according to which certain dignitaries in the kingdom had the authority to mint coins in their own name (see Le Rider 2001, 207–37).

⁶¹ See Mehl 1986, 134–37; 1999, 18–26; Grainger 1990, 105–07; Holt 1995, 99–101; Yardley *et al.* 2011, 273; Capdetrey 2007, 39–43; *contra* Schober 1981, 149–50.

suppose that Sophytos would have used as a model the nearest coins, the pseudo-Athenians and those of the eagle, possibly minted earlier in the same workshop, hence the similarity between two types of pieces (Figs. 7, 8).⁶²

If the *terminus post quem* most likely for Sophytos' rule could be placed, as pointed out, between 308 BC and 306 BC, the *ante quem* is marked by Antiochus' arrival in the region as the co-regent of the eastern part of the vast Seleucid empire in 294 BC.⁶³ Indeed, the new ruler heralded a clear numismatic shift as well. Pieces began to appear which fully fit the Seleucid patterns. The weights, which had remained constant in the earlier coinages and in the first of the Seleucid coinages, veered towards an Attic standard in Antiochus' second series.⁶⁴ This definitive shift of the weight is interpreted as the desire to put an end to the uniqueness of the satrapy of Bactria-Sogdiana and to effectively integrate it into the Seleucid empire.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

- CIA App. R. Wünsch (ed.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum, Appendix: Defixionum tabellae in Attica regione repertae* (Berlin 1978).
 DELG P. Chantraine (ed.), *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque: Histoire des mots* (Paris 1968–80).

⁶² This seems to us a more accurate solution than that proposed by Bopearachchi (2005, 61–63), according to which Sophytos would be an independent ruler of Bactria-Sogdiana, from *ca.* 316 BC until the conquest of the province by Seleucus. He bases his argument on the new coins he brought to light in 2005 – a silver tetradrachm and a gold stater (see n. 3; figs. 8 and 7, respectively). On the one hand, after Bopearachchi, the issuance of gold coins was a sign of sovereignty and freedom, so that it could not be coined by a governor under the command of Seleucus. However, it could be argued that during Alexander's time Mazaeus in Babylonia had minted gold double darics alongside with the coinage in his name, without this entailing an open challenge to royal authority (see Le Rider 2003, 274–75). Furthermore, the authenticity of this coin has been highly questioned (*cf.* Fischer-Bossert 2006; Hurter 2006, 192–94; de Callatay 2013, 189–90). Regarding the silver tetradrachm, given the apparent masculine depiction of the Athena, Bopearachchi suggested that the one portrayed was not the goddess, but Sophytos himself usurping her place, which is interpreted by him as a clear sacrilege. We are not fully convinced about this identification (*cf.* Hurter 2006, 193). His new relative chronology also means that Seleucus' coins are inspired by those of Sophytos and not the other way around, which seems more logical due to the importance of the figure of Seleucus and the spread of their respective coinages; in fact, it is admitted by most scholars (see Bernard *et al.* 2004, 286–88, with bibliography). In addition, his search of alternative archetypes for the Sophytos' types is unsatisfactory and the iconographic parallels provided by Bopearachchi are discarded easily, as demonstrated by Hurter (2006, 193–94, with figures).

⁶³ His active management of the Seleucid East is widely documented (see Plutarch *Demetr.* 38; Appian *Syr.* 59–62; Strabo 9. 10. 1; Pliny *NH* 6. 47–48, 93). For a discussion, see Tarn 1940, 89–94; Marasco 1984, 325; Grainger 1990, 135–37, 152–57; Capdetrey 2007, 78–79, 268–69.

⁶⁴ See Capdetrey 2007, 78–79, 268–69; Bopearachchi 2015, 48.

- RNAC** *Roman Numismatics Auction XIV (21/9/2017) Catalogue*, available on-line: <http://roman-numismatics.com/catalogues/>.
- SNG ANS** **O. Bopearachchi**, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: The Collection of the American Numismatic Society. 9: Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coins* (New York 1998).
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TRAVELLERS' TALES OF MINGRELIA AND OF THE ANCIENT FORTRESS OF NOKALAKEVI

PAUL EVERILL

Abstract

The last decade has seen a flourishing of the tourist industry in Georgia, as increasing numbers of Western travellers discover its beauty, history and culture. However, it is still not well known, perhaps in part due to 70 years of Soviet occupation, and the destabilising effect of its expansionist neighbours to the north and the south over many years prior to that. Despite this, a number of travellers have left evocative accounts of the region since the 14th century, and this paper considers what these historical sources can tell modern scholars about life in Mingrelia, western Georgia, and particularly in Nokalakevi, a very ancient site.

Introduction

Frédéric Dubois de Montpéreux is most often credited with the first realisation that the remains at Nokalakevi represented those of Archaeopolis as described by Procopius in the sixth century AD. His publication of 1839 is undoubtedly an important step in recognising the importance of the site, however, as is often the way, there has been an increasing tendency to briefly acknowledge his contribution to the study of Nokalakevi without any re-interrogation of his original text. The idea that there might be more revealing information, in terms of both the site itself and of Mingrelian culture of the early 19th century, led to his original text being translated from French and, in turn, to the search for other travellers' accounts. While foreign travellers might often provide inaccurate reports – through their own biases, or by being given and then repeating incorrect information – they often also describe aspects that would be unremarkable to native Georgian or Mingrelian chroniclers. This paper summarises, in some cases for the first time, external perceptions of Mingrelia, a principality in western Georgia (Fig. 1), and particularly of the site of Nokalakevi where the author has worked as part of a collaborative Anglo-Georgian team since 2002.

In the early 14th-century versions of a Middle English epic poem, *Sir Bevis of Hampton*, the heir of the Earl of Hampton (modern Southampton) is sold into slavery by his mother and her lover, the emperor of Germany, after the murder of his father. Arriving in the land of the Saracens, the poem describes how he is delivered by the merchants to 'the king highte Ermin of that londe' – the king of Armenia

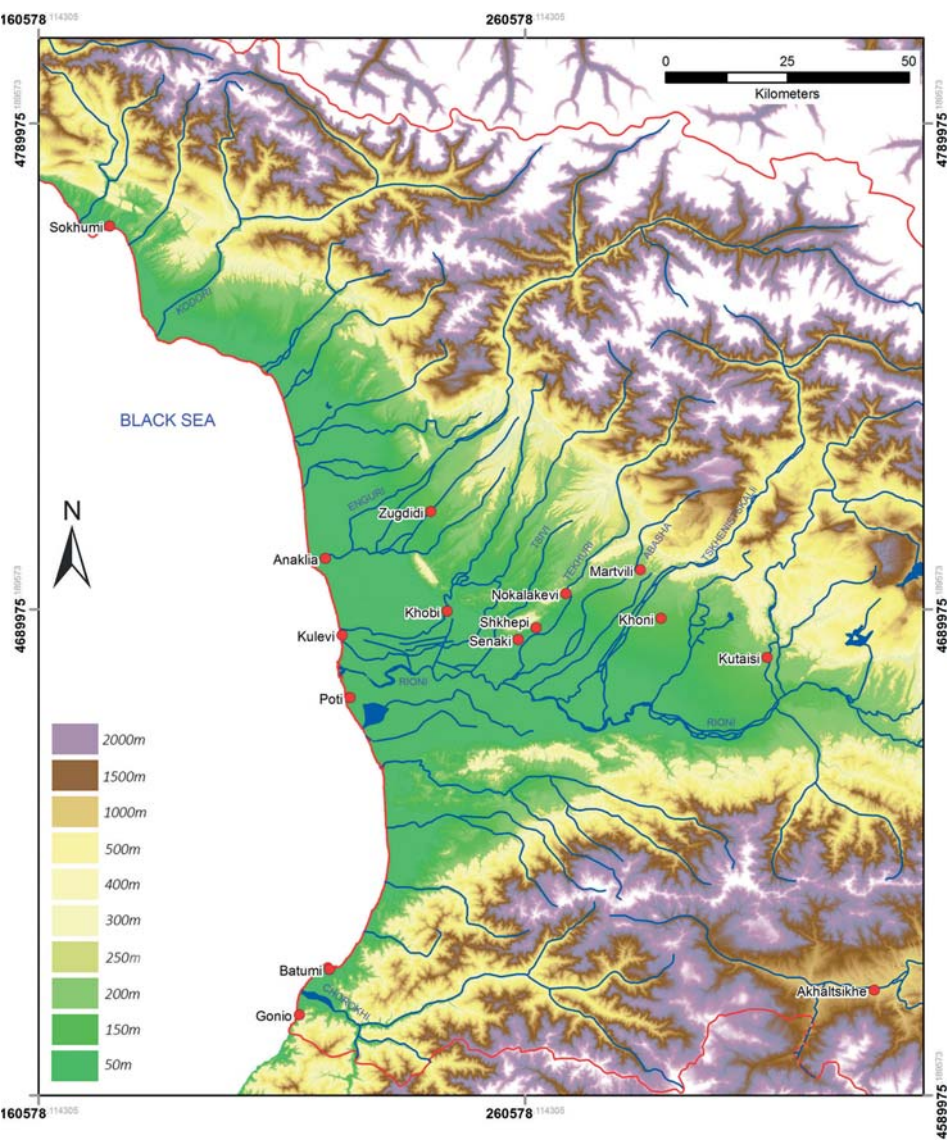


Fig. 1: Topographic map of western Georgia, showing key locations referred to in the text.

– and when asked who he is, the boy introduces himself thus: “For Gode,” a seide, “ich hatte Bef; Iborne ich was in Ingelonde, At Hamtoun, be the se stronde”.¹

¹ Herzman *et al.* 1997.

Bevis goes on to marry the king's daughter and become a fearsome warrior, recovering his birthright, but for an English audience the distant land of Armenia must have seemed like the ends of the earth. Although it was perhaps referring to Cilician Armenia on the Mediterranean, more familiar to Crusaders and therefore to storytellers,² it is an indication of how remote the eastern Christian world was to most in the west at the time, despite the fact that Georgia was in the midst of its golden age when this version of the story had first been written down.

Mingrelia in the Early 15th Century

A century later, in the first of the Western travellers' accounts of the Caucasus to survive, Johannes de Galonifontibus described the countries through which he passed in his *Libellus de notitia orbis*, completed in 1404. Galonifontibus had been made bishop of Armenian Nakhichevan in 1377 by Pope Gregory XI, and archbishop of Sultanieh in 1398 by Boniface IX.³ With these territories then ruled by Timur, Galonifontibus assumed an important diplomatic role, working as an envoy between Timur and the Christian world and subsequently working to build a coalition to defend against the rise of the Ottoman Turks. In 1403 he arrived at the court of the English king, Henry IV, who provided introduction to a number of Christian rulers, including George VII of Georgia.⁴ The travels of Galifontibus in this important role left him uniquely qualified to describe the countries he visited.

Hewitt⁵ provides a brief summary of this account which emphasises, for reasons that suit a modern political agenda, the identity of the Abkhaz as separate from the Mingrelian and the Georgian, and the fragmentary nature of Georgia. However, the original text is rather more complex if one consults Tardy's⁶ complete transcript, not least because Georgia in his text does not mean Georgia in the modern sense, but simply the Iberia of earlier historians – effectively eastern Georgia today. By this time the Mongol invasions had brought about the collapse of a flourishing and expansive Georgian kingdom by capturing the east of the country in the 13th century; and efforts to rebuild the country were halted by the even more devastating Timurid invasions between 1386 and 1403. While Galonifontibus, in a brief description of the 'small, hilly country'⁷ of Abkhazia, describes their subjugation by

² Burge 2016, 51.

³ Tardy 1978, 84.

⁴ Tardy 1978, 85.

⁵ Hewitt 2009, 184.

⁶ Tardy 1978.

⁷ Tardy 1978, 93.

the Romans in less than flattering terms, he also writes that 'they do not care for the matters of the soul, in religion they follow the Georgians. They have their own language. They are experts in working up cloth, linen and, silk.'⁸ His description of Mingrelia, written in 1404 and thus the first surviving account by a western visitor since antiquity, is worth quoting in full:

To the east of them, in the direction of Georgia, lies the country called Mingrelia. A rather big province. The people have their own language, and their writing and religion is identical to that of the Georgians in every respect. They have many plains. Their mountains are high and, border on the mountains of Abkhazia, the Caucasus and, the Caspian mountains; their belief and that of their surroundings are the worst of heresies, (because they believe, that) the seat and home of the Queen of Heavens or Diana is in these very high mountains, there she lives with her nymphs, girl mates and satyrs feasting day and night, and if you apply to her for anything it will be granted.

Various nations speaking various languages live among these mountains such as the Mingrels, Suans, and Franks who used to speak their own language at that time. They follow the religion of the Georgians. Those living in Mingrelia and along the Black Sea are great wine-bibbers because they have an excess of wine. They do not care for wheaten bread, they sell it to strangers even if they have it, they cannot even eat it, they eat millet instead, cooked in earthen vessels and dried hard with meat and fish. They fast much like the Greeks, perhaps even more, but they eat during the fasts as many times as they feel like it, they even get drunk and it is not considered a sin.

They get involved in numerous love affairs, but they never think afterwards that they had done the wrong thing earlier. Georgia, one of the fourteen provinces of Asia, is to the east of this country.⁹

Mingrelia also featured briefly in the account left by Johann Schiltberger of Bavaria. Schiltberger's tale is an extraordinary one, beginning when he left home in 1394 in the service of his master, Leonard Richartinger at the age of about 14.¹⁰ Fighting for Sigismund of Hungary, Schiltberger was captured by Ottoman forces at the battle of Nicopolis in 1396. Spared the general massacre of prisoners, most likely because of his youth, he became page to Sultan Bayezid I. In 1402, with Constantinople firmly in the sights of the growing Ottoman power, Timur's forces attacked them and captured Bayezid at the battle of Ankara, delaying the fall of Constantinople for half a century. Captured along with his master, Schiltberger soon entered the service of Timur, with whom he remained until the latter's death in 1405, after which he served a succession of Timurid princes and travelled across the empire,

⁸ Tardy 1978, 94.

⁹ Tardy 1978, 94–95.

¹⁰ Telfer 1879.

from Egypt to Siberia.¹¹ Schiltberger ultimately arrived in Mingrelia from the Crimea, and from there he finally escaped across the Black Sea back to his native land, arriving in Bavaria in 1427. Presumably being illiterate, Schiltberger appears to have dictated his account from memory after he returned home, and consequently there are some inconsistencies and errors in terms of place names and dates, but it remains a fascinating account. Providing a list of the countries through which he travelled, he describes 'a small country called Megral, the capital is Kathon, and in which country they hold to the Greek faith'.¹² The use of the name Megral here is interesting, as the Georgian name for Mingrelia is Samegrelo. The Georgian prefix-suffix combination (*sa - o*) gives it a literal meaning of 'place of the Megreli', and in their own language Mingrelians call themselves Margali. It is harder, however, to explain the description of Kathon as its capital, and this might simply be Schiltberger's misremembering of the name of Kutaisi – the capital, in fact, of neighbouring Imereti. Later in Schiltberger's account he relates the final period of his servitude:

When Zegra was defeated, as is already related, I came over to a lord named Manstzusch; he had been a councillor of Zegra. He was obliged to fly, and he went to a city called Kaffa [modern Feodosia] [...] There he remained five months, and then crossed an arm of the Black Sea, and came to a country called Zerckchas [Circassia]; there he remained half a year [...] Mantzuch went into another country called Magrill; and, as we now came into the country of Magrill, we, five Christians, agreed, that we should go to our native country from the land of the Infidels, as we were not more than three day's journey from the Black Sea; and when it appeared to us opportune and right to get away, all five of us escaped from the said lord, and came to the chief town of the country, which was called Bothan [Poti or, perhaps more likely, Batumi – known as Bathus to ancient Greek colonists], on the Black Sea shore.¹³

Josaphat Barbaro, the Venetian ambassador to Genoese Tana (Azof) from 1436, and subsequently to Persia, provides a further account of Mingrelia in the 15th century:

This Mingrelia (Mengleria) borders on the Kaitacchi who live about the Caspian Mountains, partly also near Giorgania, and on the shores of the Black Sea, and on the range of mountains which extends into Circassia. On one side it is encompassed also by the river Phasus, which empties itself into the Black Sea. The sovereign of this province is called Bendian (Dadian), and is in possession of two fortifications near the sea, the one of which is called Vathi and the other Savastopoli; and besides these, he has several other castles and fortified rocks.¹⁴

¹¹ Telfer 1879.

¹² Telfer 1879, 43.

¹³ Telfer 1879, 99.

¹⁴ Forster 1786, 168.

Mingrelia in the 17th Century

With the fall of Constantinople and collapse of the Byzantine empire in 1453, and the subsequent rise of the Ottoman empire, Georgia was once again plunged into chaos. It was not until after the Peace of Amasya in 1555 divided the territory of Georgia between the Turks in the west and the Persians in the east that some sense of stability, though not necessarily prosperity, returned. After Barbaro, the next descriptions of western Georgia to have been found are from the 17th century, and can largely be characterised as representing catholic missionary accounts of religious practice, merchants accounts of business opportunities, or those describing Turkish military action. However, the Roman traveller Pietro della Valle (1586–1652) described western Georgia in an account to Pope Urban VIII, having returned from the Holy Land via the country and marrying a Georgian woman. He wrote that

This province, the ancient Colchis, is called Mingrelia by the Turks. The Prince who reigns over it at present is young, his name, to the best of my recollection, is Levan. In 1615, a Jesuit from the establishment at Constantinople, who visited the Christians of this country to inform himself of their disposition, returned while I was still at Constantinople. I was with him, without any other company, for three or four days after he was taken ill on his return of a contagious disorder which reigned in that city. The good father related to me that he had seen this young Prince, at that time, but twelve years of age old; that the mother, who lived in a coarse, rustic manner, governed during his minority; that he had seen the Prince visit the church one day to offer up the head of a wild boar which he had killed; that the Prince had loaded him with kindness and showed great attachment to him, but that for want of knowing the language of the country, and of any who could interpret for them, they were at a loss to understand each other and incapable of treating on any matters.¹⁵

An interesting insight into the Ottoman view of western Georgia is provided by the accounts of Evliya Çelebi (1611–1682) of Constantinople, who accompanied the Turkish military on several engagements in the region at the turn of the 1640s. Of the province of Jilder, or Akhichkeh, he writes ‘During the reign of Sultán Mohammed Khán, the castle of Kotátis was captured by Kara Mortezá, and was added to this province.’¹⁶ Describing the province of Gúrjistán, or Georgia, in this case meaning west Georgia and thus indicating an abiding sense of Georgian sovereign territory 300 years after it ceased to be unified, he adds

¹⁵ Della Valle 1745, 382.

¹⁶ Çelebi 1834a, 95.

The sanjaks are: 1. Achikbáš. 2. Shúshád. 3. Dádián. 4. Gúríl. The Begs of Megrelistán [Mingrelia] are all infidels; but Murad IV reduced them, and having placed Sefer Pasha as their governor, made the castle of Akhickha the seat of government. To this day they send the annual presents.¹⁷

In AH 1050 (AD 1640/41), Çelebi described his journey along the Black Sea coastline to Azov. He describes the border between Abkhazia and Mingrelia as being at the Phasis river, the modern Rioni. It is not clear whether this was the Turkish view of the territories under its possession, or whether he was simply mistaken – the latter perhaps explaining his description of Mingrelians living on both sides of the Phasis. The actual border in this period is noted elsewhere¹⁸ as being at the River Kodor (in central modern Abkhazia), and as Mingrelian influence in the region gradually weakened the border moved further south to its present location. Çelebi's account is also one of the first references to the slave trade for which Mingrelia became so associated – a long-established trade encouraged by the Turks:

I left Konia with a good wind, passed the river Júruğh and arrived at the harbour Sofárl on the frontier of Mingrelia. The landing-place Súri has an old ruined port. The landing-place Yarissa is a ruined castle where goats are now kept. The landing-place Raijeh is without a port, but has an old ruined castle. These five landing-places are all on the frontiers of Mingrelia, they are only visited in the summer time by the merchants who carry on the slave trade. The mountains are inhabited by forty of fifty thousand warlike Mingrelians. We passed the said five landing places, and came next day, at a hundred miles distance from Konia, to the great river Fáshechai [Phasus]. It rises between Mingrelia, Georgia, Thágistán, Kabartaí, and Circassia, from Mount Caucasus (Kúhal-burz), Ubúr, and Sadasha, and passes between Mingrelia and Abáza into the Black Sea. On the east side are the Mingrelian villages, on the west the Abáza; and both shores being covered with thick forests, the two people mutually steal their children of both sexes and sell them as slaves. We passed the Phasus, marching to the west, and for a whole day went along the shore of the Black Sea.¹⁹

Describing the Land of the Abáza (Abkhazia), Çelebi writes that:

It forms the northern shore of the Black Sea, begins at the mouth of the Phasus, and ends at the castle of Anapa near the island of Tamán. The principal tribe in Abáza are the Chách, who speak Mingrelian, which is spoken on the opposite shore of the Phasus; they are warlike men, in number about ten thousand, who follow more than one religion, and are an unruly set of people. Their mountains are very fruitful, particularly in nuts, hazel-nuts and apricots; they bear the same arms as the Arabs, arrows, bows and lances, have few horsemen, but valorous footmen.²⁰

¹⁷ Çelebi 1834a, 95.

¹⁸ For example, Lamberti 1653.

¹⁹ Çelebi 1834b, 53.

²⁰ Çelebi 1834b, 53–54.

In 1647, a force of Cossacks seized the castle at Gonia (Gonio), supported by Christian Mingrelians, but were defeated by the army of Ghází Sídí Ahmed, Páshá of Tortúm, which included Muslim Georgian and Mingrelian troops. The Mingrelian rebellion led to the looting of the region, as the Ottoman army sought to 'gain some booty as compensation for its journey' from Tortúm.²¹ Çelebi describes the pillage of hundreds of castles and villages in Mingrelia, presumably referring to the territory south of the Rioni, and the capture of thousands of prisoners for the slave trade, including 'such beautiful boys and girls, that each of them was worth a treasure in Egypt'.²²

The impact of this punitive raid must have been felt severely in western Georgia, and Ottoman rule was not seriously challenged again in Mingrelia for many years. When Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689) travelled through Turkish territory into Persia in the 1660s he found an even more fragmented situation in western Georgia. Tavernier, a Frenchman engaged in the trade of gems, published accounts of his travels at the request of Louis XIV in 1676, with an English translation following two years later. Of the Georgians in the east, he observes that 'The Georgians are very great Drinkers, and Nature has fitted them a Country that produces good store of Wine. They love the strongest Drinks best; for which reason, at their Feasts, both men and women drink more Aqua vita than Wine.'²³

Mingrelia, which 20 years previously had been described as a single province occupying all of western Georgia between the Rioni and the Sanjak of Batum, and much of Abkhazia, is described by Tavernier as extending

from a chain of mountains, that separates it from Georgia to the Black Sea, and is now divided into three provinces, every one of which has their king. The first is called the province of Imarete, or Bassa-Shioux, the king whereof pretends to a superiority over both the other, which is the reason they are often at war...

The second province is that of Mengrelia, and the ruler of this province is called the King of Dadian. The third is the province of Guriel. The province of Mengrelia was formerly subject to the King of Bassa-Shioux, who sent thither a governor, which is called in their language Dadian. One of these governors, being a person of wit and courage, gained so far upon the affection of the people, that they chose him for their king.²⁴

One of the most famous, if not the most flattering, travellers' accounts of Georgia from this period is that of Sir John Chardin a few years after Tavernier. Chardin was born in Paris in 1643, the son of a Huguenot jeweller, and went on to amass

²¹ Çelebi 1834b, 195.

²² Çelebi 1834b, 195.

²³ Tavernier 1678, 124.

²⁴ Tavernier 1678, 124.

a personal fortune through the jewel trade, largely on behalf of the same patron as Tavernier, Louis XIV of France. However, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 forced him to move to England where his wealth and character led to him being knighted by Charles II. Chardin travelled extensively in and around Persia, and published his accounts in 1686. They were reprinted in Mavor's collected accounts of celebrated voyages and travels in 1797.

Leaving Paris in 1671, Chardin travelled to Persia in search of jewels, and arrived at Caffa (modern Feodosia) on the Crimean Black Sea coast on the 3rd August 1672. From there he travelled along the Cirassian coastline, arriving at the small Mingrelian trading port of Isgaour (Sokhumi?) on the 10th September. Prior to this period Mingrelia's increasing power had seen it acquire the southern half of Abkhazia, but by 1680 the border would be fixed further south at its modern location along the Ingur river. Chardin is notable for his critical description of Mingrelia, which is largely at odds with the others that survive. It is possible that the anxieties he expresses over the safety of his jewels, at a time when Mingrelia was under attack from a combined Turkish and Gurian army and the Abkhaz opportunistically raided Isgaour, gave him a negative disposition:

The ancient Colchis was much superior in extent to the present Mingrelia. Its capital, of the same name, was seated at the efflux of the Phasis. The country is uneven, full of hills and mountains, valleys and plains. It is chiefly covered with woods, which are constantly usurping the few cultivated spots that present themselves.

The air is temperate with regard to heat or cold; but its humidity, from almost perpetual rains, often give rise to the pestilence and other fatal disorders. Numerous rivers descend into the Black Sea from Mount Caucasus.

The soil is unpropitious to corn and pulse, and the fruits are insipid and unwholesome, excepting the vines, which produce an excellent liquor. Did the inhabitants possess the art of preparing their wine properly, it would be inferior to none in the universe.

In seed time the ground is so very moist, that they sow wheat and barley without ploughing. The common grain, however, is gomm, which resembles millet, and is about the size of coriander seed. Of this they make a paste, which is used instead of bread, and is esteemed preferable to wheat; being agreeable to the taste, conducive to health, and of a cooling and laxative nature.

Beef and pork are very plentiful, and constitute the ordinary food. Goat's flesh is also used, but, it is lean and ill-flavoured. Venison is common, and the country abounds in boars and several sorts of game, and wild fowl of great delicacy and flavour.²⁵

²⁵ Mavor 1797, 120–21.

Fleeing Isgaour, Chardin continued down the coast to Anarghia (now known as Anaklia in the modern region of Mingrelia, on the Abkhaz border) at the mouth of the Astolphus river (Enguri). Finding himself in increasing danger, and with the prince of Mingrelia unable to offer security because of the war, Chardin sailed from Anarghia to the mouth of the Phasis (Rhioni), and then on again to Gonia 65 km away. He arrived in Acalzika (Akhaltsikhe) on the 9th December, where he stayed a few days before travelling to Surham (Surami), on towards Gory (Gori), and then back west to Cotatis (Kutaisi).

Mingrelia in the 19th Century

The 18th century appears largely devoid of surviving travellers accounts of western Georgia. This is perhaps because of the turmoil of the preceding century, but perhaps because it saw increasing tensions between the Ottoman empire and the Persian-dominated east and the rise of a new power in the region – the Christian Russian empire. By the 1820s Russia had annexed eastern Georgia and Imereti in the west, and was taking a keen interest in the, still, autonomous principality of Mingrelia. Jean-François Gamba, the French consul in Tbilisi, travelled widely in the region in the early 1820s and leaves a more positive account of the Mingrelians than Chardin had been able to muster:

The noble Mingrelian [called Georgighia according to Gamba], who held the functions of chief of the village [Khobi], received us with great hospitality; he was remarkable for his size and his strength; he wore a beard and a short moustache. His features were regular, but amidst an expression of kindness, which he expressed to us, he had rather the air of a feudal lord than of a peaceful cultivator.²⁶

Having offered them some tea, we were about to make use of our own provisions, when our interpreter informed us that supper was preparing for us. Accordingly, in a short time, they placed before us a long bench, on which the domestics, in great numbers, arranged the provisions. These consisted of three large vessels, containing a paste of ground millet, which they call gomi, and which was taken with a wooden trowel out of the iron cauldrons; then was brought in, two roast fowls, and a great wooden bowl, coarsely wrought, containing pieces of meat, accompanied with cold water; and, finally, white cheese, made with the milk of goats. Large cakes of corn flour served us for plates and for bread.²⁷

²⁶ Gamba 1826, 143.

²⁷ Gamba 1826, 144–45.

Gamba was also far fonder of the wine of Mingrelia than Chardin had been, perhaps because the latter had not been properly entertained as Gamba clearly was: 'The red wine which our host gave us was of a good quality, and did not at all resemble that which we had been accustomed to buy in the market of Redoute-kale.'²⁸

After leaving Khobi, Gamba travelled to Sakharbet (probably Sakharbedio), and described a difficult crossing of the River Siva (Tsivi) which had been swollen by recent summer storms.²⁹ He estimated the distance between the Siva (Tsivi) and the Techaur (Tekhuri) at about six versts (6.4 km), and described travelling through 'a fine forest, in which the elms, walnut trees and oaks are quite numerous; But the alder is everywhere the most common tree, and forms almost all the thickets. This tree seems to have taken possession of the whole Mingrelia.'³⁰ After crossing the Techaur (Tekhuri), Gamba continued to travel through forest punctuated, he noted, by clearings on which cattle were grazed; or maize, millet, barley and tobacco were cultivated.³¹ On their left (i.e. to the north) they saw the snow-capped summits of the Caucasus Mountains in the distance, and a chain of smaller mountains close by:

On one of these isolated mountains, and at a distance of about four versts from our road, stands an old castle or monastery [probably Shkhēpi Castle]; For in these countries, when they were exposed to the incursions of the barbarians, the construction of the convents and that of the fortresses were the same. This building is well preserved, of a square form, and with four bell-towers, in the middle of which stands a fairly high tower. The building is built of large-sized stones, placed in layers.³²

The bulk of the other travel accounts from the 19th century are, as in the 17th century, by missionaries and soldiers. These first hand descriptions differ significantly from the countless geographical encyclopaedia, which largely recycle very similar text on Mingrelia. The new wave of missionaries came not from catholic Europe but from protestant America and took a rather different view of alcohol consumption in the region. Eli Smith³³ wrote, disapprovingly, that 'drunkenness prevails to an incredible extent', and he goes on to describe the lawlessness of the region. However, he also noted the great strides made by the Russians in reducing the slave trade now that they held Poti and Akhaltsikhe – former Turkish slave-trading posts. Of the Russian domination of the region, acknowledged by the Ottomans in the 1829 Treaty of Adrianople, Smith wrote:

²⁸ Gamba 1826, 145.

²⁹ Gamba 1826, 153.

³⁰ Gamba 1826, 154.

³¹ Gamba 1826, 155.

³² Gamba 1826, 155–56.

³³ Smith 1833, 249.

The power of Russia, when once extended across the Caucasus, was felt no less in the valley of the Rion, than in that of the Koor, and supplanted the power of Turkey in the one, as it did that of Persia in the other. The king of Imireti rebelled against his new sovereign, was expelled, and his territories were united to the crown. The princes of Mingreli and Gooriel still hold their places, acknowledging allegiance to Russia; but their countries are filled with Cossack police stations.³⁴

By the mid-19th century, Mingrelia was once again a battleground as the Russo-Turkish wars were rekindled and fuelled, on this occasion, by the additional involvement of Britain and France. Although most commonly referred to as the Crimean War, the conflict that lasted from 1853 to 1856 was fought on a number of fronts, including western Georgia. Dodd³⁵ quotes a report prepared at the outbreak of war by Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British Ambassador at St Petersburg, which noted that the Russian Corps of the Caucasus included 25,000 troops in Mingrelia, under the command of General Beboutof. With Ottoman power on the decline at this time, the independence of the Caucasus region from Russia was an aspiration for the British and French, not least because it would serve to contain her expansion. However, this would require military victories in the region to strengthen their hand in peace negotiations. Ultimately, only a small Turkish force was transported, on British steamers, from the Crimea to the port of Redout Kalé in September 1855, yet the 'inconvenience' of this harbour led Omar Pasha to choose the more northerly port of Soucoum-Kalé for his base of operations.³⁶ From there the Turkish force (which counted among its senior ranks British officers who had formerly served in the Indian army, Poles and others) marched south-east to the Ingour river, near Zugdidi, where they had to force passage into Mingrelia against strong Russian positions on the 6th November. Understandably, for the locals, the perceived crimes of the Russian occupiers may have paled into insignificance when compared with the centuries of Turkish domination:

On the 15th, after this sojourn in a beautiful region, with the magnificent Mount Elbruz (nearly 15,000 feet high) full in view, the Turks resumed their march towards Kutais – still in the midst of the Mingrelians [...] who, whatever were their feelings towards their co-religionists the Russians, had unquestionably little sympathy with the Turks.³⁷

The most useful first-hand account of this campaign in English is, undoubtedly, that of Laurence Oliphant. He was a journalist, embedded with the Turkish rifle brigade, who wrote a very colourful description of the Mingrelian campaign.

³⁴ Smith 1833, 247.

³⁵ Dodd 1856, 22.

³⁶ Dodd 1856, 466–67.

³⁷ Dodd 1856, 467.

Having experienced the dramatic crossing of the Ingour under intense Russian fire, followed by encampment at Zugdidi, he describes the march from the 15th November down a 'very fair' road, alongside which stockades had been constructed. Oliphant observes in his account, that this 'style of harassing warfare' would have been far better for the Russians than risking general action in the crossing of the Ingour.³⁸ The following day, the army marched a further three hours before reaching Chopi (presumably meaning Khobi).

We ascended the steep hill and pitching our tents upon its summit revelled in a glorious prospect. To the left a richly wooded plain extended without an undulation to the Black Sea too distant to be visible. On the right we saw the broad fertile valley of the Chopi winding away to the base of the Caucasian range where fields of yellow stubble bore testimony to its abundant cultivation. Villages clustered among the woods which clothed the hill sides.³⁹

Leaving Chopi (Khobi) on the 17th November the army moved south, and soon met the 'macadamised'⁴⁰ road which connected Redoute Kale (Kulevi) with Tbilisi. From there they continued marching east towards Kutaisi. According to Oliphant, the good weather and the beauty of the landscape 'rendered campaigning in Mingrelia a most agreeable occupation'.⁴¹ Oliphant, echoing Gamba's observations of 30 years previously, describes the road to Kutaisi winding along the bases of the spurs that emerged from the Caucasus Mountains and extend onto the plain. He also noted that the wooded hills to the north were 'almost invariably crowned by the wooden walls of some old monastery or the massive battlements of a ruined fortress'.⁴² As the Turkish army made good progress through Mingrelia, there seemed a very real chance that they could reach the main Russian base in Kutaisi – the taking of which would break their hold on west Georgia – but the weather was about to change to favour the Russians. In the meantime, Oliphant took advantage of having picked up a local guide and translator and ventured a little way beyond the route of the main force, exploring the countryside and meeting the locals:

Then we smoked pipes of Mingrelian tobacco which I found excellent. Over these we discussed politics and the men assured me that though they hated the Turks as much as the Russians, if an English or French army came they would be delighted to see them and give them every assistance in the shape of supplies &c. Whether this was genuine or only for my benefit I was unable to judge.⁴³

³⁸ Oliphant 1856, 130.

³⁹ Oliphant 1856, 132.

⁴⁰ Oliphant 1856, 134.

⁴¹ Oliphant 1856, 136.

⁴² Oliphant 1856, 137.

⁴³ Oliphant 1856, 142.

The bulk of the Turkish army remained camped on the banks of the Ziewie (Tsivi), while Skender (a Polish officer in Ottoman service, for whom Oliphant has nothing but praise) took his troops 8 km further ahead, to the river Techoua (Tekhuri) about 3 km from Sinakia (Senaki). From that camp, Ferhad Pasha 'had pushed a reconnaissance as far as the Skeniscal where he had a slight skirmish with the outposts of the Russians who had gradually retired until they had placed this river between themselves and their enemy'.⁴⁴ With the Skeniscal (Tskhenitskali) now the last physical obstacle between the Turks and Kutaisi, and the Russians fortifying positions on the opposite bank, the army began building bridges across the Ziewie and the Techoua. Oliphant used the days spent waiting for the bridges to be completed to explore the locality further, including accompanying Colonel Caddell to Sinakia (Senaki) where English stout was sold by enterprising shopkeepers for seven shillings a bottle.⁴⁵

Sinakia was however the most popular resort with us as being a comparatively near approach to civilisation. It was composed of two streets of wooden houses and had been deserted upon our approach, the inhabitants taking refuge in the woods bearing with them thither all their stock in trade. When, however, our harmless character and readiness to pay fabulous prices was discovered, five or six storekeepers returned and opened their shops in which a few of the luxuries of civilisation could be procured, though the wine was undrinkable.

[...] The town was situated at the base of a range of hills about two thousand feet high, upon a spur of which had been perched the picturesque old castle of Schehekheppe [Shkhepi] with its unpronounceable name and heavy tower rising in the form of a truncated cone above its massive walls covered with ivy. It was the residence formerly of one of the Dadians and still belongs to one of them.⁴⁶

Just as the bridges were being completed, and the march on Kutaisi could resume, the weather changed and heavy rain turned the rivers that had previously been placid into torrents. Skender's bridge over the Techoua was the first to be swept away, followed by the one across the Ziewie, effectively cutting the army in half. Once the bridges were replaced the main force was able to cross the Ziewie and, after a fortnight encampment there, marched to Sinakia. The following day the crossing of the Techoua was accomplished, with some difficulty, but by now the heavy rain had transformed the character of the landscape:

⁴⁴ Oliphant 1856, 152.

⁴⁵ Oliphant 1856, 154.

⁴⁶ Oliphant 1856, 158–59.

The next morning saw us again en route. The road was literally knee deep in mud so that we preferred scrambling through the woods and over the corn fields to following it. Every mile or even less there was a deep stream to cross which always created a good deal of delay. One of these, the Abasha, was almost as formidable as the Techoua and I looked forward with some apprehension to the Skeniscal, which was reported to be a great deal larger than either.

[...] We camped at a distance of about two miles from the Skeniscal and, being now again in the presence of the enemy, care was required in placing the outposts. I rode round them with the Sirdar Ekrem Omer Pasha in the afternoon and he cheered the hearts of the men as he passed by telling them that on the following day they should fight the Russians. They answered with loud shouts of *Inshallah*. Intelligence had indeed arrived that although not prepared to dispute the passage of the river the enemy had taken up a position near Mehranie about two miles from it where they intended to risk another general action.⁴⁷

With the Skeniscal apparently a torrent some 200 m wide, carrying tree trunks on its 'boiling surface', Oliphant rode with Skender up the bank, looking for a place to cross.

Now and then we could see the figures of the Russian soldiers posted upon the opposite side but they did not fire at us. The country people showed us a number of places where the river was fordable in fair weather, but they laughed at the idea of attempting to cross it in its present state so we turned reluctantly back after being so near Kutais that had we been on the other side of the stream in two hours smart riding we should have reached it.⁴⁸

The decision to retreat was announced to the troops on the 8th December 1855, after the Skeniscal had been determined to be unpassable. Had they been able to cross the river, the Turks were ready to resupply their army upon reaching Kutaisi – with their support vessels loaded and ready to move up the Rhion from Redoute Kaleb – and consequently this was a disappointing end to a daring campaign. Oliphant's accounts provide a fascinating insight into the Turkish troop movements during this period, but most interesting are the glimpses into Mingrelian culture he affords. Despite not mentioning Nokalakevi by name, Oliphant was clearly no more than 15 km from it at some stage, and may well have visited it on one of his travels in the vicinity of Senaki – the castle of Shkhepi he mentions is on the road between Senaki and Nokalakevi.

⁴⁷ Oliphant 1856, 165–66.

⁴⁸ Oliphant 1856, 169.

After this campaign, the nature of travellers' accounts of Georgia changed and, as the territory of Georgia was once again reunited under the Russian crown, inevitably the focus was less on the rural west and increasingly on urban Tbilisi, in the east. Notable scholarly contributions in this period include the work of Sir (John) Oliver Wardrop (1864–1948), the founder of Kartvelian studies at Oxford University who became Britain's first Chief Commissioner of the Transcaucasus after the First World War. After travelling to Georgia in 1887 he began work on *The Kingdom of Georgia*, published in 1888, before embarking on a number of books relating to the language and culture of the country.

Independent Georgia

Towards the end of the First World War, journalists and military alike took a keen interest in the likely fate of Georgia – unified and independent for the first time in centuries – as it became pivotal to events in the region. Some accounts from soldiers of the British 27th Division, stationed in the Southern Caucasus as peacekeepers in this period, have been discussed by the author elsewhere⁴⁹ so will not be duplicated here, instead the focus will be on the American view of the region. Maynard Owen Williams (1888–1963) was the first foreign correspondent for the *National Geographic*, and travelled across the southern regions of the Russian empire in late 1917 in order to document its collapse. Bearing witness to the first investiture of a Georgian Katholikos for a century, a statement of Georgia's newly (but briefly) regained independence, he noted that the Turks had retaken the district of Batum(i) and wrote: 'Whether Georgia can hold out against the Turks and Germans remains to be seen, but of one thing we may be sure, Georgia will never tamely submit to oppression.'⁵⁰ Another correspondent for *National Geographic*, Melville Chater, wrote about the unfolding humanitarian crisis in Armenia the following year. He described his arrival in Batumi:

Everyone was on deck for the night – British Tommies and their officers, the little Mongol-faced Ghurkas, the tall and dignified Sikhs, the gray-clad nursing sisters – and even the Punjabi cooks in our fore hatchway ceased work on the flour-and-water cakes, which they had been baking incessantly for four days, and shaded their eyes toward the wide, squat port of Batum, with its foreground of British warcraft and its sky-line where the pear-shaped church domes of Russian civilization spired upward.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Everill 2012.

⁵⁰ Williams 1918, 251.

⁵¹ Chater 1919, 393.

Batumi was the gateway to the western Caucasus in this period, and it was essential to the western allies to keep it open. It was described by the American Major General James Guthrie Harbord, following his appointment by President Wilson as Head of the American Mission to Turkey and the Near East, thus:

Batum was in actual possession by the British with a brigade of troops and a military governor. At the period of our visit, it was coveted by the Turks, the Georgians, and Denikin's Army. It appeared likely that the withdrawal of the British troops, which some expected at that time, would be the signal for a rush of all three of those interested parties for possession of this important well-equipped port. The Georgians claim it because its people are of their blood, and it is geographically a part of their country. Denikin wanted it because it is necessary to Russia; the Turks because they once held it and the majority of its people though of Georgian origin are Moslems.⁵²

Chater, in his article, describes a conversation with a British officer on the train from Batumi to Tbilisi through Mingrelia, over 'bully beef and tea'.⁵³ 'At the Bolshevik revolution the Russian army of the Transcaucasus had flung down its arms and gone home, so there wasn't any one left to stop the Boche and Turk from having their way', Chater reports the British officer as saying, 'Since then we've been doing a kind of police job here, while the Peace Table – heaven help it! – decides.'⁵⁴ Chater also describes the esteem with which British soldiers, the Tommies or the 'Great British Thomas',⁵⁵ were held in the region, when he relates the officer's account of an incident during which Georgian and Armenia forces were engaged in a border dispute, with the Armenians apparently faring the better:

Well, one day an officer of ours, with a dozen or so Tommies, comes along to where the two armies lay on either side of the railroad, about to go at it again. The officer chap jumps in between the opposing forces and makes a bit of a speech from the railroad ties.

'Commanders of the Georgian and Armenian Armies in being', he says, 'since you can't carry on without killing some of His Majesty's forces, I propose an armistice.'

So the British army of twelve sat down to its tea, in between the firing lines, while terms were concluded. And now we are occupying the disputed region, in trust, as it were, and the two republics have called off the dogs of war. Peace reigns in Georgia.⁵⁶

⁵² Harbord 1920, 279.

⁵³ Chater 1919, 397.

⁵⁴ Chater 1919, 399.

⁵⁵ Chater 1919, 399.

⁵⁶ Chater 1919, 399.

Travellers' Accounts of Nokalakevi

The first known reference to Nokalakevi in any of the travellers' accounts that survive, appears in the *Relazione della Colchide hoggi detta Mengrellia* published by Arcangelo Lamberti in 1653. However, Lamberti's descriptions are primarily of religious and medical practices in Mingrelia,⁵⁷ with some discussion of the flora and fauna; and of the major rivers. Nokalakevi, which he calls Nacalachèns, is mentioned briefly as one of the places where Laurel is found.⁵⁸ Of the Tekhuri river, which Lamberti calls the Tachùr, he suggests that it was the Sigames described by Arrian in the 2nd century from which the name Sinàghi (Senaki) might be derived⁵⁹ – though modern scholars⁶⁰ suggest that the Enguri is a more likely candidate for the Sigame.

Frédéric Dubois de Montpéroux (1798–1850) travelled widely in the Caucasus region from 1831 to 1834. A classically-educated Swiss polymath, he is acknowledged as the first to identify the ruins of Nokalakevi with the city of Archaeopolis described by the Byzantine historian, Procopius. His account, published in 1839, is the one most commonly cited, but he had previously contributed a letter to the *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences* in 1835:

I then visited, in Mingrelia, the ruins of Nacolachewi, where the three fortified castles occupy a large tract along the banks the Tachauri. They were erected at different periods, and the lower castle, to judge by its style of architecture, must be of great antiquity. It contains the ruins of an extremely ancient palace of the czars, and a church. Martvili, the seat of the Bishop of Mingrelia, deserves to be visited, as well on account of its magnificent situation as for its very beautiful church.⁶¹

His book contains a far more detailed description of his visit,⁶² along with discussion of the site's association with Archaeopolis:

My guide alerted me to the fact that Prince Dadian, was camped upon the plain where he was hunting, so I left the monastery [at Martvili] where I was staying in order to find him.

[...] 6 Versts from Martvili, we forded the Abacha River; another 6 Versts led us to the banks of the Tekhouri where we left behind the last traces of mountainous country to enter the great plane of Phase. Who would recognise, in these walls and ruins, covered

⁵⁷ See Pkhakadze and Chagunava 2011 for discussion of the latter.

⁵⁸ Lamberti 1653, 234.

⁵⁹ Lamberti 1653, 208–09.

⁶⁰ See, for example, Braund and Sinclair 2000, 1227.

⁶¹ Dubois de Montpéroux 1835, 620.

⁶² Dubois de Montpéroux 1839, 50–61.

with ivy and fig trees, in this silence and in this desolate place, the ancient capital of the Lazes, the Archeopolis of Procopius, the Aea of Circe and the Argonauts? We find, in order to enter through the venerable precinct, supported by old towers, an arched doorway where the stone and brick emerges beneath the vines of the wall pellitory (*Parietaria judaica*). Huge plane trees, Persimmons (*Diospyros* sp.), walnut tress garlanded with vines, the tall undergrowth masking the ruins sought by my avid eyes.⁶³

Dubois de Montpéreux goes on to describe the humble abode of Bejan Dadiani, nephew of the prince of Mingrelia, at Nokalakevi, with wooden benches and a plank for a table standing on an earthen floor. The wine he served, which was apparently of high quality, was served in cups made of horn and a sheep was slaughtered in order to feed his guests. Despite the basic nature of the household, Dubois de Montpéreux notes that 'every thing that he offered us, he gave with such good heart'.⁶⁴ In describing the ruins, he wrote that:

The area of Nokalakevi where we were comprised a fairly large wall, cornered in by the Tekkouri, laden with the ruins of a bridge, and a high hill dominating the area. It was enclosed in all parts by a high wall built of brick with occasional stone, of which the major part is fairly well preserved, although demonstrating visible traces of age. Some square towers placed here and there truncated the perimeter of the wall. It is what Procopius called the castle, the doors below.

In the interior of the fortress, where nature competes with heaps of rubble, of old building foundations that she has covered with a vigorous vegetation, an old building can still be made out beneath the ivy, which climbs all over: the walls are of big grey ashlar stones. On all the ground floor, in other words underground, it is also vaulted with the same stone. This storey has a large door with a portico leading into a large room: all around is a stone podium similar to the winter apartment of King Tamar at Vardzie; low and narrow windows provide light. The upper storey has disappeared. These are the remains of the palace which was that of the Lazes.

The portico and the great door face a very old church, very simple, with an extremely low cupola that I have made a plan of. The Church is built of stone and brick, like Pitzounda. The Bema is simple, the apse on the left was added later. The pictures are coarse and very worn. The church demonstrates all the characteristics of the most pure primitive Byzantine style. There are neither sculptures nor inscriptions. Nothing but ivory and figs veil the bareness.⁶⁵

⁶³ Dubois de Montpéreux 1839, 50–52.

⁶⁴ Dubois de Montpéreux 1839, 53.

⁶⁵ Dubois de Montpéreux 1839, 55–57.



Fig. 2: Ruins of Nokalakevi around the Forty Martyrs' Church
(drawing by P. Sellier, after Dubois de Montpéroux: Serena 2015, 23).

Dubois de Montpéroux speculated that the church (Fig. 2) was contemporary with the emperor Justinian and Zathus. The latter he describes as being the 'evangeliser of the Lazes'⁶⁶ and having established a church in their capital, while he credits Justinian with having that church, threatened with ruin, repaired. The bell tower, still used as such to this day, he describes as being 'built of large stones like the Palace, [and] is 100 yards from the church. It possesses an external stone staircase and is more modern than the church.'⁶⁷ He also describes the castle that sits on the ridge overlooking the lower town:

This masonry was cut in a hurry, and appears to be much more modern than the church and the palace, the materials, as well as those of the surrounding buildings would have served in this construction. One is able to see from place to place some blocks of stone that could only have come from there. This castle is not remarkable with neither an inscription, nor relief nor trace of internal division. On the side of the Tekhouri, the

⁶⁶ Dubois de Montpéroux 1839, 57.

⁶⁷ Dubois de Montpéroux 1839, 57.

rock forms a chasm; that which is accessible is surrounded by a very deep ditch, lined with box tree. The view is superb. The great precinct, the interior castle and the hillock upon which it is set are dominated by a craggy hill by the side of the river. We climbed it with great difficulty, my guide and myself, during which he explained to me the marvels of Nokalakevi. Its summit is crowned by a third fortress which is 460 yards long and which is shaped as a parallelogram on the crest of the hill; the entrance, the only accessible point, is towards the north-east and is furnished with towers and openings; this what Procopius refers to as the gate on high. The other extremity of the fort, which is higher, contains a great construction of stone and large narrow bricks, which I suspect to be another of the palaces of the Kings of Lazes or a residence of the commander of the fort.⁶⁸

The following day, the kindly Bejan Dadiani advised Dubois de Montpéreux to accept the invitation of his far wealthier cousin Alexandre, whom Bejan admitted would be able to 'treat [him] far better than [he had] been able to do'.⁶⁹

Despite being nephew to the prince, Bejan was only in receipt of a modest income compared with his cousin:

We took his advice and accepted the invitation of Prince Alexandre who himself came to find us, and who led us to a strongly built house of wood where he lived with his mother, by the Tekhour, opposite the ruins. He prepared us a great feast and there was no lack of abundance or gaiety. I was not able to hand myself over to this as the wonderful people wished; I spent upwards of two hours wandering round, examining the ruins of the fort above, and when I returned I found them still at the table and feasting.⁷⁰

Only four or five years after Dubois de Montpéreux visited the region, the noted British diarist and traveller Anne Lister travelled through Nokalakevi. Lister was a wealthy Yorkshire-woman, having inherited the Shibden Hall estate, near Halifax, from her aunt. Lister's diaries represent an enormous body of primary source material, but they are perhaps most noteworthy for the fact that she lived unapologetically as a lesbian. In fact, many consider her to be the first 'modern' lesbian and her (often coded and incredibly intimate) diary entries contain significant detail on her lifestyle. Eschewing even a pretence at conventionality, Lister married Ann Walker in 1834 and, even though it was not legally recognised at the time, Walker did ultimately inherit Shibden Hall on Lister's death. Travelling with Walker, Lister embarked on her final journey, to Russia and into the Caucasus, from 1839. As David Lang⁷¹ has noted, Lister's accounts of the Caucasus represent a great untapped

⁶⁸ Dubois de Montpéreux 1839, 58–59.

⁶⁹ Dubois de Montpéreux 1839, 61.

⁷⁰ Dubois de Montpéreux 1839, 61.

⁷¹ Lang 1990.

resource for those studying the history of the region. However, it appears that, after staying a time in Koutais (Kutaisi) and Choni (Khoni), Lister and Walker passed through Nokalakevi (which she spells Nakolakevi) on the 7th August 1840, *en route* to Zugdidi, without describing it. It was around this time that she received the tick bite that brought on the illness that killed her, in Kutaisi, on the 22nd September 1840. Arriving in Zugdidi, she was received by David Dadiani, the regent of Mingrelia, who presented her with a letter of safe passage for the remainder of her journey in that region. This letter, which survives in the archives in Halifax (Fig. 3), along with a huge quantity of her other papers brought back to England by Ann Walker, offers a glimpse into the enlightened court of David Dadiani, *de facto* ruler of Mingrelia following his father's retirement earlier in 1840. In his 'open letter', dated 30th July (12th August in the Gregorian Calendar), he wrote:

Two respectable persons from the foreign country Anglia by their wish travelling to this place, all populated countries and villages, to see mountains, fields and unknown sights. Wherever these two would wish to travel in places in our domain, they are permitted and because of it we annunciate all of our Lieges, high and low, to respect them during their travel in all their demands, to present food and drink, bringing horse and all other demands immediately and to guide these respectable scholars wherever they would like to see the places of mountains and surroundings. By the grace of God by our right I write to all nobles, managers and officials not to show any deficiency to those strangers travelling to our domain. CHKM [1840] year, day of July L [30th]. Heir of Mengrelia [LS].⁷²

The work of John Mason Neal is worth briefly touching on here, though he wrote purely from secondary sources in publishing his *History of the Holy Eastern Church* in 1850, and as a result his work does not qualify as a traveller's account. However, his description of the Forty Martyrs' church at Nokalakevi (Fig. 4), though based largely on Dubois de Montpéreux's observations, also includes some additional detail from other sources. It is interesting to note that the prothesis he describes no longer survives, and that a small chapel to St George has been added on the northern side subsequently:

The church of the Forty Martyrs [footnote in original: 'Mouravieff, Georgia, iii 260 The plan is from Dubois de Montpéreux'], at Nakolakevi, the ancient Archaeopolis, and the Christian capital of the Lazi, and close to the city of the Argonauts, was rebuilt by Justinian from the ruins of an earlier church. It is undoubtedly that to which Procopius refers. It stands alone towards the top of a hill, and in the midst of ruins, now overgrown with trees and underwood. It is remarkable for the projection of the prothesis to the north, and for its immense size; for the double instead of the triple apse; for the smallness of the diaconicon, and for the chapel of the Forty Martyrs, attached to the south side of

⁷² West Yorkshire Archive Service, Calderdale SH:7/ML/1115.

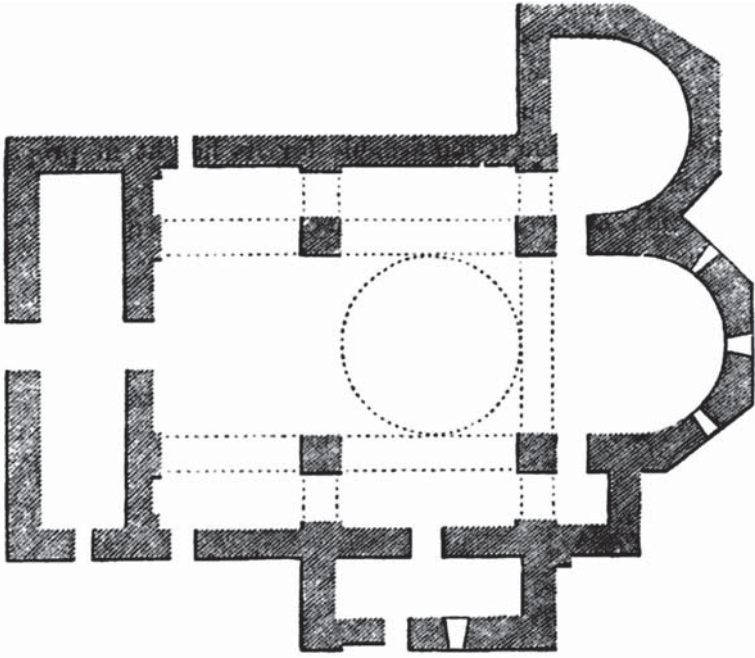


Fig. 4: Plan of Forty Martyrs' Church, derived from Dubois de de Montpéroux (after Neal 1850, 255).

the choir. Justinian gave some relics of the Martyrs of Sebaste to this church: and to commemorate them, forty stones are placed in the pavement of the chapel. The narthex has an entrance from the south, as well as from the west. Here we have the influence of the new fashion, the apses being polygonal.⁷³

A generation after Dubois de Montpéroux, Lister and Walker travelled in the region, after the upheaval of the Crimean War and before poor Russo-Turkish relations erupted once again into open conflict in the region, John Buchan Telfer toured the Crimea and Transcaucasia with his Russian wife Ekaterina. Telfer was a Commander in the Royal Navy and a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and provides a wonderfully vivid account of his travels between 1872 and 1875. He started the sixty-sixth day of his tour in Senaki, and 'when morning came I started for Nakalakev with a Russian official, in a troika and post-horses, and we drove along the valley of the river Tehour, through the straggling villages of Sh'hepy, Staroy-Senaky, Sorta, and Kortamety'.⁷⁴ Telfer's description of Nokalakevi itself is particularly evocative:

⁷³ Neal 1850, 255–56.

⁷⁴ Telfer 1876, 122.

At the hamlet of Nakalakev we crossed to the left bank of the Tehour, where the ground at the foot of an eminence anciently named Mount Ounaghyra, but now more commonly called Dedamoukha, is covered with piles of venerable ruins.

One edifice only, a church of the sixth century, has survived the wreck of time; it is in part of brick and stone, in the purest style of early Byzantine architecture, like the church at Pytzounda, but otherwise of little interest, except for the forty small circular slabs let into the floor, at the south entrance, over the heads of the Forty martyrs, and among the numerous names inscribed in Georgian on the north wall is that of St. Sylvester, Pope. There are no ornamentations, frescoes, or other inscriptions.

To the west of the ruins is a vaulted passage, through which, by means of a flight of steps, communication was had with the river for the supply of water, as was the case at Gori, Ouplytzykhe, Ksanka, &c. The priest informed us that after the Forty martyrs were beheaded, their bodies and heads were flung into the river from the opposite cliff; the bodies were carried away by the stream, but the heads floated to the steps, where they were recovered, and afterwards buried in the church, of which the Forty martyrs are the protectors.

To reach the fortress above the church we had to scramble uphill through dense vegetation which extends over the very walls, some of the trees about the parapets having attained their full growth. The walls, which in some parts are 7 feet in thickness, appear to be of more modern construction and in better preservation than the church. There is a second fortress in a still higher position, but we did not care to ascend to it in the noonday heat of a broiling sun.

Nakalakev is probably the site of the Archæopolis of the Byzantines, with the description of which it greatly accords. A fortress was built here as early as the reign of Pharnawaz, king of Karthly, by his relative Koudj, *erystav* of Souaneth, after whom it was named Tzykhe-Koudj.

Archæopolis subsequently became the most strongly fortified city of the Lazi, who about the year 470 defeated the Onougours or Tetraxite Goths, in a battle near the city, and in commemoration of their victory they constructed a fortress and called it Ounagoury. A century later, when the Persians invaded these provinces, Mesmeroes returned by way of Archæopolis and laid siege to it, after burning the Roman camp on the Phasis. Archæopolis existed as a fortress to the eighth century, when it was destroyed by Mourwan, and became in later times a residence of the Dadian.⁷⁵

The same year that saw Telfer's volumes published also bore witness to another Western traveller touring Mingrelia. Mme Carla Serena's accounts were translated from the original French and published in a single volume by Peter Skinner in 2015. They provide yet another invaluable source for those seeking to understand the historical character and development of the Caucasus region and, like Telfer's,

⁷⁵ Telfer 1876, 123–24.

include some vivid descriptions of Nokalakevi and its environs. Serena herself was born in Belgium in 1820, raised in France, and settled in London with her wealthy Venetian husband in the 1850s. Serena was certainly a remarkable woman, leaving London in 1874 for five years of extensive travel at the age of 54 and after giving birth to five children. Equally remarkable, given her social standing, was her willingness to travel relatively unsupported, aside from a guide and a porter. Serena appears to have been equally comfortable in the company of the Viceroy of the Caucasus as she was relying on traditional Georgian hospitality, or sleeping outside when required.⁷⁶

Serena had been staying in Kutaisi, and from there she was escorted on her rail journey to Senaki (Novo-Senaki in her account). Upon her arrival she was met by the head of the district and led, across the thick mud and snow, to the house of a Russian officer and his Mingrelian wife who ‘gave me a most friendly welcome and appointed themselves my guides’.⁷⁷ She describes Novo-Senaki, apparently founded in 1876, as a ‘city in miniature’,⁷⁸ with a population under 300 and surrounded by vast swamps. The bazaar, she writes, ‘is the center of local life, the meeting place for strollers and the unemployed, and at the same time the field of study where strangers can come to observe at their ease the *mores* of the inhabitants of the Caucasus’⁷⁹ – a description that holds true to this day. Novo-Senaki had, according to Serena, been built to replace Staro-Senaki (Old Senaki) as the administrative capital of the district, after the latter had been devastated by floods in May 1869. ‘These floods’, she writes, ‘the last of which [...] was terrible, are attributed to the imprudence of excessive deforestation’.⁸⁰ Her descriptions of Nokalakevi itself are, like Telfer’s, worth quoting at length because they are so evocative and useful to modern studies of the site.

At fifteen versts from Senaki, beside a highway that was opened a couple of years ago, flows the River Tekhura [footnote in original: ‘So called from the precipitous violence of its waters, which break off and carry away everything they encounter; Tekha, in the local language, means “break off”.’]. There, on a high rocky mound that dominates the watercourse, may be seen the vestiges of ancient buildings. They are alleged to be those of the former city. Gold and silver coins have been exhumed there, showing on one side the head of a ram, and, on the other, that of a man, which people think they can identify as that of Jason. Without discussing the problem of numismatics, I will say that, in all probability, the architectural reliefs discovered in this place come from the Laz city of Archaeopolis, which was built on the ruins of Aea.

⁷⁶ Skinner 2015, ii.

⁷⁷ Serena 2015, 19.

⁷⁸ Serena 2015, 20.

⁷⁹ Serena 2015, 20.

⁸⁰ Serena 2015, 20.

The place is known today as Nokalakevi, a Georgian word which means *former city*. The remains of the acropolis of the ancient city are located on a hill about a thousand feet high; they consist of two encircling walls, formed a roadway that extends for about two versts.

[...] As for other quite numerous ruins to be seen inside the present city, they are, it would seem, the remains of houses and churches. At the central point of the hill arises a spacious gateway, the only one that affords entry to the city, the dressed stones of which it is constructed are so massive that you ask yourself how, without the aid of machinery, these gigantic blocks could be transported. The city was fortified on one side; on the other was a rampart of rocks

[...] A tunnel dug in the rock that overhangs the river was formerly used as a secret passage and also as a channel for drinking water when the city was besieged.

The thickly wooded mountain, teeming with game, which dominates these ruins is known as Mount Unagira.

An excellent lunch, washed down with champagne, was offered to me at the foot of these venerable ruins, the philosophic visions of the past were thus agreeably combined with the legitimate enjoyment of the present moment.⁸¹

Serena goes on to describe the significant infrastructural improvements to the communication network allowing the local population to move more freely across territory previously punctuated by extensive marshes. The construction of a road from Senaki to Nokalakevi, shortly before her visit, was only part of this investment. Equally important was the route over the two rivers it crossed – the Abasha and the Tekhuri. The former was easily forded, however the Tekhuri, especially at Nokalakevi where it has carved a steep gorge through the limestone, was impossible to cross at times of torrent. Serena describes a situation, in the years shortly before her visit, when

hundreds of peasants from the plains and the inhabitants of the neighboring mountains were held up for weeks on one bank or the other, without being able to cross. This occurred mainly in the month of August, in other words at the time of the fairs, which coincides with the rainy season, when communications are most active between the river-dwellers on opposite sides of the Tekhura, one group coming to sell the products of their labor, the other to lay in their provisions for the winter.⁸²

Serena notes that, at the time of her visit to Nokalakevi, work was ongoing on the construction of a bridge 'between two rocks at the foot of Mount Unagira (104 feet long)'.⁸³ The project, conceived by the head of the district, was being undertaken

⁸¹ Serena 2015, 20–22.

⁸² Serena 2015, 23.

⁸³ Serena 2015, 23.

‘with no help from engineers or machinery, as everything is done in these regions, where man is virtually the sole instrument of work.’⁸⁴ Local sources indicate that, in 1895, this bridge across the Tekhuri was replaced with an iron one, which was itself replaced during rehabilitation work at Nokalakevi by the National Agency for Cultural Heritage Preservation of Georgia in 2018. Seeing the river reminded Serena of the story of the Forty Martyrs who, she writes, were captured by the invading Muslims, beheaded, and thrown in the river. Although the Forty Martyrs’ church at Nokalakevi predates the Muslim faith by some considerable time, Serena claims it to have been built in memory of this event with a Chapel of the Forty Saints attached to it. Within this chapel was, she writes, a ‘tombstone surmounted by raised reliefs in the form of skulls’,⁸⁵ with their martyrdom celebrated on the 9th March each year. In concluding her description of this part of her travels, she wrote:

At Novo-Senaki, Europe and civilization are represented by only a few families, a charming and united little group. Their houses, located on the main highway, open their hospitable doors to any traveller who may knock on them, and immediately, in honor of the passerby, pleasure parties are organized, which enhance still more the attractions of the site. Nokalakevi, in particular, takes the prize for picnics.⁸⁶

Conclusion

While it must be recognised that historical accounts by travellers may well include inaccuracies, the sources presented here represent fascinating glimpses into the province of Mingrelia over the course of its often difficult recent history. Mingrelia (Samegrelo in Georgian) is an integral part of the modern country of Georgia today, and yet it retains many distinctive characteristics, including its own language – a branch of the Kartvelian (i.e. Georgian) group, itself one of the primary language families unrelated to any other. However, the pressures of the modern world are seeing a decline in native Mingrelian speakers as greater numbers travel to the growing cities of Kutaisi (in neighbouring Imereti) and Tbilisi (in Kartli) in search of work.

Through the collection of foreign accounts presented here, the reader can observe everyday life in Mingrelia experienced at a local level as priests, merchants, soldiers, journalists and tourists from beyond Georgia describe their personal observations and interactions. Amongst these accounts the most useful to archaeologists are

⁸⁴ Serena 2015, 23.

⁸⁵ Serena 2015, 24.

⁸⁶ Serena 2015, 24.

perhaps those few that describe Nokalakevi itself, presenting a picture of the place that predates the first archaeological work at the site in 1930. The work of Dubois de Montpéreux, in particular, served to inspire these early investigations and it is he that is rightly considered the first to discuss the ancient history of the site with the benefit of a classical education. However, the social history contained within many of the accounts is perhaps just as important, serving to preserve the unexcavatable past of the Mingrelian people.

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CLASSICS IN CHINA: AN UPDATE

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Abstract

Classics in particular, and the studies of ancient Western civilisations in general, are fast-growing disciplines in the People's Republic of China. The article outlines current developments with regard to the establishment of research topics and processes in Chinese academia. Furthermore, opportunities and challenges of this development in context of international trends will also be addressed.

Have you heard about the Tacitus Trap? If not, that is because the discussion of this concept is almost entirely confined to Chinese social and political science departments, even though it is often claimed within China's academic circles that the term derives from the West. Based on Tacitus' description of Galba, whose (ordered) killings of two potential usurpers at the beginning of his reign caused distrust in all of his subsequent actions, whether justified or not, researchers discuss the problem of information flow in social networks and media in terms of trust, or mistrust, in the current government.¹ For us Westerners it shows that the reception and appropriation of Classical authors can enter intricate paths that stimulate our own research, if we are sensitive to them.

Thus, 20 years after the last status report by W. Brashear,² it seems time to give an update on the development of Classics in China. Much has happened since the 1990s when the foundation took place of the Institute for the History of Ancient Civilizations (IHAC) at Northeast Normal University, Changchun. At that time, only the first generation of locally trained scholars of ancient Western civilisations were serving in positions at universities and research institutions.

First of all, one can state that Classics and studies of ancient Western civilisations³ have now taken root throughout China. The Chinese Society of Ancient and Mediaeval World History, founded in 1991 by the already existing (since 1979) Chinese Society of Ancient World History and the Chinese Society of Mediaeval World History, currently serves as an umbrella organisation with a board of 46 members. It issues an annual academic review of current research trends, theories and methods as well as abstracts of newly appeared books and articles published in journals that are indexed in the Chinese Social Science Citation Index (CSSCI), and the two branches for ancient and mediaeval history hold annual meetings where established scholars and junior researchers present their papers and ongoing projects. The society is also a member of the *Fédération Internationale des Associations d'Études Classiques* (FIEC), and within East Asia, biennial meetings of scholars from China,

¹ See Tacitus *Hist.* 1. 7. 1–2. On the reception process, see Günther 2018.

² Brashear 1997. The first report was Brashear 1990.

³ Going back to the founding idea of IHAC, Ancient Civilisation Studies include the fields of Assyriology, Hittitology, Classics and Egyptology that are usually separated in the West.

Japan and Korea are being organised. Contacts with and regular participation in the annual meetings of the Australasian Society for Classical Studies have been taking place too.

Still, IHAC, the cradle of studies in ancient Western civilisations, is one of the leading research centres, and the only institute of its kind in China. It is currently directed by Prof. Dr Zhang Qiang, who focuses on Greek Classics. As vice-director, he has appointed the present author, who has a chair in Roman Studies, to strengthen IHAC and exchange between East and West on all levels. Currently, IHAC has one Chinese professor of Egyptology and two of Classics. The chair of Assyriology is vacant, so is the one of Byzantine Studies, which was integrated into IHAC in 2016. Together with the seven other staff members and aided by the great contribution of the yearly appointed 'foreign experts' who teach and conduct their research as long-term visiting professors, IHAC instructs about 15 students in each grade in MA studies that last three years, and accepts four or five PhD candidates every year. Teaching is conducted in Chinese and English, so are research projects and papers. The *Journal of Ancient Civilizations (JAC)*, established in 1986, has been a double blind peer-reviewed journal since 2016, and now produces two issues per year. The quality of the review and publication process is being verified by the present author, who serves as its chief executive director.

However, IHAC is no longer the only place where one can study or research antiquity. All over the country, mainly in History Departments but also in Philosophy or Foreign Language Departments, considerable progress has been made.⁴ Peking University, for instance, has established a Centre for Classical and Mediaeval Studies in 2011, and Renmin University (Beijing) created a Centre of Classical Civilization Research in 2014. This centre also published an international Chinese journal called *The Chinese Journal of Classical Studies*, which does not seem to have been continued. Chongqing University and Southwest University also set up research centres including Classics in recent years, as well as Nankai University for Hellenic Studies in 2017. Southwest University issues the biannual journal *Classic Review* under the direction of Prof. Xu Songyan. In 2015, Prof. Liu Jinyu from DePauw University formed a research team that successfully won funding from Chinese National Social Science Foundation for a major project, the full translation of the ancient Roman poet Ovid, receiving support and co-operation from most of the famous scholars of Classics in China.⁵ She has also been appointed as Distinguished Guest Professor at Shanghai Normal University for 2014 to 2020, where she helps to form a strong Classics programme. Recently at Zhuhai, a branch of Sun Yat-sen University (Guangzhou), an undergraduate programme for Classics has opened, which will be developed with the help of IHAC. Fudan University (Shanghai) makes strong efforts in Greek Philology, led by, *inter alios*, Prof. Zhang Wei and Dr Xian Ruobing. And Beijing Foreign Studies University has now a new study programme in Latin with a focus on learning in the original language. To establish and ensure a high standard of Latin and Greek, Prof. Peng Xiaoyu and Dr Hendrikus van Wijlick at Peking University, in co-operation with Prof. Fritz-Heiner

⁴ One may wonder why there is no Classical Philology in China. There is a different concept of philology in the Chinese language. The Chinese term *wenxian* (philology) covers the study of ancient documents but, for example linguistic or literary methods are applied in other subjects.

⁵ <https://www.researchgate.net/project/Translating-the-Complete-Collection-of-Ovids-Poetry-into-Chinese-with-commentaries-guluomashirenaoweidequanjiyizhu> (consulted 3.1.2019).

Mutschler and the present author, have set up a nationwide examination at the elementary and intermediate levels.

At present, different projects are carried out at universities with centres or chairs focusing on ancient Western civilisations. Like the aforementioned Ovid project, many focus on translations because China does not have a tradition of translating classical authors into its own language, particularly not from the original ancient text. The Rizhi Classical Library, named after the pen-name of Prof. Lin Zhichun, one of the founders of IHAC and one of the main figures in the study of Western ancient civilisations in China, publishes Chinese translations juxtaposed with the Greek or Latin original. Under the direction of Prof. Liu Xiaofeng at Renmin University a translation series called *Classici et Commentari* has been created, which also contains the original text along the translation, includes works of Greek and Roman authors and is rather philologically and philosophically oriented. However, Chinese translations of Greek or Latin texts appear most commonly without the original text, in series or as individual books, and examples of the latest are new translations of Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon by Xu Songyan, or Eutropius, the *Historia Augusta* and Zosimus by Xie Pinwei.⁶ What is more, many translations of Classical scholarship, mainly from the English-speaking world, have been made available: for example, Ronald Syme's *Roman Revolution* by Lü Houliang, Moses Finley's *Politics in the Ancient World* by Yan Shaoxiang, and *Der Neue Pauly: Historischer Atlas der antiken Welt* by a group of scholars.⁷ Also the volumes of the *Cambridge Ancient History* (2nd ed.) are currently in the process of being translated. Young scholars publish their, not necessarily professional, translations of various secondary literature and introductory works at the Huadong Renmin Press.

Thus, many MA dissertations or PhD theses, which can be easily searched by their English summary via the Chinese National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI),⁸ focus on translations of ancient sources with commentaries. However, cultural identities and other topics like Greek oratory, classical historiography and comparative history between the East and West frequently appear as CSSCI journal articles published by PhD students, who must publish at least two such qualified articles before receiving their degrees and thus use the material of their theses. For instance, the Chinese version of the *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* publishes one or two such qualification papers of PhD students in each issue. The 'One Belt One Road' initiative has, again, triggered projects on the ancient trade routes that were only later called the Silk Road(s).⁹ Ongoing are 'Silk Road Study in Western Classical and Medieval Texts' (led by Wan Xiang, Xi'an Jiaotong University), 'Parthia and the Cultural Exchanges along the Silk Road' (led by Guo Yunyan, Nankai University),

⁶ Xu Songyan 2008 (Herodotus); 2013 (Xenophon); 2017 (Thucydides); Xie Pinwei 2011 (Eutropius); 2013 (Zosimus); 2017 (*Historia Augusta*).

⁷ Lü Houliang 2016; Yan Shaoxiang 2016; New Pauly Atlas: Ge Huipeng, Gu Yuanchi, Shi Xiangjie and Wang Cong 2016.

⁸ See <http://oversea.cnki.net/Kns55/default.aspx> (consulted 3.1.2019).

⁹ More than 1000 academy projects are currently related to this initiative, Silk Road projects, which have a longer tradition, have in total 712 projects up to now. Interestingly, the Chinese initiative is now 'countered' by the Japan-based project of 'The International Academic Forum' – see <https://silkroad.iafor.org> (consulted 3.1.2019).

'Hellenistic Art in the Hexi Corridor' (led by Jin Yan at Northwest Minzu University) and 'Study on the Early Silk Road' (led by Yang Gongle in Beijing Normal University).¹⁰ From the perspective of 'Entangled History', the current project at IHAC on communication and integration of the different ancient civilisations in specific contact zones is worth mentioning. However, scholars still concentrate very much on literary sources while other materials such as epigraphic, numismatic, papyrological or archaeological sources are being consulted less frequently. Dickinson Classics Online, in collaboration with Prof. Liu Jinyu and Shanghai Normal University, publishes resources for Chinese students and scholars of the ancient Greek and Latin classics, to enhance professional analysis.¹¹ IHAC has launched the first university collection of Greek and Roman coins named IHACOINS, and has also been granted membership of the Royal Numismatic Society of Belgium. In December 2018, the numismatic centre at the Department of Classical Archaeology, University of Tübingen, received a project grant from the Volkswagen Foundation for the 5-year project 'Traveler/Copter' in which IHAC takes part together with the applied computer science department of Tübingen. Furthermore, two exhibitions, one 'History from Ancient Coinage', the other 'Roman Imperial Women on Coins', have already been created as project seminars, combining physical display and the interactive use of the on-line virtual platform WeChat; the latter was followed up by several workshops and exhibitions at different universities in whole China. Epigraphic sources are the second core area with many documents translated and commented on in the Chinese version of the *Journal of Ancient Civilizations*, and introductions to Greek and Roman epigraphy published as books. Furthermore, IHAC and Peking University are collaborating in conducting Roman Law studies with a historical approach while in particular this field is strong in universities or institutions in Law.¹² Recently, Reception Studies and research on the History of Science become more popular.¹³

International contacts and exchanges have been enhanced at different levels. Frequently, distinguished scholars are invited to give lectures and/or special workshops, and gradually universities co-operate to share the expertise of these short-term visiting researchers. Furthermore, several international conferences have been held in recent years, among them the 'World Ancient History International Symposium' at Nankai University in 2012 or the 'International Symposium on Byzantine Gold Coins in the World of Late Antiquity' at IHAC in 2017.¹⁴ Also in 2017, the Ovid-project organised the internationally well-received event 'Globalizing Ovid: An International Conference in Commemoration of the Bimillennium of Ovid's Death' at Shanghai Normal University.¹⁵ In August/September 2018, a Melammu workshop entitled 'At the Edges of Empires: Territories and Processes nearby and between

¹⁰ Already finished are 'The History of the Western Part of the Silk Road' (1996) and 'The Southern Silk Road and the Asia-European Civilizations' (2010).

¹¹ See <http://dco.dickinson.edu> (consulted 3.1.2019).

¹² Several times, researchers at IHAC and Peking University have realised joint panels on Law in the Roman Republic at conferences, for example at ASCS 2018 and FIEC 2019. Regarding Roman Law studies at Law faculties, with strong contacts to Italian research institutions, see <http://romanlaw.cn/index.asp> (consulted 3.1.2019), *inter alia* with a list of juridical terms and Chinese translations – such glossaries standardising translations are still rare in Classics.

¹³ Besides the Tacitus' Trap (*cf.* n. 1) and the topic of Marxism (*cf.* n. 17), see particularly the respective articles in Renger and Fan 2018.

¹⁴ For the latter, *cf.* Günther 2017.

¹⁵ See <https://sites.google.com/depauw.edu/globalizing-ovid-shanghai-2017/home> (consulted 3.1.2019).

Emerging Great Powers in Antiquity' took place at IHAC.¹⁶ Notably, in 2015, Shandong University was host to the 22nd International Congress of Historical Science, held in Asia for the first time, where several papers on ancient Western history were presented.

At the institutional level, IHAC, Peking University and Fudan University in particular have invested much to expand their library collections. At IHAC, all the major editions of Classical literature, epigraphy, numismatics and papyrology are available, and same is true for English as well as German research literature, together with many academic journals. Gradually older scholarly works and those in other languages are being acquired. Frequently, scholars and students from other universities visit the IHAC library which is still the most comprehensive Classics library in China, and possibly in the whole of East Asia. Often, foreign literature can also be read at the National Library in Beijing.

What is more, several PhD candidates and established scholars have received funding from the Chinese Scholarship Council to conduct research abroad, in Austria, Australia, Canada, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States, to name only some countries. This is accompanied by an increasing number of co-operation and exchange agreements, with some international students also coming to Chinese institutions. This is also true for foreign academics at Chinese universities. Thus, efforts are now taken to reduce these imbalances with the aim of mutual exchange.

The trend of progress is also true with respect to the publication of research on an international level. The usual argument that Chinese scholars lack skills in organising and writing papers in Western standards of structure and language is only one, and perhaps small, part of an explanation that few papers appear in international journals, or even whole books are published for an international audience. The more important, structural reason is that the reward system at universities first favours articles over books, and secondly relies heavily on citation indices like the CSSCI, the international pendant, the Social Science Index (SSCI) or the Arts and Humanities Citation Index (A&HCI). A publication in a journal indexed in one of these citation systems garners, beside project grants, career recognition as well as financial rewards. And while Chinese journals are very clearly measured in different levels (A-, B- and C journals are desirable) through the CSSCI, a clear differentiation and classification of international journals under the A-level of SSCI- or A&HCI-journals is still absent. This does not incentivise young Chinese scholars to submit papers to 'lower-ranked' journals, though many of those are very well-established and known in the field of Classics.

Another vital part of recent development in Classics is the creation of new textbooks for university teaching within the still ongoing rebuilding of the Chinese historical research system. Of course, this raises the question of to what extent contemporary political ideas and ideologies are being reflected in these teaching materials, and in the academic field as a whole. Certainly, Marxism and connected views had and have their place in Chinese scholarship.¹⁷ Textbooks mention them, especially in the preface, and several theoretical concepts use linear historical development as a starting point. However, this is far from being the only possible way. As the Tacitus Trap shows, there are now many shapes, paths and discourses with which to deal with one's own and foreign heritage, all of which point to a fascinating and pulsating future for Classics in China!

¹⁶ See the conference report <https://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-7868> (consulted 3.1.2019).

¹⁷ See Günther and Shi forthcoming.

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A NEWLY DISCOVERED OLD PHRYGIAN INSCRIPTION FROM ŞARHÖYÜK (DORYLAION)

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Abstract

Since 1989, excavations at Şarhöyük (Dorylaion) have revealed seven cultural phases, the earliest beginning with the second half of the 3rd millennium BC, and the last dated to the end of the 12th century AD. The Iron Age strata, ŞH IV in Şarhöyük stratigraphy, are already known to comprise Middle and Late Phrygian/Achaemenid levels, characterised by a series of finds, graffiti and architectural remains. However, the newly discovered inscription focused on in this paper was found in the Hellenistic layers, as a result of reuse. The inscription is carved on a sandstone plaque, broken on all sides. Three different interpretations can be postulated about the two-word-long inscription. The most possible dating for the new inscription from Şarhöyük can be suggested as 6th/5th centuries BC.

Located approximately 3 km to the north of modern Eskişehir city centre, the Şarhöyük/Dorylaion excavations¹ have revealed seven distinct cultural phases with numerous sub-phases, of which their study is still carried on (Fig. 1).² Since 1989, excavations have helped us to understand a cultural sequence beginning with the Early Bronze Age and continuing until the end of the 12th century AD.³ The cultural and archaeological levels on the mound can be listed as follows:

- ŞH I Byzantine period
- ŞH II Roman period
- ŞH III Hellenistic period
- ŞH IV Iron Age
- ŞH V Late Bronze Age
- ŞH VI Middle Bronze Age (no actual architectural layers)
- ŞH VII Early Bronze Age (no actual architectural layers)

The finds belonging to the Phrygian–Iron Age phase come from all around the mound, both on the surface and within ŞH I–III, due to the earth carried there as a result of subsequent construction activities, especially of the Hellenistic quarters (ŞH III) and the Byzantine fortification walls (ŞH I). Evidence of a Phrygian settlement on the mound may have been unearthed on the western slopes of the mound, in ŞH IV, exhibiting a Late

¹ Current studies at Şarhöyük/Dorylaion are conducted by Eskişehir Eri Archaeological Museum, under the scientific consultancy of M.B. Baştürk. The excavations are supported by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Anadolu University (BAP no. 1701E052) and the municipality of Tepebaşı/Eskişehir.

² For a detailed introduction of the excavations at Şarhöyük, see Sivas 2018. See also Baştürk *et al.* 2017 for the stratigraphical sequence.

³ For the results of the previous excavations, see Sivas and Sivas 2014.



Fig. 1: Location of Şarhöyük/Dorylaion in Eskişehir.

Phrygian–Middle Phrygian occupation sequence. Both the Middle Phrygian (800–550 BC) and Late Phrygian/Achaemenid (550–330 BC) phases consist of two construction phases, with a terrace wall built in the latter. The Phrygian levels so far unearthed on the mound show a modest settlement: small mud-brick houses with stone foundations, open activity areas with simple canopies, and a series of pits characterise it. The majority of the pottery assemblage is grey ware, but a number of imported Lydian, south-west Anatolian or Attic examples also appear within the repertoire.⁴

In the last few decades, Şarhöyük has produced some dozens of Old Phrygian inscriptions.⁵ Nevertheless, with the exception of the dedication NW-101,⁶ they are rather poor ('le plus souvent sans grand intérêt informatif ni onomastique').⁷ Now we can add a new piece of evidence, although itself rather modest, that has been discovered recently.

This is a piece of an inscription, carved on a sandstone plaque, which was not found in the Late Phrygian/Achaemenid levels mentioned above, but was unearthed during the 2017 season on the southern slope, within Hellenistic architectural remains. The inscribed sandstone was reused to fill the gaps between the foundation stones of the earlier phase of a Late Hellenistic house, most likely after being carried from the Late Phrygian/Achaemenid levels to the surface by previous building activities (Fig. 2). The plaque was broken on all sides; the left part of the plaque seems to have been smoothed, but it is not clear if this treatment was before or after the carving process. The sandstone slab has a width of 13.4 cm, with a height of 7.5 cm and a depth of 2 cm. The height of the inscribed letters varies between 2 and 3 cm (Fig. 2).

It is obvious that the text consisted of only one line but we ignore both the tenure of the beginning and of the end. It runs as follows:

← [- -] *iman C umnip* [- -]

After the sequence *umn* we distinguish two separate vertical strokes corresponding to two letters: the first one (from right to left) is doubtless an *I*, while the second one, a long vertical stroke slightly incurved to left at its top, could be cautiously taken as one of the attested forms of *P*.⁸ We note that in the word *iman* the left stroke of the letter *M* continues as middle and oblique bar of the following *A* (to left), so that we have a kind of ligature, and that in the sequence *umnip* the left stroke of the same letter *M* crosses the right foot of the following *N*. The shapes of the letters belonging to the word *iman* reveal more or less the same features as in G-210 from Gordion (on the bottom of a black-glazed cup possibly from the 5th century BC), with the difference that the word is written there from left to right. We think that a date as 6th/5th centuries BC would be appropriate for our inscription.

⁴ Sivas 2018, 103–04.

⁵ Brixhe 2002, 3–24, nos. NW-101–119 (where a new section, NW, i.e. North-West Phrygia, has been opened); Brixhe and Sivas 2009, nos. 120–139 (all belonging to layers of the Achaemenid or Late Phrygian period).

⁶ Darga 1993, 316, fig. 2 and pl. 35.4–5, with improved reading and interpretation in Brixhe 2002, 4–10, no. NW-101. We use, of course, Brixhe's system for designating Old Phrygian inscriptions by geographical groups.

⁷ Brixhe 2002, 23.

⁸ Compare in particular with one of the shapes mentioned in Brixhe and Lejeune 1984, 34 (table), for West Phrygia (W).

Through the sign C we conventionally marked a kind of small crescent oriented to right (or, assuming a reverse letter, to left, i.e. in the sense of the inscription) which now occurs in Old Phrygian inscriptions for the fourth time.⁹ A first testimony comes from the big tumulus (MM) at Gordion (a beam), where this sign precedes (oriented to right, i.e. in the sense of the inscription) the personal name (PN) *Urunis*.¹⁰ An inscription carved on a sculpted block of sandstone from Kerkenes Dağ reads ← [- -].pa C uva C. [- -], where *Uva* seems to be a PN preceded and followed by the same crescent (oriented to left, i.e. in the sense of the inscription).¹¹ Another fragment of the same block¹² reads:

← [- -]C m̄asa u-
→ rḡitos dakor svebra[- -]

Here, the first sequence can be interpreted as ‘*Masa*, son of *Urgis*’. The sign C is this time, as in our case, oriented to the right, although the first line of this bustrophedon must be read from right to left. It is, therefore, obvious that the ‘crescent’ (as C or in reverse form) occasionally preceded personal names.

Thus, we suppose the same in our inscription. There are, in our opinion, at least three interpretations to be taken theoretically into account:

- (a) *iman* is a PN (*Iman*),¹³ well known in Phrygian milieus¹⁴ and, moreover, the only one whose complete declension is epigraphically attested.¹⁵ In this case we are invited to

⁹ We are deeply indebted to Prof. Claude Brixhe (University of Nancy) for this important remark but also for many other valuable suggestions.

¹⁰ Liebhart and Brixhe 2009, 144, 151–52 and fig. 6, from the tumulus MM at Gordion. Cf. Brixhe’s commentary (p. 152): ‘C semble fonctionner non pas réellement comme une interponction, mais comme une sorte d’idéogramme au LÜ «homme» qui en hittite et louvite cunéiformes précède les noms de personnes.’

¹¹ Brixhe and Summers 2006, 121–23, no. V and figs. 9 and 23–24. Maybe the second C (read from right to left) is to be interpreted not as following the PN *Uva* but as preceding the next sequence, [- -].pa, perhaps another PN.

¹² Brixhe and Summers 2006, 123–26, no. VI and figs. 9 and 26–27.

¹³ Brixhe 1974; Vine 2010; Brixhe 2013, 64–65. See, for example, G-136, where the formula running *tadōy* : *iman* | *bag(?)un* seems to belong to the type τῷ δεῖνα ὁ δεῖνα δῶρον (Brixhe and Lejeune 1984, 125). The dative *Tadōy* could be either a PN or, perhaps more probably, the name of a divinity, i.e. ‘*Iman* (offered, consecrated, etc.) *Tadōy* the gift (?)’.

¹⁴ This PN seems to be beside *Babas/Baba* and *Manes* the most frequent PN in Phrygia during all periods. See also its very probable feminine form *Imeneia*, G-183B (if not, however, an adjective derivation). In the onomastics of Roman Phrygia Brixhe (2013, 64) considers it ‘the single, exceptional “relic” of the earlier period’. It is true that beside *Iman*/Ιμᾶν we also can note *Manes*/*Mane*/Μανης occurring in both Old Phrygian and New Phrygian inscriptions and also in the Greek texts accompanied by imprecations written in New Phrygian but its character is rather Lydo-Phrygian, despite Strabo 7. 3. 12 = C. 304, who considers it a standard Phrygian PN (see Masson 1987; Gusmani and Polat 1999).

¹⁵ Cf. Brixhe 2004, 51: gen. Ιμενος (only in Greek records: Zgusta 1964, 196, § 466-1), dat. *imeney* (B-05, l. 11: *inmeney*), acc. *imenan* (B-05, l. 1 and 8), the last two forms attested solely for the common noun, i.e. a masculine ‘with a derivative corresponding to the Greek forms ποιμήν/ποιμένος or ἄρσεν/ἄρσενος (with the suffix -me:n/-menos or -e:n/-enos)’ (Brixhe 2013, 64–65). See a Phrygian parallel for a similar declension in the same inscription B-05, l. 13, dative †*emeney* (= *tsemeney*), with Brixhe’s commentary (2004, 64).

suppose that in the absent right part of our inscription there was another C preceding the PN *Iman* and that our visible C corresponds to *Umnip*[- -], which, thus, would be another anthroponym. If this is the right explanation, we might have a banal inscription of type '*Iman*, son of *Umnip*[- -]';

- (b) *Iman* is a PN but *Umnip*[- -] represents the name of a deity in dative, therefore, a dedication of type '*Iman* (dedicated) to *Umnip*[- -]'. See as possible parallel Dd-102 (on a bowl of unknown provenance, possibly from the 7th century BC): ← *Surgastoy Inas*, i.e. '*Inas* (dedicated or consecrated) to (Zeus) *Syrgastos*';¹⁶
- (c) But *iman* is also well attested as noun meaning very probably 'funerary monument' or even 'stele'.¹⁷ In this case there is no more need to postulate a lacking C at the right part of our plaque and the meaning would be somewhat as '*iman* of *Umnip*[- -]', possibly '(funerary) monument (or stele, etc.) of *Umnip*[- -]', although it seems that analogies for such a formula are lacking in both Old and New Phrygian epigraphy. The form *iman* indicates beyond any doubt the nominative, and not an accusative (which would have been *imenan*), it is, therefore, impossible to imagine something as 'somebody (for example, built, consecrated, etc.) the *iman* to ...'.

The second supposed PN (or, less probably, theonym), *Umnip*[- -], remains enigmatic. The segmentation *Umni p*[- -] would be also possible, but this solution does not lead to any explanation. We also note that the sequence *umni*- still exists in Old Phrygian (B-05, stele from Vezirhan, l. 7: *umnišet*; cf. W-11, l. 8: *omnišit*).¹⁸ Nevertheless, anthroponyms beginning with *umni*- are not attested.

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¹⁶ See for this interpretation Bayun and Orel 1988, 137; Avram 2016b, 73.

¹⁷ 'Träger der Inschrift, also etwa *Stein* oder *Anlage*, *Ehrenmal*; denkbar wohl auch *Inschrift* (Neumann 1997, 20), '*monument?* *stèle?*' (Brixhe 2002, 31; cf. Brixhe 2004, 51: '*iman* appartient de toute évidence au lexique de l'architecture', approved in Vine 2010, 344) rather than 'cultic substitute, imitation, image, model' (Orel 1997, 432–33, followed by Vassileva 1999, 176–77: 'ritual object'), or even less probably, 'Phrygian equivalent of Greek *ἱερὸν*' (Gorbachov 2008, 97–99). See also Sowa 2008, 81; Avram 2016a, 128–29.

¹⁸ Cf. Brixhe 2004, 59: 'un futur sigmatique?'.

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THE YUEH-CHI (FROM CHINA TO GANDHARA), AND 'CLASSICAL' GANDHARAN ARTS

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Abstract

Items of dress enable us to trace the passage of the Yueh-chi from the borders of China, across Asia north of the Tien-Shan range, on to the Oxus and, ultimately, North India. The debt of Gandharan sculpture in style owes more to the west (Parthia) than the north-east.

Much of Asian history and archaeology is a story of peoples on the move. Roads are important, whether 'Silk Roads' or not – usually not – but the Persians (not the Greeks) and the Chinese were good at roads, as were Romans, and a fine road surface recently discovered near Xian, home of the 'Terracotta Warriors', may attest a Persian one that went far to the east. It was in this general area that the Yueh-chi once lived, a kingdom only semi-nomad, and beset by the Hsiung-nu who had long been harrying the Chinese, to the point at which the Yueh-chi decided, after a defeat, that it was better to leave. So they set out west, along the northern borders of the Tien Shan range, and on south-west into the Oxus valley where, from excavation rather than any historical sources, we find them at Tillya Tepe in the 1st century AD – not their city, but a rich complex of well-furnished tombs, possibly removed from their original burial place. The finds illustrate well their own special styles in the arts, especially goldwork, with no little of the Greek long apparent in the area with Greeks and others, and only a touch of Buddhism. They emerge eventually farther south as a powerful kingdom, the Kushan, which dominates Gandhara and North India and is host to a major period of Buddhist art and architecture. Their immediate predecessors in this area were under Parthian domination, which is important, since it was a source of some special 'classical' features. This essay explores, albeit superficially, their early passage to the West, and then their record farther south, especially their appearance (physical and dress), and some of the Western/Parthian 'classical' influences on the Buddhist arts which they helped to promote. The whole involves also a subject (the Seleucid empire, successor to Alexander) on which our honorand has shed much valuable light over years of publication, and which provides in its way a last chapter in the ancient history of Greek art in the East, since, after them, Parthians, Kushans and Sasanians could only hope to copy, not understand.

It is just possible that on their passage west along the Tien Shan range the Yueh-chi lingered at Issyk-Kul where, I once argued, the famous Golden Man might have been one of their leaders.¹ This argument depended very much on iconographic similarities with later Yueh-chi arts at Tillya-Tepe, notably work in gold. They had arrived in the area, defeating local Saka ('Scythians'), and stayed there perhaps for a generation until they were attacked by the Wusun in 132 BC, and had to move on over the River Oxus to Tillya Tepe and

¹ Boardman 2012, 132–38.

surely other sites. It would of course be wrong to think that this was all. Our evidence is often quite fortuitous – without the Russian discoveries at Issyk-Kul and Tillya-Tepe we would know very little indeed of their movement and behaviour in these centuries, and next to nothing of their arts. Much too has emerged from later work by local archaeologists. It is sobering to reflect on how our view of the East depends on single major sites which might easily have been overlooked (indeed many were, for long): Ai Khanum, Hadda, Tillya Tepe, Nisa, let alone Xian. Taxila was always visible. But where is the city for the Tillya Tepe cemetery?

On some Tillya Tepe gold plaques there are figures, seemingly royal or divine, whose headdress is particularly notable: a flat cap, no doubt of cloth, with turned-up side pieces, making it look crenelated and leaving a gap centrally over the forehead, a loose-sleeved tight-belted jacket and a long skirt covering the feet. The aspect is broadly Chinese. They are shown holding heraldically a pair of divine, horned and winged horses, at first called dragons (as in the New York exhibition of material from the Kabul Museum), but their muzzles and legs (with fetlocks) give them away, and ‘divine’ horses are a feature of Central Asia, breathing fire or sweating blood, and sought out by the Chinese. Acquiring larger horses would enable the Chinese to create an army of heavy cavalry, while replacing their smallish steppe beasts with chariots. This new style in warfare helped them eventually to overcome the Hsiung-nu.² A gold plaque with the same figure subject as those at Tillya Tepe, but found elsewhere, probably in Afghanistan, has the eyes slanting upwards in the familiar far-oriental manner (Fig. 1),³ and the head with the slanting eyes is also seen on other finds in Chorasmia. Their sex is uncertain – probably male.⁴ The example I show, for its eyes, is less well composed and executed than the examples at Tillya-Tepe.

The history of this figure and its dress has been enhanced by Michele Minardi’s recent study of later representations on metalwork, which give much of the dress a history well into Kushan times, if not beyond. Thus, on a very late Chorasmian silver bowl, perhaps as late as the 7th century AD, we see a four-armed goddess seated holding various emblems and wearing the cap, but now with three ‘turrets’ (Fig. 2).⁵

The cap seems a relic from the Chinese world and versions of it had a later history in Central Asia and North India, in the Buddhist arts of the area, principally on statuette figures and groups.⁶ On some of these representations what is taken to be the goddess Hariti is given a headdress which sometimes resembles the Kushan crown in appearing to be divided, and might even be regarded as ‘turreted’. The identification is enhanced through her alleged interest in children (often shown with her), which matches the interests of the classical goddess Tyche/Fortuna who can wear a real turreted crown, in her other function as a city goddess rather than child-carer, and who may also carry a cornucopia, as does Hariti,

² Boardman 2010, 90–91.

³ Boardman 2003, 356–57, fig. 3 (Tillya Tepe plaque), fig. 5 (plaque on London market). A similar example has been found in a burial at Chorasmia at Shibargan city, where there is also a plaque like Boardman 2003, 352, fig. 3.

⁴ I discuss the iconography of the Tillya Tepe gold in Boardman 2003.

⁵ Minardi 2013, 114, fig. 3: a silver vessel: fig. 2 is my drawing from the published photograph. Minardi illustrates several similar female divine figures from the late Chorasmian world.

⁶ A version of it is still made in Simla, and British forage caps are of similar design but elongated.



Fig. 1: Gold plaque on the London market (photograph by author).



Fig. 2: Head of a goddess from a Chorasmian bowl (drawing after Minardi 2013).

also a protectress of children. The association is fairly tenuous despite Hariti's Gandharan/classical dress. For a Fortuna-like goddess it might be better to look at the goddesses with a cornucopia and children which appear on silver plaques and seals across Asia.⁷ Another Greek parallel for the crown is, of course, offered by Cybele – more Anatolian, where there is even more variety of turretry but not the connection with children. In the East versions of the turreted crown are seen on the clay image at Hadda where the goddess attends the Buddha with Heracles/Vajrapani,⁸ a version on a group with Panchika,⁹ and on a schist statuette from Butkara in Rome (Fig. 3).¹⁰ A crown with four tall turrets and one short (gate-house?) is seen on a painted figure of the 1st century BC/AD from Akchakan-kala, Chorasmia, and might be judged to owe as much to the West as the East (Fig. 4).¹¹



Fig. 3: Head of a goddess from a statuette (drawing after Tissot 1985).



Fig. 4: Head of a goddess from a painting from Chorasmia (after Minardi 2013).

Hariti's companion, Panchika, is commonly identified as a seated figure, displaying his function as a god of wealth by holding, or with his feet on, bags of coins.¹² He is also a god of war, but on these figures no armour is shown; at best a rod. The designation of both these figures – Hariti and Panchika – in modern literature is confident but possibly flawed. It should depend to a large degree, indeed wholly, on study of the Sanskrit sutras which defined the functions and so the appearances of Buddhist deities. In them, for instance, Hariti is indeed preoccupied with children but can also eat them and has various other functions, perhaps less suitable for illustration. Another pair of figures, standing by a tree, has been identified (by me¹³) as Hariti and Panchika – he has no armour or purse and she no child, but wreathed hair. They are more likely a regal couple consulting one of the many magic trees of Central Asia. It is easy, especially for the classical scholar with no Sanskrit, to be over-enthusiastic in identifications.

⁷ For example, Boardman 2015, 157, fig. 99.

⁸ Boardman 1994, 142, fig. 4.88 = Stanco 2012, 229, fig. 370.

⁹ Errington and Cribb 1992, 135, no. 136; Tissot 1985, fig. 139, *cf.* fig. 140.

¹⁰ Tissot 1985, 197, pl. 22.6 and *cf.* pl. 22.5.

¹¹ Minardi 2018, fig. 7 left.

¹² Errington and Cribb 1992, 132–35, no. 136 (Boardman).

¹³ Errington and Cribb 1992, no. 135.

A major part of the studies devoted to the Gandharan figures and reliefs has been in Western, classical hands, especially British, given Britain's imperial and political interest in the area. British scholars became fascinated by the possibility of correspondence with classical deities. We might do better to regard them as classicising in their style, but Oriental in all their identities except in the few instances where a classical figure, pose and attribute have been deliberately chosen to serve an Eastern identity and function – for example, Hercules as the model for the Buddha's guardian Verethagna/Vajrapani, when often he holds a thunderbolt, not a club.¹⁴ Real classicism in the area was provided by a part-Greek population surviving from Achaemenid times, and new Greek foundations like that at Ai-Khanum, generating a succession of 'Indo-Greek' kings farther south.

The fashionable classicist interest in these subjects goes back a long way, probably to the arrival of the British in India. It was considerably fostered by Marshall's discoveries at Taxila, where there was a plethora of Buddhist monuments but also a purely Greek quarter, and a rare harvest, for the east, of wholly or barely modified classical figures and subjects, as well as Buddhist subjects in classical guise (for example, the models of Buddhist stupas wrapped in Corinthian capitals).¹⁵ It has become a happy hunting ground for classicists seeking to identify Graeco-Roman figures and subjects, but the subject is more complicated, and what is needed is a rigorous review of the evidence, physical and written (in Sanskrit, not Greek), by an Eastern expert, a task being performed admirably now in various publications by Osmund Bopearachchi.

The influence of classical architectural members and decoration is a different matter, a subject I studied in 1998.¹⁶ Much is a close copy of the Graeco-Roman, even far to the east at Pataliputra. There is also a tendency in the east to change proportions, like squashing a Corinthian capital so that it looks flatter, and to introduce a human or divine figure into its leaves.¹⁷ Stair-risers, it seems, are among the earliest of the reliefs from Buddhist monuments. They are broad rectangles with encased columns at each side and a row of figures between. Most are conveniently illustrated in Stanco's book, with adequate drawings.¹⁸ A common feature is frontality. A few, not all with the side columns preserved, are very Greek in their subject matter and relaxed figure style, dwelling on wine and music, and with one or two figures shown in side view.¹⁹ A majority have a simple row of frontal figures in relaxed classical poses – i.e. realistic. One is of men with leafy bodies carrying oars – possibly river deities.²⁰ Others are of mixed men and women, often holding utensils or musical instruments.²¹ Most are less distinguished. This frontality is one feature worth consideration; the

¹⁴ Boardman 1994, 129, figs. 4.67, 4.87 (Hadda).

¹⁵ Boardman 1994, 99–145.

¹⁶ Boardman 1998.

¹⁷ For example, Boardman 2015, 176, Fig. 117 (British Museum), Tissot 1985, figs. 79 (Paris, from Jalal-banda), 82 (Peshawar, from Barikot), 84 (Berlin).

¹⁸ Stanco 2012. And Boardman 1994, figs. 4.64–66, 4.68, 4.78.

¹⁹ For example, Boardman 2015, 171, fig. 109 (Paris, Guimet); compare and contrast the straight classical narrative of Fig. 110, with a drunken Silenos; and Boardman 2015, figs. 111, 114 (Lahore, London).

²⁰ Stanco 2012, 222, fig. 363 (London); Boardman 1994, Fig. 4.65.

²¹ Stanco 2012, figs. 364–367 (Victoria and Albert Museum, British Museum, Peshawar, Cleveland), in Indian dress, fig. 368 (Toronto), and others listed and described.

other is the way the columns-in-boxes at either side are often distorted, made much fatter or thinner than their 'natural' proportions in classical art.

Both these peculiarities, notably the frontality, are beginning to become apparent in later Roman art but not to this degree or in comparable contexts. They are, however, marked characteristics of Parthian art, derived from Roman but exaggerating many features, with remarkably squat and fat, or tall and skinny columns, even on major architecture; also grouped figures presented frontally even when they might or should be interacting. The stair-risers betraying these features belong to the Parthian period of control in Central Asia,²² and we need look no farther for their source of inspiration.

'Gandharan art', for all its superficial classicism, is a medley of classical motifs, with or without (usually without) any reference to their classical significance, depending at an early stage on Parthian views of classicism, then on local innovations quickened, no doubt, by the presence of many classical works which had appeared in the Indus valley from the west, probably mainly via Alexandria, and by the long-established Greek presence in the general area (one always well in touch with homeland developments – for example, styles in coinage). But it remains a purely Buddhist art, determined by doctrinal Buddhism, which predates Greek presence, and which was sedulously codified in the sutras, which seem virtually immune from classicism and ignored by classicists.

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²² Boardman 1994, 77–99.

FOUR NOTES ON LUWIAN HIEROGLYPHIC

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Abstract

In the present contribution two Luwian hieroglyphic texts from the Late Bronze Age, Ankara 3 and Taşçı, are discussed and the value of the signs *376, *377 and *209 are determined.

1. The Ankara bronze bowl (ANKARA 3)

As Mine Çifçi and David Hawkins report,¹ in the year 2008 the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations acquired a bronze bowl inscribed with a legend in Luwian hieroglyphic. The bronze bowl was found in a bronze cauldron together with other bronze objects which reportedly came to light in Kırşehir Vilayet. As duly noted by Çifçi and Hawkins,² the closest comparisons are provided by the Ankara silver bowl or Ankara 2 and the Kınık bronze bowl.³ However, the bowl last mentioned, dated to the later 13th century BC, is decorated with the scene of a boar and stag hunt, whereas the silver and bronze bowls Ankara 2 and 3 are undecorated. Therefore, the Ankara bronze bowl may well be assigned to about the same period as the silver bowl Ankara 2, which means to the 15th century BC.⁴

In the hieroglyphic legend (Fig. 1) there can be distinguished the following four elements (for the identification of the fourth element, see below) of which the direction of writing varies:

(1) name and titles of dedicator	antithetic
(2) demonstrative and introductory particle	dextroverse
(3) object and verb	sinistroverse and dextroverse
(4) indirect object	dextroverse

Now, Çifçi and Hawkins start their reading⁵ with element (2) demonstrative and introductory particle in the middle, continue sinistroverse with element (3) object and verb, then go over to the extreme right (1) name and titles of the dedicator, in order to end with (4), which they consider a phrase of uncertain interpretation as they were not able to identify a recipient at the extreme left.⁶

¹ Çifçi and Hawkins 2016, 240.

² Çifçi and Hawkins 2016, 241–42.

³ On the latter, see Hawkins 1993.

⁴ Woudhuizen 2017, 286 for the identification of the Hittite king Tudhaliyas as Tudhaliyas I, who ruled between 1465 and 1440 BC. Antithetic design is already attested for the legend of Ankara 2; it originates from seals, first those of lower officials (Herbordt 2005, Kat. 259, 15th century BC) and later on of Hittite great kings as well (Tudhaliyas III, 1370–1350 BC, see Mora 1990, VIII, 4.2).

⁵ Çifçi and Hawkins 2016, 240–41.

⁶ Çifçi and Hawkins 2016, 242.

In 2017, the *editio princeps* of Ankara 3 by Çifçi and Hawkins was commented upon by Zsolt Simon and Massimo Poetto, who both improved our understanding of the contents of the hieroglyphic legend in so far as the thus far missing recipient is concerned.

First of all, however, it deserves our attention that regarding the direction of writing Poetto noted that the verb is in dextroverse direction of writing.⁷ On the basis of this observation, he believes that the actual writing direction is in the main dextroverse but subject in detail to an antithetic disposition.⁸ In this manner he arrives at the reading of the elements as follows: he likewise starts with (2), then has the first part of element (3) follow antithetically, continues dextroverse with (1), which is also antithetic, in order to end dextroverse with (4) and the second part of element (3). As opposed to this, Simon⁹ proposes to neglect the various stances of the signs altogether and take the legend as a regular phrase running entirely in sinistroverse direction of writing so that we get the following order: (1), (2), (3) and (4). This seems to me the most likely solution.

Also with respect to the question of the recipient, Simon takes the interpretation of the legend a step further. He rightly looks for this element (p. 87) in the final part of the phrase, section (4). The first part of this, *tar-na-zi/a*, he takes as a personal name (presumably in the dative sg.), *Tarna(n)zi*, and the second part as the latter's function or title, *100-dominus* 'commander of hundred'. The only problem with this solution is that a personal name *Tarna(n)zi* thus far goes unrepresented in the Hittite and Luwian onomastic repertoire. Much more convincing, therefore, is the suggestion by Poetto¹⁰ to take the first sign of this combination as an instance of *390 *dominus*. In this way, namely, we arrive at a titular expression, *dominus-na-* 'lord', which is definitely characterised by the dative plural whether one reads this (with the polyphonic *376) as *-ⁿza* or *-(C)a-i* (i.e. *-ai*).

In line with Poetto's solution, then, the dedicator has given the bowl 'to (his) lords'. We only need to add that these 'lords' (and not the dedicator himself) are further specified by the entry *100-dominus* 'commander (of) hundred'. In other words: the recipients are the lords of the dedicator '(among) the commander(s) of hundred'.

The only point that needs to be addressed as yet is the transliteration of the polyphonic *376 *i, zi/a*. In the name of the dedicator, *376 appears to represent *za* against the backdrop of the MN *za-za-á* as attested for Korucutepe no. 12.¹¹ As opposed to this, however, it rather reads *i* in the dative plural ending *-ai*, corresponding to Lydian *-ai*₁ for the same function (see section 3, Table I below); the same verdict in my view applies to its use for the expression of the demonstrative pronoun, i.e. *i-* rather than *za-*.

In sum, this leads us to the following transliteration and translation of the legend of Ankara 3:

Ankara 3 bronze bowl reported to have come to light at Kırşehir Vilayet and for stylistic reasons presumably to be dated to about the same period as the silver bowl catalogued as

⁷ Poetto 2017, 88.

⁸ Poetto 2017, 89.

⁹ Simon 2017, 86–87.

¹⁰ Poetto 2017, 89.

¹¹ Güterbock 1973, 143–44, fig. 3; cf. Çifçi and Hawkins 2016, 241.

If we want to grasp the contents of the hieroglyphic legend in its entirety, it is in my opinion of relevance to note that the scribe of the bronze tablet from the Hittite capital Boğazköy-Hattusa with the treaty between the Hittite great king Tudhaliyas IV (1239–1209 BC) and his uncle Kuruntas, vassal-king of the province of Tarhuntassa, named Halwazitis, specifies himself as the son of Lupakis.¹⁵ In the drawing of the Taşçı relief by Franz Steinherr of 1975,¹⁶ namely, the legend associated with the head of the image of the man in the middle ends with the sequence *312-376 *ZITI-i* (see Fig. 2). Closer examination of the sign preceding this sequence in all various drawings, i.e. including the ones by Gelb¹⁷ and Meriggi¹⁸ as presented by Kohlmeyer in his figure 28, points out that this definitely consists of *320 or *165 *wá*. In all likelihood, then, the image of the man in the middle represents the son of Lupakis, the scribe of the bronze tablet Halwazitis.

The latter inference leads to the conclusion that the drawing by Steinherr (Fig. 2), according to which the legend continues in the upper section entirely dismissed by Kohlmeyer (Fig. 3), is more exact than the three other ones. At any rate, the sequence *-wá-ZITI-i* is preceded in this drawing by *290 *hár*, and therefore reads *hár-wá-ZITI-i* in sum, which is nothing but a graphic variant of Halwazitis characterised by *l/r*-interchange. To the upper left of this sequence follows according to Steinherr the titular expression *46 *infans^m-HANTAWAT* ‘prince’, which further specifies Halwazitis’ rank.

If the upper section of the hieroglyphic legend associated with the image of the man in the middle of Steinherr’s drawing happens to be valid, as I would maintain, the same verdict may likewise apply to the section of the text above the MN *lu-pa-ki* ‘Lupakis’. Here we can distinguish the sequence *29-29-215 *45 -215 -334 *tá-tá-ha infans^m-ha -pa* ‘but I served also as a son (in the sense of deputy)’ (cf. the verb *tata-* ‘to serve’ as recorded for the Südburg text from the reign of Suppiluliumas II [1209–1190 BC] and various Early Iron Age texts;¹⁹ cf. also the use of *infans* as a determinative of *ná-*, etc., ‘junior official, deputy’ in, for example, Cekke §§ 13-24;²⁰ for the position of the enclitic *-pa* ‘but’ after the second word of the phrase, cf. *-wa* in Afyon § 1).²¹ Accordingly, prince Halwazitis is the son of the woman following him in the depicted procession, whose name in effect reads *ma-na-i-à* ‘Manaia’ and corresponds to the Hittite cuneiform female name *Manniya*,²² and also a son – be it this time in the sense of *subordinate functionary* – of the army scribe Lupakis who in turn is not represented by an image in the relief. Against the backdrop of the information from the bronze tablet (BT IV, 43) that Halwazitis is the son of Lupakis, it may reasonably be inferred that Halwazitis’ serving as a subordinate functionary had ultimately culminated in his *adoption as a son* by his superior. At any rate, Halwazitis’ biological father was no longer living and therefore only his mother was present at the event represented in the relief. Of course, his adoptive father Lupakis may also have already been deceased at that time.

¹⁵ Otten 1988, 28–29 (= BT IV, 43); cf. Gordin 2015, 221, fig. 30.

¹⁶ Steinherr 1975, 315, Abb. 2.

¹⁷ Gelb 1939, 20, 38, pl. LXXVI (his no. 51).

¹⁸ Meriggi 1975, tav. XIII, no. 74.

¹⁹ See Woudhuizen 2011, 144 and 361.

²⁰ See Woudhuizen 2011, 199–201.

²¹ See Woudhuizen 2011, 125.

²² See Laroche 1966, 112, no. 745.

What remains to be determined is the nature of the part of the legend in front of the MN Halwazitis and the identity of the anepigraphic person depicted at the head of the procession. As to the first question, Steinherr clearly indicates the sequence of *66 *PIA* and *329 *HWA* with *381, 2 +*r(al)i* attached to it. Now, the verb *pia-* ‘to give’ is also used to render the religious meaning ‘to dedicate’, which seems most appropriate in the context of what appears to be a religious ceremony. The subject of the verb is of course the person with whom the legend is associated, the one depicted in the middle, *viz.* Halwazitis. The entry *HWA+r* confronts us with the rhotacised variant of the ablative singular of the relative pronoun *hwa-* ‘who, what’,²³ and literally renders the meaning ‘because of which’, in which ‘which’ refers to the occasion as depicted in the scene, a procession presumably in a religious ceremony. As to the anepigraphic person at the head of the procession, this is no doubt to be identified as great king Hattusilis III himself. In the drawing by Gelb of 1939 this person is wearing a round skull cap, which belongs to the priestly costume of the Hittite great king as evidenced by the rock relief at Sirkeli for Hattusilis III’s predecessor Muwatallis II (1295–1271 BC)²⁴ and by the rock relief of Yazılıkaya for his successor Tudhaliyas IV.²⁵ At any rate, it is clear that with the expression at the end of the legend, ‘servant of great king Hattusilis’, reference is made not to the absent Lupakis but to the central person of the dedication, Halwazitis.

In sum, this leads us to the following transliteration and translation of the Luwian hieroglyphic legend of the rock relief at Taşçı:

Taşçı rock relief dedicated by the prince and scribe Halwazitis at the occasion of a religious ceremony headed by great king Hattusilis III (1264–1239 BC) in person and in which the dedicator’s mother Manniyas also participated.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>PIA HWA+r</i> | (I) dedicate(d) because of (the occasion), |
| 2. <i>hār-wá-ZITI-i infans^m+HANTAWAT ma-na-i-à infans^m</i> | Halwazitis, the prince, the son (of) Manniyas. |
| 3. <i>tá-tá-ha infans^m-ha -pa lu-pa-ki KULANA+TUPALA infans^m ZITI-á hastarius</i> | But I served also as a son Lupakis, the army scribe, the son (of) Zidas, the (chief of) the bodyguard(s). |
| 4. <i>URA+HANTAWAT HÁ(TI)+li URA+HANTAWAT á+ya mí<-tí></i> | Servant (of) great king Hattusilis, great king, hero. |

As a closing remark, it may be interesting to note that all persons mentioned in the hieroglyphic inscription are known to us from other records. Of course, great king Hattusilis III needs no further references. Zidas, the chief of the bodyguards is, as rightly emphasised by Hawkins,²⁶ the brother of Suppiluliumas I (1350–1322 BC), known from Hittite cuneiform

²³ Woudhuizen 2011, 133.

²⁴ Kohlmeyer 1983, 97, Abb. 41 (his no. 14).

²⁵ Cimok 2011, 111 and 116.

²⁶ Hawkins 2005a, 293.

sources²⁷ and seal SBo II, 26 (Fig. 4). The army scribe Lupakis may well be identical with the high functionary mentioned in the Aleppo treaty dating from the reign of Muwatallis II,²⁸ but there were more persons bearing this name from before and after the reign of Muwatallis II. A sealing of a scribe named Lupakis is recorded for the Nişantepe archive, see Fig. 5. Finally, Halwazitis is, as we have noted in the above, mentioned as the scribe of the bronze tablet from the reign of Tudhaliyas IV, so he continued to be active in the reign of Hattusilis III's son and successor, whereas the sealing of a certain lady called *ma-nà-ā*²⁹ from the Nişantepe archive (see Fig. 6) may very well confront us with a writing variant of the name of Halwazitis' mother, Manniyas.

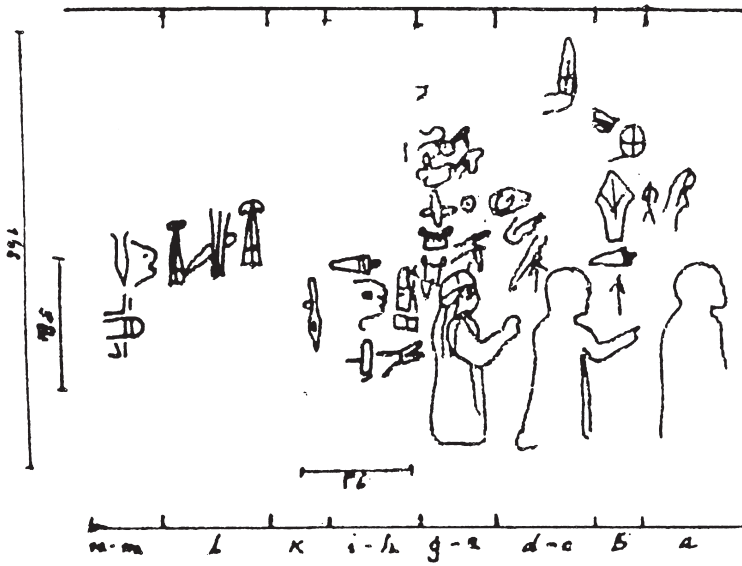


Fig. 2: Rock relief at Taşçı according to Steinherr 1975.

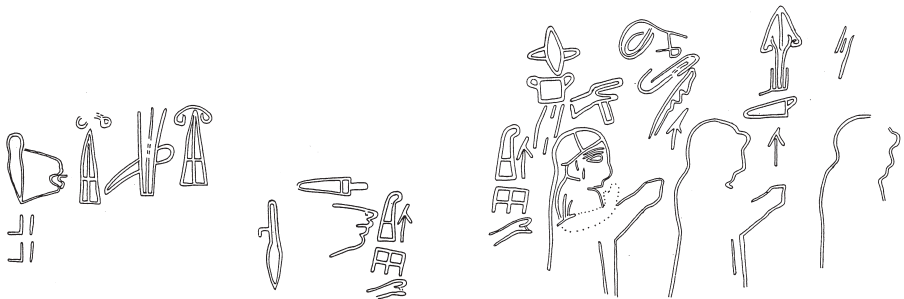


Fig. 3: Rock relief at Taşçı according to Kohlmeyer 1983.

²⁷ Bryce 2010, 160, 177.

²⁸ Hawkins 2005a, 262.

²⁹ Cf. Laroche 1966, 111, no. 734: *Manna*.



Fig. 4: SBo II, 26.



Fig. 5: Herbordt 2005, Kat. 207.

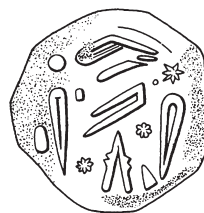


Fig. 6: Herbordt 2005, Kat. 231.

3. Determining the value of Luwian hieroglyphic signs *376 and *377

In 1973, Hawkins, together with Anna Morpurgo Davies and Gunter Neumann, launched the so-called new reading of the Luwian hieroglyphic signs *376 and *377 as *zi* (Late Bronze Age also *za*) and *za*, respectively. Within the old reading, these signs were assumed to express the values *i* and *ī*. The double bars at the lower side of *377, which distinguish it from *376, are variously explained according to the different readings, within the old reading these denote vowel length, whereas in the new reading these mark the vowel *a*. Now, the new reading was supposed at the time to apply indiscriminately to all occurrences of *376 and *377. As a result of this rigorous application, there was no sign left for the expression of the value *i*. If we realise that Luwian hieroglyphic only has three vowels, *a*, *i* and *u*, the absence of any sign for the vowel *i* would reduce the script to a two-vowel system. This was considered unlikely to be correct, and therefore it was decided that the Luwian hieroglyphic sign *209 *a* in actual fact rendered the value *i*. Along this line of thought, the sign *210, which is distinguished from *209 by the double bars at its lower side, does not express the long vowel *ā*, but the glide *ya*, derived from *i* by the addition of the vowel *a*.

The new reading has all sorts of repercussions, which are incompatible with the principles of the Luwian hieroglyphic script. Most problematic, however, is the consequence that *209 must render *i* instead of *a*. This is untenable especially in view of the fact that *209 freely interchanges with *450 *ā*.³⁰ In the following, then, an unbiased overview will be presented of the relevant bilingual data in order to determine how *376 and *377 are used and which value or values these signs express.

For the Luwian hieroglyphic texts, the reader should consult Hawkins 2000 and Woudhuizen 2011 unless indicated otherwise. For personal names in cuneiform Hittite the work of reference is Laroche 1966 and 1981a, for the geographical names from the same source del Monte and Tischler 1978. Cuneiform Luwian data are cited according to Melchert 1993, the Lycian ones according to Melchert 2004, the Lydian ones according to Gusmani 1964 (note however that the Phoenician *yod* is transliterated as *i*₁). The Hittite words cited can be found in Friedrich 1991.

³⁰ See Section 4 below.

*Bilingual evidence***A. *376 = *zi/za*, *377 = *zā***

1. <i>ku</i> -*376- <i>TESUP-pa</i>	Kuzitesup	Sürenhagen 1986; Beyer 2001, C2
2. <i>à-ma</i> -*376- <i>ba</i>	Amzahi	Beyer 2001, B1
3. <i>á</i> -*376- <i>à</i>	Aziya	Beyer 2001, B19
4. <i>hi-la+r(i)</i> -*376	Hillarizzi	Beyer 2001, A15
5. *376- <i>m+r(i)</i> - <i>pa-lu</i>	Zimribēlu	Beyer 2001, A95
6. <i>ha</i> -*376- <i>ā</i>	Hazziya	Herbordt 2005, Kat. 121
7. <i>HWA</i> -*376- <i>ā</i>	Huzziya	Herbordt 2005, Kat. 131
8. <i>ma</i> - <i>HWA</i> -*376(- <i>ā</i>)	Mahhuzzi	Herbordt 2005, Kat. 217–223
9. <i>mi</i> -*376- <i>r(i)</i> - <i>m+UWA</i>	Mizrimuwa	Herbordt 2005, Kat. 242–249
10. <i>tu-wa</i> -*376	Duwazi	Herbordt 2005, Kat. 473, 485
11. <i>à-lu-wa</i> -*376	Aluwazi	Dinçol 2008, no. 188
12. <i>ma-nu</i> -*376	Manuziya	Dinçol 2008, no. 276
13. <i>mi</i> -*376/*377- <i>r(i)</i>	Mizri (= Egypt)	Beyköy 2, § 28; ³¹ Karkamis A6, § 4
14. <i>ta+r-wa</i> -*376	Terussa	Ankara 2, § 2 ³²
15. <i>ha</i> -*377(- <i>ā</i>)- <i>na</i> -	<i>hazan(n)u</i> - ‘governor’	Akk., see Bulgarmaden § 10
16. <i>ha</i> -*376- <i>wa</i> -	<i>hazziwi(t)</i> - ‘ritual, rite’	CL, see Tell Ahmar 6, § 13 ³³
17. *209- <i>*376</i> -*209-	<i>izzia</i> - ‘to make’	Hit. = Hawkins 2000, 16 ³⁴
18. <i>URA(+r)</i> -*377-	<i>urazza</i> - ‘great’	CL, see Kululu 2, § 6, etc.
19. *377- <i>la-la</i> - ‘charioteer’	<i>zalla</i> - ‘to gallop’	CL, see Bulgarmaden § 9 ³⁵
20. *377- <i>pa</i> - ‘to sacrifice’	<i>zapp(a)</i> - ‘to secure’	CL, see Şaraga § 4 ³⁶
21. *377- <i>r-ta</i> ₄ - ‘desired’	<i>zārt</i> - ‘heart’	CL, see Körkün § 10
22. *376- <i>la-tu-wa</i>	<i>ziladuwa</i> - ‘in future’	CL, see Emirgazi § 7 ³⁷
23. *376- <i>pa-ta</i> ₄ - <i>na</i> -	<i>zipattani</i> - measuring unit	Hit., see İskenderun § 4
24. -*377-	- <i>z</i> - ethnic formans	Lyc. Melchert 2004 ³⁸

B. *376 = *i*, *377 = *ī*

1. <i>ar-nā-li</i> -*376	Arnili	Herbordt 2005, Kat. 71–74
2. <i>ZUWA-li</i> -*376	Zuwali	Herbordt 2005, Kat. 547
3. <i>ma</i> -*376- <i>kā+r-hu-ba</i>	<i>māya/i</i> - ‘much; great’	CL, see Ankara 2, § 2 ³⁹
4. <i>ma-na</i> -*376- <i>ā</i>	Manniya	Taşçı ⁴⁰

³¹ Zangger and Woudhuizen 2018, 19.³² Woudhuizen 2017, 285–86.³³ Hawkins 2006, 24.³⁴ For the reference to the form *iz-zi-at-ta-ri*, see Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins 1987, 276, 292, n. 33; note that this form originates from Hittite *īya*- ‘to make’.³⁵ Also Tell Ahmar 6, § 24, see Hawkins 2006, 28.³⁶ Poetto 2010.³⁷ Hawkins 1995, 94.³⁸ P. 6 *Atānazi* ‘Athenians’; p. 59 *Spartazi* ‘Spartans’; p. 52 *Pttarazē* ‘of the Patarians’.³⁹ Melchert 1993, 145; Woudhuizen 2017, 285.⁴⁰ See Section 2 above.

5.	<i>ma-sa-hù+*376-ti</i>	Mashuittas	Beyköy 2, §§ 1, 5 ⁴¹
6.	<i>*376-ku-wa-na</i>	Ikkuwaniya (= Konya)	Beyköy 2, § 50 ⁴²
7.	<i>RUWANT-*377-</i>	^d KAL- <i>ya</i> stag-god	Karatepe § 40
8.	<i>TARHUNT-hu-*377-sa</i>	<i>Trqqiz</i> storm-god	Lyc. = TL 55, 5, see Karatepe § 3
9.	<i>a-*376-a-</i>	<i>āya-</i> ‘to make’	CL = Melchert 1993, 3–4
		<i>ai-</i> ‘to make’	Lyc. = N320, §§ 6, 14, 19
10.	<i>á+s(i)-*377-</i>	^d <i>Aššiya</i> goddess of love	CL = Melchert 1993, 36
		<i>Asi₁i-</i> = Gr. Athena	Lyd. = no. 40, 1 ⁴³
11.	<i>ha-pa-*377-nú-wa-</i>	<i>hapā(i)-</i> ‘to irrigate’	CL, see Kululu 1, § 12 ⁴⁴
		<i>χbai-</i> ‘to irrigate’	Lyc. = N320, § 10
12.	<i>*376-, *377-</i>	<i>iya</i> ‘these (N-A(n) pl.)’	CL = KUB 25.39 Vs. i 27 ⁴⁵
13.	<i>*376-la</i> ‘personally’	<i>-ila</i> ‘self’	Hit., see Karkamis A2/3, § 9 ⁴⁶
14.	<i>*376-na</i>	<i>I-NA</i> ‘on behalf of’	Akk., see Köylütolu § 2 ⁴⁷
	<i>*377-na</i>	<i>I-NA</i> ‘in’	Akk., see Beyköy 2, § 33 ⁴⁸
15.	<i>*377+r-ha-nu-a-</i>	<i>irha-</i> ‘border’	Hit., see Cekke § 20 ⁴⁹
16.	<i>*377+r-wa-</i>	<i>hīrūt-</i> ‘oath’	CL, see Kululu 1s 1, § 38 ⁵⁰
17.	<i>mi-*376-na-la-</i>	^{LÜ} <i>minalla-</i> religious funct.	Hit., see Karkamis A2/3, § 17
18.	<i>-ZITI-*376</i>	<i>-LÜ-i-</i> onomastic element	Hit. <i>Arma-LÜ-i-</i> , etc.

From this overview of the bilingual evidence, it may safely be deduced that the situation is more complex than the new reading maintains. In 24 instances the signs *376 and *377 are indeed demonstrably used to express a sibilant value, *zi* (Late Bronze Age also *za*) and *za*, respectively. The adherents of the new reading deserve all credit for having pointed this out. As opposed to this, however, in 18 instances the old reading of *376 and *377 as *i* and *ī* can be shown to be valid. This allows for only one conclusion: that *the signs in question are in fact polyphonic in nature* and used for the expression of *both* the sibilant (*zi*, *za*) and vowel (*i*, *ī*) values. In this polyphonic scenario, then, there still are signs for the vowel *i* and therefore there is no need to change the value of *209 from *a* into *i*.

The question remains what is the primary value of *376 and *377, the sibilant or vowel one? The answer to this question lies in the observation that only the vowel reading allows us to distinguish a genitive plural ending paralleled in the related languages cuneiform

⁴¹ Zangger and Woudhuizen 2018, 19, 29 (with reference to KBo XVIII 18 [= Hagenbuchner 1989, 316–18]).

⁴² Zangger and Woudhuizen 2018, 19, 40 (with reference to del Monte and Tischler 1978, s.v. *Ikuwanija*).

⁴³ Woudhuizen 1984–85, 95.

⁴⁴ Melchert 1993, 54.

⁴⁵ Woudhuizen 2016–17, 348–49.

⁴⁶ Friedrich 1960, 62, § 99.

⁴⁷ In their use the Akkadian prepositions *A-NA* and *I-NA* are almost interchangeable, it deserves attention therefore that *A-NA* is used for the expression of the meaning ‘on behalf of’ as, for example, in the Madduwattas-text, see Beckman *et al.* 2011, 78–79, § 59. Cf. Woudhuizen 2004a, 22.

⁴⁸ Friedrich 1960, 178, § 356; Zangger and Woudhuizen 2018, 37.

⁴⁹ Woudhuizen 2011, 16, 96, n. 39 *Irhanua-* ‘New Border’, a fitting name for a frontier outpost.

⁵⁰ Melchert 1993, 68–69. Note that *ī+r-wa-ā-ī* ‘in accordance with the oaths’ in § 38 is used in opposition to *TUPA+r(a)-ī* ‘in accordance with the written agreements’ § 1 (see Woudhuizen 2015, 160–63).

Luwian, Lycian and Lydian.⁵¹ In the realm of the case endings, therefore, the reading of *376 and *377 as a vowel definitely prevails, and as such this ending can be shown to be the primary one (see Table 1).

Table 1: Overview of the grammatical evidence for the old reading of the signs *376 and *377 as *i* and *ī*.

	LH	Lyc.	Lyd.
N-A(n) sg.	- <i>ī</i>		- <i>ī</i> ₁
D sg.	- <i>i</i>	- <i>i</i>	
N(m/f) pl.	- <i>i</i>	- <i>i</i>	- <i>i</i> ₁
D pl.	- <i>ai</i> , - <i>aī</i> , - <i>āī</i>		- <i>ai</i> ₁
G pl.	- <i>ai</i> , - <i>aī</i>	- <i>āi</i>	- <i>ai</i> ₁

The latter conclusion coincides with the observation that the double bars express vowel length and not an additional vowel *a*. Only in case of the vowel reading of *376 and *377, namely such a distinction is of primary nature, whereas in case of their sibilant reading it is merely secondary. Notwithstanding so, it leads us to the transliteration of *377 as *zā* according to its sibilant value.

4. Determining the value of the Luwian hieroglyphic sign *209

4.0. Introduction

As noted above, in 1973 Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann introduced the new reading of Luwian hieroglyphic. The focus of this latter study is on the reading of the Luwian hieroglyphic signs *376 and *377, which in the old reading rendered the values *i* and *ī*, respectively, but are now proposed to render the values *zi* and *za*, respectively. As a result, Luwian hieroglyphic becomes closer related to cuneiform Luwian (CL) with, amongst others, its demonstrative pronoun *zā*- ‘this’.⁵² These new readings received general acceptance and were subsequently confirmed by bilingual evidence. The only critical voice in this process was raised by me on the basis of the fact that in the related Luwian dialect of Minoan Crete there is independent evidence for the reading of the demonstrative pronoun as *i*- instead of *za*-.⁵³ At first, it must be admitted that I entirely neglected the bilingual evidence for the reading of *376 as *zi* and *377 as *za*, but later on I incorporated this particular evidence by suggesting that the signs *376 and *377 might be polyphonic and be used for the expression of *both* the old readings *i* and *ī* as well as the new readings *zi* and *za*.⁵⁴ The evidence for polyphony in Luwian hieroglyphic is mounting, so this is *a priori* not an unreliable suggestion. In 2011, I was able to underline

⁵¹ Woudhuizen 2016.
⁵² Melchert 1993, 274.
⁵³ Best and Woudhuizen 1988, 89–97.
⁵⁴ Woudhuizen 2004a, 167–70; 2004b, 8–11.

this line of research by assembling all relevant bilingual evidence and, and in doing so, to show that there is just as much of this type of evidence in favour of the old reading of the signs *376 and *377 as *i* and *ī* as there is in favour of their new reading as *zi* and *za*.⁵⁵ In this overview, I reached the conclusion that the primary values of *376 and *377 are *i* and *ī*, whereas their secondary, less frequent values are *zi* and *za*. Especially when these signs are used for the expression of case endings, the old values apply. Crown witness in this connection is the genitive plural, which in the light of the relevant comparative data from the related dialects can only be read as *-ai* or *-āi* (cf. Lycian *-āi* and Lydian *-ai₁*, whereas cuneiform Luwian with *-anzan* or *-anzas* definitely falls out of the scope of the possibilities).⁵⁶

One of the by-products of the new reading is that the sign *209 cannot render the value *a* as originally attributed to it, but must render the value *i*, otherwise no sign being left to render this value, even in the eyes of Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann ‘a basically improbable assumption’⁵⁷ for a script with only three vowels, namely: *a*, *i* and *u*. Furthermore, it is assumed that in the Late Bronze Age the variants 1–3 and 6 of *209 are also used for the expression of the value *ia*.⁵⁸ However, the validity of this by-product of the new reading, i.e. that *209 renders *i* or its Late Bronze Age variants 1–3 and 6 also *ia*, instead of *a*, has never been seriously tested. (Note that if I am right that *376 and *377 are polyphonic there is no need to change the value of *209 *a* into *i*, because the latter vowel is still expressed by *376 and *377.) In order to meet this *desideratum*, then, I will in the following present an overview of the relevant data on the reading of sign *209. In this overview there can be distinguished three basic categories, the bilingual evidence (4.1),⁵⁹ the etymological evidence (4.2) and the evidence from interchange (4.3).⁶⁰ In the presentation of the evidence from interchange, for the sake of brevity not all relevant instances will be quoted, but only one or two examples (in reality in most of the cases there are more examples). It finally deserves attention that the latter section heavily relies on the diligent rendering of *all* writing variants in the indexes and overviews of (pro)nominal declension and verbal conjugation of the extended version of my *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts* of 2011. At the time of writing, no other work with such indexes and overviews was available. It is of interest to note that my transliterations offer a more or less independent check on the ones by Hawkins in his corpus of 2000 as I worked from the photographs and the drawings herein (Part 3); the same applies for texts published separately from this monumental work.⁶¹

⁵⁵ Woudhuizen 2011, 89–98.

⁵⁶ See Woudhuizen 2016.

⁵⁷ Hawkins *et al.* 1973, 155.

⁵⁸ Hawkins 2000, 16 with n. 159.

⁵⁹ Note that this in the main is from Meskene-Emar (Beyer 2001) and (with the noted exception of category D) in the main concerns the Late Bronze Age variants 1–3 and 6.

⁶⁰ Note that the examples from the Late Bronze Age texts of the Silver bowl and Emirgazi mentioned in this section concern the (otherwise late) simple arc-form, not variants 1–3 and 6.

⁶¹ Hawkins 1995 (Emirgazi); 2005b (Silver bowl); and 2006 (Tell Ahmar 6).

4.1. *Bilingual evidence*A. *209 = *i*

1.	*209-ni- <i>TESUP-pa</i>	Initesup	Beyer 2001, A3
2.	*209-pi-nà-tà- <i>ka</i>	Ibni-Dagan	Beyer 2001, A87
3.	*209-pa-nà-tà[- <i>ka</i>]	Ibni-Dagan	Beyer 2001, B9
4.	*209-la-nu	Ilanu	Beyer 2001, A105
5.	*209-pi-nà- <i>ā</i>	Ibniya	Beyer 2001, B48
6.	*209-sa ₅ -pi-tà- <i>ka</i>	Išbi-Dagan	Beyer 2001, B67
7.	*209-ā-mi-li-ki ² -tā- <i>ka</i>	Imlik-Dagan	Beyer 2001, C16
8.	*209-ā-ti-tā- <i>ka</i>	Iadi-Dagan	Beyer 2001, A70
9.	*209-tu+r-tā- <i>ka</i>	Itūr-Dagan	Beyer 2001, A60
10.	*209-ti-tā- <i>ka</i>	Itik-Dagan	Beyer 2001, B27
11.	*209-tu-wa	Ituwa	Aleppo 1, § 2
12.	ma-sa-bū- *209-l+u-wa	Mashuiluwas	Mora 1987, XIIa 2.17
13.	WALWA- *209	(Muwa)walwis	Doğan-Alparslan 2015
14.	*209-ma	<i>imma</i> (Hit. interjection)	Karahöyük-Elbistan § 22
15.	*209-zi- *209-	<i>izzia-</i> ‘to make’	Hit. = Hawkins 2000, 16 ⁶²
16.	*209-	<i>i-</i> ‘to go’	CL = Melchert 1993, 85
17.	*209-pā+r(a)-	<i>im(ma)ra/i-</i> ‘open country’	CL = Melchert 1993, 89
18.	*209-pā-r(a)-sa-	<i>immarašša/i-</i> ‘of the field’	CL = Melchert 1993, 89
[19.	ASATAR*209-sā-ta+r-	<i>iššara/i-</i> ‘hand’	CL = Melchert 1993, 95]
20.	SARA- *209	<i>šarri</i> ‘above; up’	CL = Melchert 1993, 190

B. *209 = *e*

1.	*209-PÁRA- <i>TESUP-pa</i>	Ewri-Tešub	Beyer 2001, A14
2.	*209-har-ku-sā	Ehli-Kuša	Beyer 2001, A59
3.	*209-ha-li-ta ² - <i>ā</i>	Ehliya	Beyer 2001, B1
4.	*209-li	Elli	Beyer 2001, B39
5.	*209- <i>ā</i> -	Ea	Karatepe § 73, etc.

C. *209 = *ia*

1.	*209-ti-pa-la	Iadi-Ba'al	Beyer 2001, A63
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D. *209 = *a*

1.	*209-pi-tā- <i>ka</i>	Abi-Dagan	Beyer 2001, A6 ⁶³
2.	*209-?-?-?-?	Ahī-malik	Beyer 2001, A54 ⁶⁴
3.	*209-tā-ka+r-tā	Adad-qarrād	Beyer 2001, B23
4.	*209-tā+r-pi- <i>ā</i>	Adad-rapih	Beyer 2001, B24

⁶² For the reference to the form *iz-zi-at-ta-ri*, see Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins 1987, 276 with n. 33 on p. 292; note that this form originates from Hittite *iya-* ‘to make’.

⁶³ Note that according to Hawkins (2017, 254), Beyer’s drawing of this sealing is incorrect.

⁶⁴ Note that Laroche’s (1981b, 13) observation that *209 corresponds to cuneiform *a* can only have a bearing on this particular sealing.

5.	*209- <i>pi-TIWATA</i>	Abi-Šamaš	Beyer 2001, A88 ⁶⁵
6.	*209- <i>tā-ka+r-tā</i>	Adad-qarrād	Beyer 2001, B32
7.	*209- <i>la-pa-</i>	Aleppo/Halpa ⁶⁶	Karkamis A24a 2+3, §§ 6, 11
8.	*209- <i>ma-tu-</i>	Hamath	Hama 4, § 1, etc.
9.	*209- <i>su-wa</i>	Assuwa	Beyköy 2, § 8 ⁶⁷
10.	*209- <i>sa-ka-lú-na</i>	Askalon	Beyköy 2, § 28
11.	*209- <i>ta₆-pa-wa-sa</i>	Abydos	Edremit § 1
12.	*209- <i>r-sa-pa</i>	Arisbe	Edremit § 1
13.	*209- <i>ta+r-sa-ta₆</i>	Adrasteia	Edremit § 1
14.	*209- <i>ta+r-mu-ta₆</i>	Adramyttion	Edremit § 1, Dağardı F
15.	*209- <i>ta+r-na</i>	Atarneus	Dağardı F
16.	*209- <i>lá-wa-sá-</i>	Alawari	Maraş 4, § 4
17.	*209- <i>r-TESUP</i>	Ar-Tešub ⁶⁸	Karahöyük-Elbistan § 2
18.	<i>WALWA</i> -*209	<i>WALWA</i> - <i>d</i> ⁶⁹	Doğan-Alparslan 2015
19.	*209- <i>ru-na-</i>	<i>aruna-</i> ‘sea (Hit.)’	Beyköy 2, § 50, Yazılıtaş § 1
20.	*209- <i>(-i- *209)-</i>	<i>ā(ya)-</i> ‘to make’	CL = Melchert 1993, 3
21.	*209- <i>pa-</i>	<i>apā-</i> ‘(s)he, it; that’	CL = Melchert 1993, 20
22.	<i>á- *209-wa-</i>	<i>awī-</i> ‘to come’	CL = Melchert 1993, 43–44
23.	<i>-ha- *209</i>	<i>-ha</i> ‘and’	CL = Melchert 1993, 45
24.	<i>nā- *209- *209</i> , etc.	<i>nā</i> ‘not’	CL = Melchert 1993, 152
25.	<i>pi- *209-</i>	<i>pī(ya)-</i> ‘to give’	CL = Melchert 1993, 178
26.	<i>SARA- *209</i>	<i>šarra</i> ‘(up)on; thereon’	CL = Melchert 1993, 189
27.	<i>-ta₄- *209</i>	<i>-ata</i> ‘it’	CL = Melchert 1993, 2
28.	<i>wa- *209</i> , <i>-wa- *209</i>	<i>-wa</i> (sent. intr. particle)	CL = Melchert 1993, 249
29.	<i>-ha- *209</i>	<i>-ha</i> (1st pers. sg. past tense)	CL = Meriggi 1980, 340
30.	<i>-ta₄- *209</i>	<i>-ta</i> (3rd pers. s. past tense)	CL = Meriggi 1980, 340–345
31.	*209- <i>na</i>	<i>A-NA</i> ‘in (Akk.)’	Beyköy 2, § 26, Edremit § 1

4.2. Etymological evidence

D. *209 = *a*

1.	*209- <i>ara- *209+r(a)-</i>	Araras (< <i>ara-</i> ‘eagle’) ⁷⁰	Karkamis A6, § 1
2.	<i>ta₄- *209-ta₄-</i>	Tatas (< <i>tati(a)-</i> ‘father’) ⁷¹	Meharde § 2
3.	*209- ¹⁹⁴ - <i>ka+r-</i>	‘head(man)’ ⁷²	Körkün § 2

⁶⁵ So Beyer 2001, 99, n. 184.

⁶⁶ Proto-Indo-European (= PIE) **h₂elb^h-* ‘white’, cf. Mallory and Adams 2006, 331–32.

⁶⁷ For Beyköy 2, Edremit, Yazılıtaş and Dağardı, see Zangger and Woudhuizen 2018.

⁶⁸ Hurritic *ar-* ‘to give’, see Wegner 2000, 149, 151, 216–17.

⁶⁹ Porada 1981–82, no. 1 (Cyprian cylinder seal from Thebes); Woudhuizen 2009, 214–16 and fig. 54.

⁷⁰ PIE **h₂er-/h₃or-* ‘eagle’, cf. Adams and Mallory 2006, 143–44.

⁷¹ PIE **tata-* ‘father’, cf. Mallory and Adams 2006, 209–11.

⁷² PIE **ak^r-* ‘top, high’, cf. Mallory and Adams 2006, 298.

4.3. *Evidence from interchange*D. *209 = *a*Interchange with *19 *ā*

- | | | |
|----|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. | *209- 'to make' | Boybeypınarı 2, § 9 |
| | <i>ā-</i> | Hisarcık 1, § 2 |
| 2. | *209- <i>i-</i> 'to make' | Silver bowl § 3 |
| | <i>ā-i-</i> | Fraktin § 3 |
| 3. | ASA(NU)*209- <i>sā-nu-</i> 'to settle, sit' | Karkamis A11b/c, § 17, etc. |
| | ASA(NU) <i>ā-sa-</i> | Karkamis A11b/c, § 10 |
| 4. | ASATAR*209- <i>sā-ta+r-</i> 'arm, hand' | Karkamis A6, § 15 |
| | <i>ā-sa-ta₄-</i> *209+ <i>r-</i> | Assur e, § 10 |
| 5. | *209- <i>ta+r-sa-ta₆</i> 'Adresteia' | Edremit § 1 |
| | <i>ā-ta+r-sa-ta₆-i²</i> | Dağardı F |
| 6. | *209- <i>ta+r-mu-ta₆</i> 'Adramytion' | Edremit § 1, Dağardı F |
| | <i>ā-ta+r-mu-ta₆</i> | Yazılıtaş § 1 |

Interchange with *450 *ā*

- | | | |
|-----|---|---------------------------|
| 1. | *209- 'to go; to come' | Kululu 1, § 17 |
| | <i>ā-</i> | Boybeypınarı 1, § 10 |
| 2. | *209- <i>i-</i> *209- 'to make' | Ancoz 7, § 7 |
| | *209- <i>i-ā-</i> | Kululu 1, § 4 |
| 3. | <i>ar+ha-</i> *209 'de-, away, (emphatic)' | Assur f-g, § 51 |
| | <i>ar+ha-ā</i> | Assur a, § 4 |
| 4. | <i>ā-wa-</i> *209 (sentence introductory particles) | Assur f-g, § 43 |
| | <i>ā-wa-ā</i> | Gürün § 6 |
| 5. | <i>-ha-</i> *209 'and' | Maraş 1, § 6 |
| | <i>-ha-ā</i> | Assur e, § 12 |
| | <i>-hā-ā</i> | Karatepe § 58 |
| 6. | <i>-ha-wa-</i> *209 'and' | Assur d, § 3 |
| | <i>-hā-wā-</i> *209 | Karatepe § 53 |
| | <i>-ha-</i> *209- <i>wa</i> | Assur e, § 27 |
| | <i>-ha-wa-ā</i> | Assur e, § 3 |
| 7. | HWA-*209 'when' | Assur e, § 7 |
| | HWA-*209- <i>ā</i> | Karkamis A6, § 18 |
| 8. | HWA-*209- 'who, what' | Ancoz 7, § 4 |
| | HWA-*209- <i>ā-</i> | Tell Ahmar 6, § 24 |
| | HWA- <i>ā-</i> | Aleppo 2, § 17 |
| 9. | <i>i-</i> *209-, <i>ī-</i> *209- 'this' | Aleppo 2, § 12; Bohça § 2 |
| | <i>ī-ā-</i> | Aleppo 2, § 4 |
| 10. | <i>-mi-</i> *209 'for myself' | Bulgarmaden § 1 |
| | <i>-mi-</i> *209- <i>ā</i> | Aleppo 2, § 8 |
| | <i>-mi-ā</i> | Aleppo 2, § 4 |
| 11. | <i>-mu-</i> *209 'for me' | Assur a, § 5 |
| | <i>-mu-ā</i> | Aleppo 2, § 2 |
| 12. | <i>nā-</i> *209-*209 'not' | Sultanhan § 36 |
| | <i>nā-</i> *209- <i>ā</i> | Assur c, § 15 |

- na₄-*209*
na₄-à
 13. *na-*209-pa-wa* 'or'
*ná-*209-pa-wa*
*nà-*209-pa-wa*
nā₄-à-pa-wa
 14. *-sa-*209* '(s)he, it'
-sa-à
 15. *SARA-*209* 'upon, over'
SARA(+r)-à
 16. *-ta₄-*209* 'it, him, her'
-ta₄-à
 17. *-ti-*209* '(for) himself'
-ti-à
 18. *-tú-*209* 'for him'
-tu-à
-tú-à
 19. *wa-*209* (sentence introductory particle)
*wa-*209-à*
wa-à
 20. *-wa-*209* (sentence introductory particle)
-wa-à
 21. *-śa-*209* (N[m/f] sg.)
-sa-à
 22. *-na-*209* (A[m/f] sg.)
-na-à
 23. *-*209* (ID sg.)
-à
 24. *-ti-*209* (D sg. [pronoun])
*-ti-*209-à*
-ti-à
 25. *-śá-*209* (G sg.)
-sa-à
 26. *-ti-*209* (Abl. sg.)
*-ti-*209-à*
-ti-à
 27. *-i-*209* (N[m/f] pl.)
-i-à
 28. *-i-*209* (A[m/f] pl.)
-i-à
 29. *-wa-*209* (1st pers. sg. pres./fut. act.)
-wa-à
 30. *-ti-*209* (3rd pers. sg. pres./fut. act.)
-ti-à
 31. *-ha-*209* (1st pers. sg. past tense act.)
-ha-à
 32. *-ta₄-*209* (3rd pers. sg. past tense act.)
-ta₄-à
 33. *-tu-*209* (3rd pers. sg. imp. act.)
-tu-à
- Karkamis A6, § 27
 Sultanhan § 44
 Boybeyınarı 2, § 15
 Karatepe § 72
 Boybeyınarı 2, § 11
 Tell Ahmar 5, § 17
 Babylon 1, § 12
 Assur f-g, § 9
 Maraş 14, § 9
 Karkamis A15b, § 2
 İskenderun § 4
 Bulgarmaden § 13
 Bulgarmaden § 10
 Karkamis A1b, § 2
 Karkamis A7, § 2
 Emirgazi § 39; Aleppo 2, § 15
 Karkamis A11b/c, § 26
 Assur f-g, § 11
 Kötükale § 6
 Assur b, § 6
 Emirgazi § 33; Assur a, § 1
 Nişantaş § 2; Assur b, § 1
 Maraş 1, § 6
 Maraş 1, § 1
 Assur f-g, § 48
 Kululu 1, § 5
 Bulgarmaden § 7
 Karkamis A15b, § 11
 Maraş 4, § 3
 Karkamis A11b/c, § 15
 Meharde § 6
 Karkamis A11a, § 1
 Karkamis A30h, § 2
 Sultanhan § 21
 Karkamis A11b/c, § 19
 Karkamis A2/3, § 6
 Karkamis A7, § 2
 Aleppo 2, § 7
 Assur a, § 11
 Tell Ahmar 6, § 5
 Aleppo 2, § 17
 Hisarcık 1, § 5
 Tell Ahmar 6, § 30
 Karkamis A2/3, § 22
 İskenderun § 1
 Erkilet 1, § 2
 Karkamis A1b, § 2
 Kirçoğlu § 3
 Assur e, § 13
 Karatepe § 56

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 34. | - <i>*209</i> (3rd pers. sg. subj.)
-à | Tell Ahmar 6, § 29
Emirgazi § 16; Sultanhan § 31 |
| 35. | - <i>*209</i> (3rd pers. pl. subj.)
-à | Bulgarmaden § 12
Sultanhan § 21 |

Interchange with **19 á* and **450 à*

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1. | <i>*209-pa-</i> ‘(s)he, it; that (person or thing)’
<i>á-pa-</i>
<i>à-pa-</i> | Karkamis A5a, § 10
Assur f-g, § 16
Assur b, § 8 |
| 2. | <i>á-*209-wa-</i> ‘to go; to come’
<i>á-wa-</i>
<i>à-wa-</i> | Kululu 1, § 15
Karkamis A5a, § 11
Hisarcık 1, § 4 |

Interchange with **299 a₄* and **379 a₅*

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1. | <i>pi-*209-</i> ‘to give’
<i>pi-a₄-</i>
<i>pi-a₅-</i> | Yalburt § 41
Karatepe § 51’
Karatepe § 52’ |
|----|---|--|

4.4. *Evaluation*

At first instance, the bilingual evidence (Section 4.1) from the sealings found at Meskene-Emar seems in favour of the new reading of **209* as *i* (11 instances). If we look on, however, we can find in the same archive bilingual evidence for the old reading of **209* as *a* (six instances).⁷³ The same verdict applies for the bilingual evidence from cuneiform Luwian: at first sight it seems to vindicate the new reading of **209* as *i* (four instances), but if we take a closer look the evidence for the old reading of **209* as *a* is much more prolific (11 instances). Of the remaining bilingual evidence, that provided by further personal and place-names and a vocabulary word is also contradictory, four instances indicating the value *i* and 14 instances that of *a*. We cannot but conclude on the basis of this category of evidence that there is some measure of interchange between the vowels *a* and *i*, most clearly illustrated by the fact that the Luwian onomastic element *walwa-* appears as *walwi-* in the Hittite sources (only so when it occurs as second element of the name).

Our second category of evidence which brings into play etymology (Section 4.2) is of only modest proportions, consisting of only two personal names and one vocabulary word. Nevertheless, it decisively is in favour of the old reading of **209* as *a*. Note that the case of the place-name Aleppo from the bilingual evidence (Section 4.1) may also be included in Section 4.2 as it can positively be traced back to PIE **h₂elb^h-* ‘white’, the laryngeal **h₂* being regularly represented by *h* in the IE Anatolian variant *Halpa*. It may be stressed in this connection that PIE **h₂e* always results in *a* (Latin *Alba*, Greek *Alpheios*, etc.) and never in *i*.

⁷³ The bilingual evidence for *e* (five instances) can be interpreted either way as representing *i* or *a* as there is no separate sign for the vowel *e* in Luwian hieroglyphic. The bilingual evidence for *ia* (one instance) is altogether insignificant and therefore Hawkins’ remark (2000, 16, note 159) that it is ‘well established’ only makes sense if the use of **209* in final position following *Ci* (or presumed *Ci*) is taken into consideration as in case of the Luwian hieroglyphic equivalents of cuneiform Ibniya and Ehliya.

Most revealing, however, is our third category of evidence, that from interchange of *209 with other signs in the Luwian hieroglyphic script (Section 4.3). The other signs in question are *19 *á*, *450, *à*, *299 *a*₄ and *379 *a*₅. It must be admitted, though, that the last two instances drag us into a *petitio principii*, as according to the new reading *299 renders *í* and *379 *ià*.⁷⁴ This leaves us the interchange of *209 with *19 *á* and *450 *à*. Now, the interchange with *19 *á* is certainly indicative of the old reading of *209 as *a*, but with only 8 instances in sum it is weakly represented and individual cases may be subject to alternative interpretations. There is overlap with bilingual evidence in case of *awa*- ‘to go’, *aia*- ‘to make’ and *asatar*- ‘hand’, but in the first instance Hawkins lets *209 follow instead of precede *439 *wa* (thus favouring CL *awī*-), in the second instance Hawkins takes the form with *209 as a reflex of the Hittite *izzia*-, and in the last mentioned instance the form with initial *209 will no doubt be assumed by him to be related to CL *iššara/i*- ‘hand’. Again, this tends to drag us into a *petitio principii*. As opposed to this, the interchange between *209 and *450 *à* is with 35 instances in sum sufficiently common to provide us with a firm body of evidence. It is absolutely clear from the given overview that *209 is consistently used by the Luwian scribes in the same position as *450 *à*, thus providing us with an argument from structural analysis for the old reading of *209 as *a*.

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that Hawkins, in defence of his new reading, did everything within the range of his capabilities to disentangle the structural relationship between *209 and *450. For starters, *450 is transliterated by him frequently as ‘, in order to cloak its patent *a* vocalism. Secondly, the values of a number of signs is adapted in such a manner that the new reading of *209 as *i* becomes feasible in numerous instances. This applies to *214 *ná* becoming *ní*, *411 *nà* becoming *ni*, *447 *na*₅ becoming *ni*_s, *174 *sá* becoming *si*, and the various signs for *wa* (which in Hawkins 2000, 461 number up to 9 whereas in actual fact there are at least 11) all becoming *wali*. Similarly, the vowel of the relative sign *329 in Hawkins’ system becomes optional: *KWA/I*, whereas in the case of *332 *neg*₃ (= our *na*₄) it is indistinct. In all these cases, then, the new reading of *209 as *i* becomes possible if this sign follows them. So we have to skip all the instances in which *209 is following a sign from the *i*-series or presumed to belong to this series (which concerns 14 of our 35 examples in sum, nos. 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 17, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, and one, no. 6, only partly) from our argument.⁷⁵ Further, I concede that the verb *209- ‘to go’ may correspond to cuneiform Luwian *i*- ‘to go’ (our no. 1), that the preposition *SARA*-*209 ‘upon, over’ may correspond to cuneiform Luwian *šarri* ‘above; up’ instead of *šarra* ‘(up) on; thereon’ (our no. 15), that the D sg. may end in *-i* (our no. 23), and do not enter here into a discussion about the distinction of a subjunctive (our nos. 34 and 35).

However, even taking for granted numerous Houdini acts in which the order of the signs is tampered with (our nos. 14, 18, 19, 31) or its identification (our no. 13), we are still left with a substantial residue in which the new reading of *209 as *i* unfitting. In these cases Hawkins resorts to a drastic but desperate measure: typing the *i* in superscript (so that it becomes less conspicuous). This happens to be the case in the following instances from our

⁷⁴ Hawkins 2000, 32.

⁷⁵ As in the case of no. 29, nos. 4 and 20 are affected by the change of *wa* into *wali*, but in the latter instances the bilingual evidence from cuneiform Luwian is, as acknowledged by Hawkins, decisive in reading *wa* instead of *wi* (see below).

list above (for clarity's sake I use Hawkins' system of transliteration here): 3. *ARHA*⁻ⁱ 'de-, away, (emphatic)' (Assur f-g, § 51), 4. *a-wa/i*⁻ⁱ sentence introductory particles (Assur f-g, § 43), 5. *-ha*⁻ⁱ 'and' (Maraş 1, § 6), 6. *-ha*⁻ⁱ-*wal/i* 'and' (Assur e, § 27), 11. *-mu*⁻ⁱ 'for me' (Assur a, § 5), 16. *-ta*⁻ⁱ 'it' (İskenderun § 4), 20. *-wa/i*⁻ⁱ sentence introductory particle (Assur a, § 1), 21. *-sá*⁻ⁱ N(m/f) sg. (Maraş 1, § 6), 22. *-na*⁻ⁱ A(m/f) sg. (Assur f-g, § 48) and 33. *-tu*⁻ⁱ 3rd pers. sg. imp. (Assur e, § 13). To this comes that Hawkins is not followed by his colleagues in the otherwise unparalleled ending of the 3rd pers. sg. of the past tense (our no. 32) in *-ta*⁻ⁱ, but that this is also transliterated as *-ta*⁻ⁱ.⁷⁶ This means that in 11 of our 35 instances of interchange between *209 and *450, i.e. almost one-third of the total, the new reading of *209 is certainly defective.

4.5. Conclusion

Instead of assuming that the Luwian scribes did not know how to write their own language properly, it seems more prudent to me to assume that their structural use of sign *209 in the same positions as *450 *à* indicates that the value of these two signs is the same. Accordingly, the old value of *209 *a* applies and its new reading as *i* should be dismissed. As it seems, therefore, the by-product of the new reading of *376 and *377 as *zi* and *za*, respectively and exclusively so, namely that *209 must represent the value *i* otherwise no sign being left to represent this value, turns out to be its Achilles heel. With the latter's demise, the whole scenario as applied in its present extreme form falls into ruin.

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⁷⁶ Herrmann *et al.* 2016, 61 (= Pancarli § 3).

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THESEUS AND HIS RECOGNITION IN THE HOUSE OF AIGEUS: THE SCENE ON THE GOLD AMPHORA-RHYTON FROM PANAGYURISHTE, BULGARIA

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Abstract

This short paper offers a reinterpretation of the scene depicted on the gold amphora-rhyton from the Panagyurishte Treasure in Bulgaria as the recognition of Theseus by his father Aigeus. It discusses other interpretations and reasons for rejecting them.

In 1949, the most magnificent hoard of ancient vessels ever found on Bulgarian territory came to light by chance near the railway station of Panagyurishte, some 40 km north-west of Plovdiv. A great deal has been written about the treasure and it has travelled the world in several international exhibitions.¹ This absolves me from the duty of giving a detailed description of the contents of the hoard, its date and place of manufacture. In brief it can be said that it consists of nine vessels, it is generally agreed to date to the 4th century BC (perhaps *ca.* 360–330), and the *atelier* is to be sought somewhere on the Asiatic side of the Sea of Marmara, possibly the Greek city of Lampsacus, where a tradition of gold-working existed.² The nine vessels may not all have been made at the same time, but most of them were designed to be part of a set. Perhaps they had been in a temple, or had been in some Thracian ruler's possession, before being looted and deposited in the ground and never recovered until the middle of the 20th century (Fig. 1).

The first (and second largest) of the vessels is an open 'bossed' bowl (*phiale mesomphalos*), on which the decoration is in concentric bands. The three outer bands consist of negro heads, progressively smaller in the bands towards the centre. Within them is a narrow band of acorns and a diminutive innermost band of berries. Next are two drinking vessels (*rhyta*) in the form of stags' heads. One has Herakles and the Krynean Hind, matched probably by Theseus and the Bull of Marathon, either side of the neck. The other has three deities and a hero – Aphrodite, Athena, Hera Alexandros; all four are named and thus represent the Judgment of Paris. A third rhyton is in the form of a young ram's head, and the scene on the neck is of Dionysos and a nymph, namely Eriope; each is accompanied by a maenad,

* This paper was written in 2005. John Hind died in April 2009. No attempt has been made to update the text or the bibliography. I am most grateful to his widow, Ruth, for permission to publish it and the two other papers in this section. It is a small mark of my regard for John and his work, and of my gratitude for the help he gave me, not simply with *AWE* but from my earliest days in the West (GT).

¹ *Gold of the Thracian Horseman* 1987; *Traci* 1989.

² Concev 1956; Venedikov 1961; Youroukova 1997, 60–65.



Fig. 1: The Panagyurishte Treasure.

who dances holding a thyrsus and tympanum. A fourth rhyton has the form of a forepart (protome) of a wild goat. It is handleless, unlike the other three, which have handles in the form of lions rising up to the rim from a columnar lower part of the body of the vessel. This alternative form of rhyton has a very long neck, on which the relief decoration is placed – Hera in central position, with Artemis to the left, Apollo to the right and Nike round the back. Thus, there is a gathering of deities, this time without a hero in attendance. There are also three vases (pitcher-rhyta), representing the heads of young females, frequently referred to as Amazons, because one wears a Phrygian type of helmet with griffin attachments, and the other two wear star-decorated veils over their coiffures. The handles of all three are in the form of sphinxes. No mythological scene appears on any of these three, unless their very shape and grouping implies something of the sort – a trio of Amazons.

The ninth vessel, and the subject of the present study, is the largest and most luxuriously decorated. It is usually described as an amphora-rhyton in that it has two upright handles (in the shape of centaurs rearing up to the lip), and two openings near the base of the vase, which are in the form of negro heads acting as spouts. Subsidiary ornament consists of a broad band of lotus and palmette around the shoulder, and a narrow palmette tendril around the base. A thin band of egg-and-dart motif acts as a divider between shoulder and neck, and another is found on the outer rim of the lip. The tall neck is the only area without ornament. Figured decoration exists on the underside of the vase – the infant Herakles strangling two snakes, and an elderly Silenos, holding a kantharos cup and a set of double-pipes, as he reclines in a seemingly drunken state (Figs. 2–4).

The main body of the amphora-rhyton is covered by a scene which has caused debate and dispute ever since it was found more than 60 years ago. There are seven main figures, disposed round the vase, four of them rush upon a palace door, through the leaves of which a small individual peers, shouts and gesticulates. These four figures are naked except for cloaks; they have scabbards on baldrics around their shoulders and brandish their *makhairai* (slashing blades), in different but menacing attitudes, as they rush upon the door. Three of them are maturely bearded, one youthful; all are powerfully muscled. These fill one side of the vase, that probably intended as Side B, since it consists of three running figures intent on reaching the door, which is on one side of the vase under the handle. The fourth figure is beneath the second handle. The ground-line beneath their feet seems to indicate an uneven outdoor scene. What I take to be Side A of the vase contains three figures. One of these is compositionally separate from the other two. He is a trumpeter (*salpinktes*), who turns to the right and sets in motion the onrush of the four abovementioned men with *makhairai*. The remaining two figures on Side A are set apart by their relative calm, a (regal?) old man and a noble youth, his cheeks sprouting the first down of manhood. Both stand on a relatively flat ground-line, to one side of the palace door (hence within it?), and hold or lean on knotted staffs. The old man wears a richly decorated long garment. His staff may be a sign of both age and status. The youth wears a short cloak loosely around his shoulders, bears a sword in its scabbard, and wears sandals; he seems to be distinguished from the rest as a visitor or traveller. He raises his right hand, seemingly in shock at what he sees the older man point to in his open left palm – a fairly large object, which is indistinct and has been differently interpreted as a kylix-cup or a mantic liver. These two figures are absorbed in their meeting and, although there may be some connection with the scene of the five ‘alarmed’ men, their separation is emphasised by the turn of the youth and the trumpeter in



Fig. 2: Amphora-rhyton from the Panagyurishte Treasure: the trumpeter and Theseus and Aigeus in conversation.



Fig. 3: Amphora-rhyton from the Panagyurishte Treasure: the palace door.

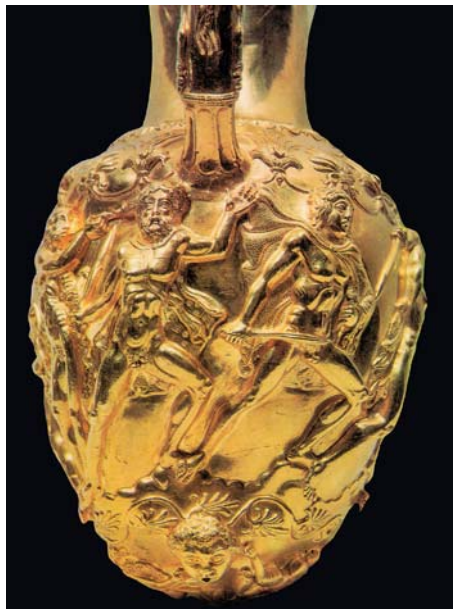


Fig. 4: Amphora-rhyton from the Panagyurishte Treasure: third and fourth onrushing armed men. Below: a negro's head spout.



Fig. 5: Amphora-ryhton from the Panagyurishte Treasure: drawing of all seven figures and the doorway.

opposite directions. There is also a clear difference in emotional content between the group of two (shared information and shock), and the file of five (tumult and rapid movement). This compositional split is striking in the flat line drawing, but on the curved surface of the vase the trumpeter actually draws the eye round to the four in the agitated onrush (Fig. 5).

All the figures and scenes represented on the other vessels of the Panagyurishte Treasure are demonstrably of deities, demigods and episodes culled from the Age of Heroes. Our presumption must be that this is true also of the mystery scene on the amphora-ryhton just described, and indeed most attempts at interpretation have made such their starting point. Hitherto there have been some nine attempts at interpreting it. The first was by Concev (1956), who thought it a scene of Odysseus and Achilles at the palace of Lykomedes, though the only point of resemblance with that story was the presence of the trumpeter. This suggestion was followed by Frova.³ Hoffman suggested that the two in deep discussion were Herakles and his companion Iolaos, because they hold clubs,⁴ but he had no serious explanation of the rest of the figures; he did, however, make the original suggestion that the object in the old man's hand was a liver used in divination.⁵ This identification has served as the starting point for several different interpretations of the scene.

In 1960, Simon produced what has probably been the most favoured interpretation,⁶ that the figures represent the Seven against Thebes, even identifying individuals: Amphiaraios talking to Partheopaios, Adastros as trumpeter and, those in the onrush, Tydeus, Hippomedon, Kapaneus and Polyneikes. The interpretation of these seven figures as the Seven against Thebes has proved beguiling and been accepted by Boardman (1964), Strong, Hoddinott and Venedikov.⁷ However, there are serious objections to it, not least that the men in the

³ A. Frova in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale*, vol. 4 (Rome), 924.

⁴ Hoffman 1958, 132–34.

⁵ Hoffman 1958, 134–36.

⁶ Simon 1960; with further argumentation by Daumas 1978.

⁷ Boardman (1964) 1985, 207 and fig. 221; Strong 1966; Hoddinott 1975, 85–91; Venedikov in *Gold of the Thracian Horseman* 1987, 237–41 and in *Traci* 1989, 231–32.

onrush are not besiegers of a city, nor are they rushing at a city gate. They are not equipped for this, and the building is a palace door, not an external city defence; there are sphinxes at the bases of the jambs and palmette ornaments above. Nor, if our grouping of the figures is correct, are there seven in the onrush, but five, including the trumpeter, and two figures to be accounted for separately. One might well agree with one critic of this interpretation that the many well-known depictions of the Seven against Thebes differ from this scene *toto caelo* since they usually depict fully armed hoplites or men arming themselves for battle.⁸

In the mid-1960s two further attempts at explanation were made. Roux suggested that the scene represents Neoptolemos being told of his impending murder by the Delphians at the instigation of Orestes.⁹ In this interpretation the Delphians are being called out by a temple servant, and wield their weapons (*makhairai*) in the hue and cry. But the reason for the poses of the two figures in deep discussion is not so apparent, and the suggestion has been largely ignored. Griffith broke away from the pattern of explaining the scene in terms of legend, and suggested that it is a comedy – or genre – scene.¹⁰ It is, he said, a group of komasts, attacking a house door, i.e. besieging the home of a loved one, and led by a lover. The originality of this view cannot be denied, but its plausibility can. The whole spirit of the scene is epic or tragic, rather than mirroring comedy, low life or parody of tragedy. So far as I know, this view has had no supporters.

Another proposal was by Borthwick,¹¹ that the scene was neither mythological nor a genre one, but historical. He suggested that it represents the liberation of Thebes from its pro-Spartan tyrants, and, in the fashion of Simon, he attempted to identify individuals in the story: Pelopidas and others with *makhairai*; Hippotheneidas setting the trumpeters to sound the signal, the seer Theokritos and the younger son of Charon as the two figures in deep consultation. But such minuteness of knowledge of minor figures at Thebes seems unlikely in a work produced in the north-east of Greece. Furthermore, in such works in general, historical references were more likely to be made allusively through legends rather than directly. We have already seen that the other figured scenes on vases in the Panagyurishte Treasure are of deities or demigods in action. An attempt by del Medico to explain the scene as Alexander attacking the Persian gates¹² also had little basis, except the suggestion that Alexander might be the young man represented in the middle of the onrush to one side of one of the handles. Such a position, however, would not seem to be a typical or flattering one for Alexander, and the amphora probably predates Alexander by decades. Neither writer seeking to place the scene in 4th-century history has made out a convincing case.

Yet another proposal has been to interpret the scene as one of local religious significance; Kolev linked it specifically with Dionysiac worship and Thracian ritual,¹³ but some of the details appear absurd. The rushing men are made into Thracian dancers; the doorway is a tomb door; the diminutive figure is a spirit of the dead peering out of the door; the two quiet figures are priests consulting a liver; the dress ornaments and the Silenos on the bottom of

⁸ Griffith 1974, 45

⁹ Roux 1964.

¹⁰ Griffith 1974; 1980.

¹¹ Borthwick 1976.

¹² del Medico 1967–68.

¹³ Kolev 1976.

the amphora-rhyton are Dionysiac hints at the meaning of the main scene, as the five-petalled rosettes in the bottom is a sun symbol. None of this hangs together as a consistent interpretation and the failure of all these historical and genre explanation must lead us back to mythology, to the cycle of stories, told and retold in epic and tragedy, and drawn from the 'noble Age of Heroes'. If a suitable hero and tale can be identified, this would fit the spirit of Greek art of this time and this type of object far better than a scene depicting everyday life, religion or recent history.

An element running through several of these identifications is that the object in the elderly figure's left hand is a liver, used by a seer to foretell the fate of his young companion. However, the Bulgarian scholars who first published the hoard thought that the unclear object was a cup or bowl,¹⁴ and similar suggestions persist, that it might be a dish or pyxis;¹⁵ at any rate it cannot be taken as established that the object is a liver – with the consequence that the old man should be a seer. Keeping this problematic object in mind, and noting also the use made of other attributes held by the figures, we may now turn to the interpretation of the scene or scenes.

In 1983, I proposed that the hero represented is Theseus, but then I pointed to a phase too late in his life (the arrival of Oedipus at Athens) and I offered what I now see as too complicated a combination of myth and history.¹⁶ It now seems possible to produce an improved Theseus interpretation. That the youth with sword, sandals and club is Theseus is in my view certain. The first two are the famous 'recognition signs' (*gnorismata*), which were left under a great boulder at Troizen by his father, Aigeus. These were then recovered by Theseus, when he came of age.¹⁷ The knotted club is the iron *koryene*, taken from Periphetes, the 'club bearer' of Epidauros, which became a regular attribute of the young Theseus (Plutarch *Theseus* 8; Pausanias *Desc. Graeciae* 2. 1. 4) used in the episodes of his overland journey to Athens. Striking is that this figure bears the first growth of a beard on his cheek, which befits the 16-year-old Theseus on his arrival at Athens (Plutarch *Theseus* 5; Pausanias *Desc. Graeciae* 1. 27. 8). It is also possible that the uniquely short hair on this figure is intended to recall the distinctive (cropped) 'Theseis' hair style (Plutarch *Theseus* 5), which seemingly was intended to offer the least grip to his opponents during his personal unarmed bouts of combat. Finally, in this scene the sword is held by this figure a little above the club; it was the hilt of his sword which was the means of recognition, since it was Aigeus' own, and it had a distinctive ivory handle (Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7. 423–424).

The youth then has several attributes by which to recognise him as the youthful Theseus. This directs us to look for an episode in the cycle of his early deeds. The old man with whom he speaks is not so clearly labelled, but there might be a presumption that such a figure is intended to be his father, Aigeus, and the location should be his palace in Athens, which Theseus has now reached. The figure stands just behind the palace door; he wears a richly decorated garment, draped from his left shoulder and round his hips; he has a long knotted staff (a *baktron* or *skeptron*), propped against his left knee. In the past this has led to the

¹⁴ Concev 1956; Venedikov 1961, 15.

¹⁵ Griffith 1980, 409.

¹⁶ Hind 1983.

¹⁷ Plutarch *Theseus* 3, 6, 7; Pausanias *Desc. Graeciae* 1. 27. 8; Apollodorus *Bibl.* 3. 16. 1; Brommer 1973, 210–58; 1982, 3–34; Neils 1987.

identification of the figure as Herakles,¹⁸ but he has none of the other attributes expected and his staff is not the club broadening out at the end (*xylon*, *skytale*; *rhopalon*) that was that hero's typical weapon. This is rather the staff of an elderly or regal figure, which might be used for support, to symbolise his status or, on occasion, to chastise presumptuous underlings (*baktron*, of the aged Phineus resting on a staff, Apollonius of Rhodes 2. 198; *skeptron*, used by Odysseus against the disorderly – it had gold studs, *Iliad* 2. 265). This staff, then, signals the old man's official status, greater at this time than that of the young man, Theseus, who has arrived at his palace. Theseus' club (the *skytale* of Periphetes) is suitably outranked by the staff of the aged king, his father. We have already identified the palace door, to the right of which both stand, as the palace of Aigeus.

This part of the scene is the arrival of Theseus at Athens and his famous recognition by Aigeus, who sees the sword, which he had left in Troizen 16 years before, in the visiting youth's possession. The timely recognition famously prevented his being poisoned by a draught concocted by Medea, since Aigeus dashed the drink to the ground in time to prevent his taking it. This raises the question of the object in the old man's left hand, at which he points with his right forefinger, and which Theseus reacts to with a gesture of surprise or horror, raising his right hand and arm up and away from it. As we have seen, this object was identified as a kylix cup, or phiale, and only later reinterpreted as a liver in the hand of a seer. In the present context it is possible that it is intended for the cup in which Medea had prepared poison for Aigeus to give to Theseus. This is said to be a kylix in some versions. Here it would be represented as tipped up at an angle in the hand of Aigeus on the Panagyrishte amphora-rhyton. It is also possible that another wine receptacle might have been shown as containing the poison, one with a shape more like a liver, which some scholars insist on seeing on the vase. This is the leather, baggy, wine *askos*, which was used for carrying one's personal wine ration. This is a particularly attractive idea, since Aigeus' *askos* was the subject of a 'much quoted' Delphic oracle, which he had mistaken the import of, and had in consequence fathered Theseus outside of Athens at Troizen (Euripides *Medea* 679, 681; Plutarch *Theseus* 3). Furthermore, the phrase *aigeios askos*; *aigios askos* was familiar to Greeks from Homer; both the *Iliad* (3. 247) and the *Odyssey* (6. 78–79; 9. 196) mention this everyday object, a 'goatskin wine flask'. It seems very likely that the phrase *aigeios askos*, so familiar as a stock phrase in Homer, was adapted in punning fashion to apply to Aigeus, all the more readily because Aigeus was associated with the *askos* riddle of the Delphic oracle. The unclear object in his hand would then be an additional punning attribute of Aigeus (*aigeios askos*), recognisable in his hand, when one has realised that the two figures by the palace door are Theseus, at his homecoming, and Aigeus, who has been persuaded by Medea to poison him. In this scene the *aigeios askos* would serve not only as the label for Aigeus but also would point to the wine and the cup or flask which had carried the poison. It is clear that *askoi* (leather containers) came in several sizes, large ones of ox skins (for water), smaller ones for wine (goatskins), others for varied objects, wallets, pouches (*askoperai*; *perai*, *kibiseis*).¹⁹ These figured items are considerably earlier in date (*ca.* 659, *ca.* 450 BC), but there is an

¹⁸ Hoffman 1958.

¹⁹ For the baggy shape and rough indications of size, see Carpenter 1991, 104, figs. 150, 153.

example of an *askos* in clay of roughly the same date as the Panagyurishte vase; it come from Thrace (Maikata mogila 1992, Central Bulgaria).²⁰

We now turn to the trumpeter on this side and the four figures filling the other side and the area under one of the handles. These clearly form part of one scene with the palace door, which they are attacking, and with the small bearded figure, who waves his arms and calls out loud (silently to us). All these figures are heroically proportioned; they seem agitated, and wave their swords at different, threatening, angles; these swords are slashing sabres (*makhairai*), sometimes used in murderous enterprises, but they might also be cavalrymen's swords, kept conveniently at home. The men are probably rushing to a crisis within a city, almost certainly not attacking city walls, for which armour would be required. I suggest that this is the scene of alarm raised in response to a perceived threat, typically called out by a trumpet blast (Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 1349: *kerussein boēn*; Sophocles *Oedipus Coloneus* 850, 'help, help'). The seriousness of intent of these men would not be out of place, when an enemy was supposedly at hand. The small figure within the leaves of the door would then be a palace servant, actually calling *boē*; inviting the onrush, not closing the door on it.

There is just such an alarm raised in connection with Theseus' arrival at Aigeus' palace. It is best exemplified in Bacchylides' dramatic dialogue (*dithyramb*), named *Aigeus* or *Theseus*.²¹ This starts with a chorus asking Aigeus: 'Why has the trumpet lately sounded a war note from its bell of bronze?'. The *dithyramb* continues with an account of the progress of an unknown youth from Troizen to Athens, killing a series of brigands on his way. His personal victories and his arms and armour are described, but his identity is unknown. The other possibilities that the chorus has feared were serious indeed – that the enemy was upon them or that raiders were taking off their flocks of sheep. The trumpet-roused citizens' alarm was a serious matter, and would fit the scene. The Bacchylides *dithyramb* shows that Theseus' arrival at Athens was the cause for alarm even in the expectation of it. It seems that the realisation of it in drama made it even more celebrated.

A lost play by Sophocles, *Aigeus*, also covered the exploits of Theseus on his way to Athens; it probably presented his 'recognition' by Aigeus, when the king saw the ivory hilt of the sword left by him at Troizen 16 years before.²² Whether our scene was inspired by Sophocles' play it is impossible to say, but it is possible to show dramatic performances of the story were well enough known to do so (Theseus, Aigeus and Medea on an Apulian krater).²³ The file of attackers, closing on the palace door on our vase, does not appear on other works of art depicting the attempted poisoning. But it does fit the story of Aigeus and Theseus well, for they could be the Pallantidai ('five' for the 50 of the story), who wished to displace Aigeus, and were eventually to be defeated by the newcomer Theseus (Plutarch *Theseus* 13). The Pallantidai were a formidable clan, who would have led the citizens' response to the alarm, and, just to add a little touch to aid the recognition of these opponents of Theseus, there are five of them and the Pythagorean name for five was Pallas (*LSJ s.v.* Pallas). These attackers may be five for the 50 sons of Pallas (Plutarch *Theseus* 3).

²⁰ Kitov and Theodossiev 1995, 325, fig. 7.

²¹ Jebb 1905, 230; Snell 1949, 65.

²² Pearson 1917, 15, 20–21.

²³ Trendall 1989, 110.

It is argued that the identification of the elements on the scene of the amphora-rhyton depends first and foremost on the recognition of Theseus. Thereafter, the episodes in the ancient story, and the poses and attributes of the other figures, lead us first to Aigeus, then to an alarm call to the citizens, and finally to the Pallantidai, long-term opponents of Aigeus and ultimately victims of Theseus. The scene is the youthful appearance at the palace of the great Athenian hero, and it may well have had some relevance to the Athenian ambition and policies in the Propontis region and Thrace in the 350s–340s BC, which is where most, if not all, of the items in the Panagurishte Treasure were produced and used.

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PHANAGORIA AND PHANAGORAS – THE TOPONYM AND THE NAME OF THE OIKIST (FOUNDER)

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Abstract

This note discusses the origins and naming of Phanagoria (and its subsequent renaming) and considers naming practices more broadly.

The name of the city comes in several variants in the Greek writers, and still more when transliterated by Latin authors.¹ These are Phanagoreia (Φαναγορεία: Ps.-Scymnus 886; Strabo 11. 2. 10; Appian *Mithr.* 109; Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.*), Phanagoreion (Φαναγορεῖον: Strabo 11. 2. 10), Phainagoreia (Φαιναγορεία: Arrian *apud* Eustathius, see below), Phainagorē (Φαιναγορή: Dionysius Periegetes 549), Phanagorea (Pomponius Mela 1. 114; Pliny *NH* 6. 18), Phanagorē (Avienus 733) and Phanagorus (Ammianus Marcellinus 22. 8. 30). There are some distorted versions in the manuscript tradition of road-books and maps: Phanugoria (Anonymous Ravenna Cosmographer 1. 17; 4. 5), Phamacorium (*Tabula Peutingeriana* 8. 4).

The original name then was Phanagoreia/Phanagoria. Locally produced, and found, inscriptions and coins confirm this by presenting the *ethnikon* Phanagoritēs in the genitive plural form, Phanagoritōn, ‘of the Phanagoritans’.² Appian provides an alternative form of the ethnic, Phanagoreus (*Mithr.* 106), but it is not known whether this form was used in the city itself, or was a literary construction from the name.

Several writers indicate a tradition as to how the name was arrived at. Stephanus of Byzantium (*Ethnika* = Hecataeus fr. 164) says it was from Phanagoras, and that it was on an island, Phanagorē (πόλις ἀπὸ Φαναγοῦ); this item purports to come from Hecataeus’ Asian section of the *Periodos*, therefore dating to *ca.* 500 BC. Another writer, supposedly of the late 6th century BC, but actually of the mid-4th, Ps.-Skylax, says that it was the city of Phanagoras (Φαναγορὸν πόλις). Strabo, in his fairly full description of the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus (11. 2. 10), mentions that Phanagoria was on an island at the mouth of the River Antikeites; such an island would naturally have taken the name of the Greek city founded there. Two other writers, one of the early 1st century BC and one of the mid-2nd AD, provide a little fuller detail of how they understood the colonisation here to have taken place. Ps.-Scymnus (1. 886) reports that Phanagoria was a foundation from Teos, and Arrian provides rather more: ‘Phainagoras, the Tean, fled from his home-city escaping the violent threat of the Persians’ (Arrian *apud* Eustathius *Geographi Graeci Minores* II, 312–314, Müller; *FGH* IF 212, Jacoby). The vaguer statement found in Dionysius Periegetes (1. 549) that

* This paper was written *ca.* 2003. No attempt has been made to update it.

¹ Kacharava and Kvirkvelia 1991, 284–85.

² *SEG* 41. 625, inscription of the 1st century BC; Shelov 1956, pl. 9.114; Anokhin 1986, pl. 7.193; Price 1993, nos. 995–1007; coins of the late 2nd–early 1st century BC.

Phanagorē was an 'Ionian' foundation may be true, but gives nothing of additional value. This information given by Ps.-Scymnus and Arrian, scanty though it is, has been reasonably taken to mean that the Tean contingent founded Phanagoria shortly after the first Persian conquest of Ionia (*ca.* 545–540 BC) and about the same time as the more famous settlement of Teans at Abdera in Thrace (Herodotus 1. 168).³

That Phanagoras was an historical figure, and not an aetiological fiction, made up from the city name, is indicated by the name appearing at this site on an inscription of the 4th century BC: one Ap[oll]odo[r]os, son of Phanagoras (Φαναγορέω: *CIRB* 971) made a dedication to Aphrodite Ourania. This Apollodoros, and this Phanagoras, are likely to have been descendants of the oikist Phanagoras, about 150 years later. It is noteworthy that the Ionic form of the genitive singular is appropriate to a family originating in Teos.

The name Phanagoras is found rarely elsewhere, but Herodotus gives it as the name for an individual from Karystos in Euboea, who was suspected of betraying the inland path to Thermopylae to the Persians in 480 BC (Herodotus 7. 214). Other names ending in -agoras are fairly commonly found in Herodotus' narrative (some 20 of them), mainly of prominent East Greeks or Athenians. We see there Aristagoras (four times), Athenagoras, Euagoras, Iatragoras, Isagoras, Kouphagoras, Lysagoras (twice), Molpagoras, Peithagoras, the Pylagoroi, Pythagoras (twice), Stesagoras (twice), Timagoras, Xenagoras. Thucydides provides a much smaller number of such names, all in fact known already from Herodotus – Aristagoras, Athenagoras, Stesagoras, Timagoras (twice). One might add two further famous figures, one of the 7th century BC, Orthagoras, tyrant of Sikyon, one of the 5th century, Anaxagoras the philosopher. Without being exhaustive in listing such names, one can bring forward (from inscriptions) an Aristagoras at Istria, Myphagoras on the Bosphorus (twice), Nymphagoras on the Bosphorus (seven times), Pythagoras at Sinope, Semagoras at Miletos, and Themistagoras at Sinope and Apollonia Pontica – the name also of the reputed founder of Phasis (Pomponius Mela 1. 108) and of a Milesian magistrate (*aisymnetes*) for the year 521/20 BC. One Hermagoras appears at Olbia (*IOSPE* I² 212), a Telestagoras in Naxos (Athenaeus *Deipn.* 348b–c), and Molpagoras repeatedly in cities north of the Black Sea – at Olbia, Pantikapaion and Kepoi.⁴ The -agoras element common to all these names is, of course, derived from the Greek, *agora* 'public life'; *agoreuō*, 'public speaking'.

The first elements of these names express ideas suited to the city elite's image of themselves – ability, agility, freedom, guest-friendship, health, honour, nobility, persuasion, lordship, stability, uprightness. Demagoras ('People's speaker') at Olbia (*I. Olbia* 72) and Isagoras ('Equal speaker'), the nobles' faction leader at Athens, may seem a touch more democratic, but they were nonetheless intended to sound influential. Several of the names seem to refer to a deity's patronage or the observance of a cult. Among these are Molpagoras, Semagoras and Telestagoras (*molpoi* were a guild of religious singers at Miletos; *sema* was a sign or omen; *telestai* were religious rites). Athenagoras, Hermagoras, Nymphagoras and Pythagoras clearly had some connection with the deities concerned (Athena, Hermes, the Nymphs or a Nymph, Pytho of Delphi). In this context appears Phanagoras, whose parents had signalled their allegiance to Phanes (the Orphic first principal deity also known as Eros and Protogonos).⁵

³ Zhebelev 1953, 60–61; Graham 1992, 48–49.

⁴ *IOSPE* I² 270, 10–58; *CIRB* 19; Sokolskii 1973.

⁵ Kerenyo 1958, 100–01; Guthrie 1952, 80, 95.

Phanagoria is almost unique among Greek colonies of the early expansion period (ca. 750–500 BC) in being named after its founder, though nearby Hermonassa is said to have taken its name from the wife of its oikist after he had died (Arrian *Bith.* fr. 55 Roos = *FGH* 156 fr. 71). Phanagoria, founded ca. 545–540 BC, appears to be the earliest such case; others follow in the Greek West.⁶ Much more common was the naming after gods (Apolonia), demigods (Herakleia), nymphs or rivers of the place (Sinope, Istria, Borysthene). After the mid-4th century BC, Philip, Alexander and the Hellenistic rulers gave their, or their wives', names to cities with increasing regularity. From then on Phanagoria must have borne an increasingly outmoded, even inexplicable name, as Phanagoras was no hero of comparable status.

It has been suggested that the exceptional adoption of the oikist's name for the city may have been due to the fact that the settlers were refugees fleeing in haste from the Persian attack, and that there was no time to organise the colony properly to get a name, site, terms, etc. from an oracle or religious centre.⁷ But at Abdera so at Phanagoria, the life of the settlers seems to start ca. 540–500 BC, which ties in well with the literary evidence. The earliest pottery and dwellings date to ca. 540–525 BC.⁸

More recently it has been suggested that it was the Teians settled at Abdera who founded Phanagoria, since neither Herodotus (1. 168) nor Strabo (14. 1. 30) mentions any Teians fleeing directly to Phanagoria, but only to Abdera in Thrace.⁹ It may well be that Abdera was a staging post into the Black Sea, and that Phanagoras went on to lead a breakaway group of his own Teian followers, who, in those rather unofficial circumstances, named their colony Phanagoria. There is, however, an interesting link with Ionian Teos rather than with Thracian Abdera. This is a silver coin-type of the Sindoi, the people around and inland of Phanagoria, which bears on the obverse side a seated griffin facing right.¹⁰ Here is the griffin of Teos, the mother-city of Phanagoria, and not the griffin of Abdera, which always is turned to the left.¹¹ This suggests that the more direct ties of Phanagoria were with the mother-city rather than with the important sister-colony. The Sindian coins may well have been minted in Phanagoria, the nearest Greek colony,¹² and after their cessation the Phanagorian civic coinage starts. Two Sindian diobols have been found at Phanagoria.¹³

The Phanagorian coinage itself (Fig. 1) does not bear a griffin, but, starting later as it did, it might be expected to break with that traditional link, and stress something else distinctive to the region. The obverse side bears a youthful head in a rounded or conical cap to the left (in one denomination the cap is garlanded with leaves).¹⁴ The reverse side bears

⁶ Malkin 1985, 121–23; Jacquemin 1993, 21.

⁷ Malkin 1985, 122–23.

⁸ Kuznetsov 1998, 9–10; Kobylina 1983.

⁹ Kuznetsov 2002, 75.

¹⁰ Shelov 1956, pl. 2.24; Anokhin 1986, pl. 2.59.

¹¹ Kraay 197, 35, pls. 5.95, 30.538–542.

¹² Zograf 1951, 149; Shelov 1956, 48.

¹³ Abramson and Gorlov 1998.

¹⁴ Zograf 1951, pl. 39.43–45; Shelov 1956, pl. 2.26–28; Anokhin 1986, pl. 2.77–90; Zavoikin 1995.



Fig. 1: Phanagorian coinage.

a bull rushing left (or a forepart or head of a bull), a grain of wheat and the letters ΦΑ or ΦΑΝΑ above. The head on the obverse was once identified as Phanagoras, the founder,¹⁵ but now it is recognised as a young Kabeiros, deity of Samothrace and other islands of the North Aegean.¹⁶ A very clear example of a bearded Kabeiros appears on a gold stater of Lampsakos of *ca.* 340 BC;¹⁷ again the cap is decked with a garland of leaves. Kabeiroi, one old, one youthful, were also connected with Dionysos; they were believed to have instructed Orpheus, and they were thought to inhabit underground regions, caves, and to work with fire as smiths. Their origin was probably Phrygia, but their most famous centres were Samothrace, Lemnos, Imbros and Anthedon near Thebes.¹⁸ These 'sons of Hephaistos' (Herodotus 3. 37) were well suited to appear on the coins of Phanagoria, as the area inland was noted for hills of volcanic origin and caves (Strabo 11. 2. 10, for the Apatouron and the cave of the giants). The Kabeiroi then were not only relevant to this topography of the Taman Peninsula; they figured prominently in Orphic teaching, and Phanes, as we have seen, was its first begetter of the world (also called Protogonos and Eros). Orphism might well have been a religious element at Phanagoria in the 540s BC; it certainly existed at Olbia, as Herodotus and Orphic tablets show at much the same time.¹⁹ Although one cannot be certain, it may be that Phanagoras brought with him the cult of Orphism (if it is a

¹⁵ Köhler 1808, 11; von Koehne 1857 I, 404; Minns 1913, 620; Gaidukevich 1949, 582.

¹⁶ Fritze 1904, 105–07.

¹⁷ Jenkins 1972, no. 292.

¹⁸ Herodotus 2. 5; Aristophanes *Peace* 276; Pausanias *Desc. Graeciae* 4. 1. 7; Hemberg 1950.

¹⁹ Herodotus 4. 79, at Olbia; 7. 6, at Athens; Graf 1974; West 1982; Vinogradov 1997.

theophoric name like Athenagoras, Hermagoras and Nymphagoras), and that he then found in the area a connection with the Underworld that raised Greek reminiscences of the Kabeiroi as well as Orpheus. Not far away, across the straits at Nymphaion, a shrine of the Kabeiroi was found, and caves down to the shore.²⁰

Certainly the similarly named Greek poet Phanokles (3rd century BC?) was especially concerned with Dionysos and, above all, Orpheus.²¹ Thus might the appearance of a Kabeiros as the city badge on the Classical coins of Phanagoria be explained, as symbolising Phanagoras' city, situated by the smoking vents from the Underworld (on Mt Boris and Gleb, by Lake Akhtanizov).²² Former volcanic activity and gaseous exhalations were said to be characteristic of the mountain on that other centre of the cult of the Kabeiroi, Lemnos, and this is where they were 'sons of Hephaistos'.²³

As we saw at the outset, Phanagoria was still issuing coins under its old name as late as the first half of the 1st century BC – silver drachms, hemi-drachms and bronze obols, tetradrachms and chalks with the ethnic ΦΑΝΑΓΟΡΙΤΩΝ. In or about 64 BC the Phanagoritai precipitated a revolt against Mithridates and his sons under one Kastor (Appian *Mithr.* 103), an action for which they were rewarded by the Roman general Pompey with their autonomy and independence from Pharnaces of Pontis and the rest of the Bosphorus (Appian *Mithr.* 113). It would be appropriate if they were still issuing these silver coins then. However, some 50 years later Phanagoria came even more under the influence of Rome. Agrippa, Augustus' most intimate and powerful friend (co-regent and ruler of the East), gave crucial support to Polemo I and Dynamis in their struggle to rule over the Bosphorus. By merely moving to Sinope, south of Bosphorus across the Black Sea, Agrippa seems to have overawed their opponent Scribonius and to have eliminated his threat (Cassius Dio 54. 24. 5–6).

The Phanagoritans renamed their city Agrippeia, just as Pantikapaion/Panticapaeum was renamed Kaisareia, honouring Augustus Caesar himself. The two cities issued coins in bronze, in parallel, with the legends ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΕΩΝ and ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ, probably starting between 17 and 12 BC. The names Phanagoria and Pantikapaion must have seemed rather redundant in the new world-system of Rome and Augustus, and *Kaisareiai* were appearing as the new faces of cities in many parts of the Hellenistic world. Phanagoria, named after a long-dead, obscure oikist, must have been especially vulnerable to being replaced by that of the mighty Roman benefactor.²⁴ Agrippeia was still the name officially held by the city in the 2nd century AD and as late as AD 307 (*CIRB* 983, 1051); it probably remained so for as long as it existed, though late and derivative writers, and maps and itineraries still used the original name, often in distorted form.²⁵

Finally the modern name of the site deserves a brief mention for its total lack of connection with either ancient name. This is Sennoi *khutor* or Stanitsa Sennaya ('Hay Farmstead'; 'Straw Farm'), a purely agricultural name, not noticing at all the nearby ancient city. Not

²⁰ Khudyak 1962, 18–23, 42–57.

²¹ Diehl 1934–42 VI, 71–73.

²² Gaidukevich 1949, 201; Marchenko 1977, 122.

²³ Kerenyi 75–77.

²⁴ Oreshnikov 1915, 37; Zograf 1951, 193, pl. 45.12.14; Anokhin 1986, pl. 12.322 3a, b; Frolova 1995, pl. II.8–10.

²⁵ Podossinov 2002, 194, 265, n. 345, 357.

until 1711 was the first antiquarian's attempt at identification made, correctly seeing it as the former Phanagoria,²⁶ second city of Bosporus after Pantikapaion (Agrippeia, the junior partner to Kaisareia).

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²⁶ Goertz 1870, 70; Kobylina 1957, 5.

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KEPOI: A MILESIA COLONY ON THE ASIAN SIDE OF THE CIMMERIAN BOSPORUS

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Abstract

This paper presents a discussion of the location, development and history of Kepoi, a Milesian colony in the Asiatic Bosphorus, and the immediately surrounding area. Particular attention is paid to Pantikapaion coins circulating there, their imagery and how the floral/stellar reverse motif can be interpreted.

Kepoi lay on the Asian side of the Cimmerian Bosphorus at the innermost recess of the Gulf of Taman. Along with Phanagoria it was on an island at the mouth of the Antikeites/Hypanis (the present-day River Kuban), formed by former arms of a kind of delta: to the south was a now dried-up channel running east–west via Lake Yanovskogo, and to the north was another, the Subottin Yerik. If the current identification is correct, Kepoi lay some 3 km to the north-east of Phanagoria and further into the gulf, at a site now named simply ‘Sand Quarry’, near the Artyukhov and Pivnev farmsteads. In the 1960s the area still on dry land was estimated as 8 ha, mainly under vines and orchards, but a larger area was known to be under shallow water off shore. The total area of the ancient city was thought to be some 20–25 ha.¹ Archaeological attention came to this site relatively late, but excavations have taken place in two periods: 1957–70, with Sokolskii in the city and Sorokina in the necropolis; and in 1984–90 under Kuznetsov.

Ancient references to Kepoi are not numerous,² but they do create an impression that the place had a certain political importance, especially in the colonisation period and down to the 4th century BC. It also enjoyed a religious importance, at least in the Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, as will be seen later. Ps.-Skylax (mid-4th century BC) is the earliest writer to mention Kepoi (72) as ‘a Greek *polis* in the territory of the Sindoi’. Strabo locates it more precisely, ‘Kepoi on the abovementioned island as well as Phanagoria’ (11. 2. 10). Vaguer, and perhaps misleading, is Pomponius Mela (1. 112), who appears to place Cepoe (the Latin transliteration) between Hermonassa and Phanagoria, which, if Hermonassa was as Tamansk, as is believed, is not likely to be correct. However, Mela is far from precise in such matters. Ps.-Scymnus (early 1st century BC) adds something of historical value, ‘Kepos (sing.) was settled by Milesians’ (896), and he is echoed by Pliny the Elder (writing *ca.* AD 70), who describes it as ‘Cepoe of the Milesians’ (*NH* 6. 18). Kepoi is, in fact, along with Pantikapaion, the later capital on its European side (Strabo 7. 4. 4; Pliny *NH* 4. 37), the only settlement on the Cimmerian Bosphorus Straits to be said to be ‘Milesian’ or ‘settled as an *apoikia* by

* This paper was written *ca.* 2003. No attempt has been made to update the text.

¹ Sokolskii 1963, 99; Usacheva and Sorokina 1984, 84.

² Kacharav and Kvirkvelia 1991, 125–27.

Milesians'. In the later Roman period the Anonymous Ravenna Cosmographer places Gypos (2. 12), Ceppos (5. 10) between Apatura and Stratoclis; the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (8. 5) puts it, Cepos, next to Stratoclis.

No motivation is given in the sources for the foundation of a colony at Kepoi, but, if the earliest pottery found there is a guide, ca. 590–570 BC,³ then there was ample reason for Milesians to leave their city. Until the conclusion of the 11-year war fought between the Lydian kings (Sadyttes and Alyattes) and Miletos under its tyrant, Thrasyboulos, there would have been short-term loss of land and longer-term decline in productivity in the *chora* of Miletos and a consequent threat of famine (Herodotus 1. 17–21). Predictably they would turn to the sea and its resources. In the early part of the 6th century BC there were factional disturbances (*staseis*) under 'tyrants', Thoas and Damasenor (Plutarch *Quaest. Graec.* 32). The 'wealthy' (*plouteis*) strove against the 'toilers by hand'/'workers' (*kheirimakha*). The 'rich' became known as 'those always at sea' (*aeinautai*), and were said to take counsel apart from the rest on their ships. Among these, certainly, were those Milesians who frequented Naukratis in Egypt and the Black Sea colonies. Atrocities are reported in both sides at Miletos, particularly against a non-Ionian group called Gergithes (Heraklides Ponticus *apud Athenaeus Deipnosophists* 12. 524). Internal troubles persisted, we hear, for two generations (until ca. 550–540 BC), when a group of Parians was called in to arbitrate and recommended handing control of the state to those men who ran their estates properly (Herodotus 5. 28–29); after this Milesian affairs recovered under more orderly government. But prior to this there has been ample reason for Milesians to leave the city for a distant colony, overseas trade or fishing grounds, making the colonial areas increasingly their home base.

Indeed several factors operated to draw them to the North-East and to the Black Sea in particular. One of these was the desire to follow the migration of the tunny fish towards its source from the Propontis and the Straits at Byzantium back along the southern shore of the Black Sea past Sinope at least as far as Kerasous (later Pharnakia). Previous Megarian colonies at Byzantium and Calchedon, and previous Milesian ones at Sinope, Istria, Apollonia Pontica and Borysthenes also acted as a precedent and encouragement. Metals (gold, silver, copper and iron-sands) were also sought, and found, at various points along the coast, from the Hellespontine and Propontic shores to the Thracian Black Sea region (copper), and Cappadocian and Colchian sources (silver, iron, gold). Rich fisheries for sturgeon and herring were a ready food-source in the Cimmerian Bosphorus Straits. As time went on, in Sindice-land (the Taman Peninsula and the Lower Kuban area), and in the eastern part of the Kerch Peninsula to the west of the Straits, the fertility of the land for growing grain became a well-known and exploited resources. Many of these areas would, in addition, have been known to be depopulated, at least in part, as a result of the Cimmerian migration and the Scythian 'pursuit' of them, or to be populated by small and weakly developed; barbarian' peoples in the aftermath.

As Kepoi was settled by the mouth of the River Antikeites (so-named probably from the Antakaioi, 'sturgeon fish'), fishing was probably a major motive, while the practical advantages offered by the soil may have contributed to the Greek form of the name, 'Gardens', as well as the religious significance of the toponym (see below). However, any independent

³ Kuznetsov 1991a, 34; 1991b; Nikolaeva 1977; 1979, 143–44.

exploitation of these resources must soon have been squeezed by the foundation of two other colonies, Hermonassa and Phanagoria, further out along the shore of Taman Bay, which must have made access from the seaward side difficult.⁴

Although no extensive Archaic layers have been found at Kepoi, traces of them are fairly frequent – in the form of East Greek pottery in pits, and disturbed material, and some remains of stone and mud-brick structures.⁵ Kepoi has also produced a unique head of a *kouros*, which may have belonged to a grave-marker,⁶ and a necropolis distinguished by a large number of Archaic and Classical burials.⁷ The North Ionian influence or element, noted in the grave-goods, may be attributed to the proximity of the larger city, Phanagoria, after its foundation *ca.* 545–540 BC, with its strategic, ‘blocking’, position mentioned above.

Towards the end of the 6th century, or 480 BC with the coming to power of the Arkhaianaktidai (Diodorus Siculus 12. 31. 1), Kepoi was surely part of a *symmachia* (‘joint alliance’) of the small settlements of the Bosphorus, of which the centre came to be Pantikapaion.⁸ The only possible trace of Kepoi (of an historical/archaeological kind) in such a union is in the Bosporan silver coinage, but more of this below. However, there can be no doubt of the existence of the Arkhaianaktidai, or of their rule on the Bosphorus (i.e. not just in one or two cities), which Diodorus estimates at 42 years (*ca.* 480–438 BC). Interestingly, the suggestion was made 30 years ago that these Arkhaianaktidai were originally based in the Asian side of the Bosphorus, though it was proposed that they were from the Aeolian city of Hermonassa, and ultimately Lesbians from the colonising city, Mytilene.⁹ However, it seems more likely that the Arkhaianaktid family came from Miletos: one Kyzikes, son of Arkhaianax, was *stephanephoros* and *aisymnetes* (chief priest of the college of priests of Apollo Delphinois) at Miletos for the year 516/5 BC.¹⁰ A later member of the same family, Arkhaianax in the next generation, may well have escaped the chaos of the Ionian Revolt and the destruction of Miletos (499–494 BC) and found himself at Kepoi, thence to the European side of the Bosphorus, eventually to become the founder of the Arkhaianaktid dynasty over the Bosporan cities in 480 BC. This is a rather more plausible scenario than seeing the older Milesian Arkhaianax as a founder of Pantikapaion in the mid-6th century.¹¹ In aristocratic families names commonly alternated between grandfather, son and grandson. What is more, one could well understand a new dynasty making a new start in a Milesian colony some time after arriving there at the head of a group of refugees from the Persian reconquest of the mother-city (between 494 and 480 BC).

We learn that, subsequently, in the period of the next (Spartokid) dynasty, Kepoi was still a place of some importance, though obviously a dependent city in the gift of the Bosporan rulers; it could also be the scene of civil war and the death of one of the family’s members.

⁴ Sokolskii 1963, 102.

⁵ Kuznetsov 1992.

⁶ Sokolskii 1962.

⁷ Sorokina and Sudarev 2000, 45–48.

⁸ Blavatskaya 1959, 9–26; Vinogradov 1980; Tolstikov 1984; Frolova 1996, 49–50. On the Bosporan kingdom, see now Tsatskheladze 2013.

⁹ Blavatskii 1964, 46; 1970.

¹⁰ Rehm 1914, 122. I II.

¹¹ Zhebelev 1953, 70–71, 163.

At some time towards the end of the Peloponnesian War (*ca.* 405–404 BC), the maternal grandfather of Demosthenes, one Gylon, was said to have ‘betrayed’ his position as ‘governor’ of Nymphaeum, handing it over to the Spartokid *archon*/tyrant Satyros; he received in return Kepoi (Aeschines 3. 171; Demosthenes 28. 2). Whether or not this was an act of treason in Athenian eyes or a pragmatic recognition of the weakness of remote Athenian places of influence at the end of the 5th century BC was clearly a matter of interpretation and political bias in the 4th century. What is interesting for us is the position of Kepoi – a place at Satyros’ disposal, but important enough as a perquisite with which to reward Gylon, while making him thenceforth dependent on Satyros.¹² Cities in Asia Minor had similarly been granted to Themistocles by the Persian Great King (Plutarch *Themistocles* 27; Athenaeus *Deipnosophists* 1. 29), and Xenophon was to be offered places on the Propontic coast by Seuthes, the Odrysian dynast of Thrace (Xenophon *Anabasis* 7. 5. 8), only a few years later.

About a century later (*ca.* 311/10 BC) Kepoi was again the scene of politico-military events on the Bosphorus, when one of the feuding Spartokids, Prytanis, fled there and was killed, leaving sole rule in the hands of his brother, Eumelos (Diodorus Siculus 20. 24). At approximately the same date a grave epitaph, found at Pantikapaion, gives the name of one Theopompos, son of Aiantides, a Kepitan (κηπίτης: *CIRB* 188), thus showing with its use of the ethnic, that Kepoi had some sort of civic identity (a *polis*) within the Spartokid Bosporan state. An inscription found at Kepoi in 1963 shows that an impressive statue to Aphrodite was erected there in the time of Eumelos’ successor, Spartokos III (*ca.* 304–284 BC).¹³ Kepoi clearly had a certain importance down to the Early Hellenistic period at least, probably as a primary Milesian settlement in the region, but also increasingly as a religious centre of the worship of Aphrodite.

The name Kepoi actually indicated the significance of the town in Bosporan affairs. It appears, on the face of it, to be purely Greek, ‘Gardens’ or, in the singular, ‘Garden’ (Kepos, in Ps.-Scymnus 896). However, several authors qualify the name, ‘called Gardens’ (καλούμενοι: Diodorus Siculus 20. 24); ‘named’ (ὠνομασμένοι: Aeschines 3. 171). Place-names are usually presented without such qualification,¹⁴ so some special circumstance may lie behind this one. Perhaps it is a Hellenisation of some native word; indeed the river- and place-name Pantikapes/Pantikapaion has been explained as ‘fish way/route’ (*Kapa* = ‘fish’ [Iran.]; *panta* = ‘route’ [Iran.]), and as the native Scythian/Sindian word for the fish route over or in the Straits.¹⁵ This had considerable support from Soviet archaeologists,¹⁶ but has more recently been challenged by Yailenko,¹⁷ who links it with two hypothetical Thracian roots: **kap*, meaning ‘hill’, and **pen* with the meaning ‘winding’, the whole being a compound word ‘winding round the hill’ (i.e. the Melek Chesme stream winding round Mt Mithridates/Pantikapaion Hill). As the Melek Chesme is a very minor stream, it seems very unlikely that this was the feature giving its name, Pantikapes, to the site. If the hill itself was the feature, then it would rather be simply *Kapaion*, ‘Place by the Hill’. Neither explanation of the name can be regarded as

¹² Koshelenko and Usacheva 1992; Koshelenko 1999, 139.

¹³ Sokolskii 1964, 117, fig. 11; Belova 1970.

¹⁴ Sokolskii 1963, 102.

¹⁵ Abaev 1949, 170, 175; 1958.

¹⁶ Blavatskii 1954, 15 and n. 4; 1964, 18–19.

¹⁷ Yailenko 1991.

proven, but that 'fish' entered into toponyms and hydronyms on the Bosphorus is shown by the name Antikeites for the Kuban, which is clearly a Hellenised form of 'Sturgeon River' from *antakaïos* (Iran.) 'Sturgeon' (one name of the Hypanis, modern River Kuban). The *antakaïos* was a valuable resource obtained both in the Dnieper (Herodotus 4. 53) and in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, which could be obtained by digging down through the 'ice route' between Pantikapaion and Phanagoria (Strabo 7. 3. 18). Perhaps Pantikapaion was named not from the Cimmerian Bosphorus, nor from the hill or the minor stream Melek Chesme, but rather from the Pantikapēs, 'fish way', which the Scythians used as a winter route in crossing into the territory of the Sindoi, while also availing themselves of the fish beneath (Herodotus 4. 28). Certainly this route over the ice, usable for several months in the year, was a phenomenon worthy of a toponym for its geographical and economic advantages. Whatever may have been the origin of the word Pantikapaion we are certainly not justified in seeking a purely Greek origin for it, as was done by Lapin,¹⁸ who sought to explain it as Greek: 'all gardens' (*panti kapaion*). There is no trace in any Greek writer that it originally has such a meaning. But it may be that punning on a barbarian name in the Greek language had some influence on the Bosporan coinage, as will be suggested below, and here the colony-name Kepoi comes back into consideration.

Kepoi, 'gardens', in the Greek world generally, were not merely 'gardens', but most notably were 'gardens' belonging to Aphrodite Ourania, as at Athens, at Cyrene and in Cyprus.¹⁹ Herodotus says that the Scythians, having returned from Asia to their North Pontic steppes, worshipped a version of Aphrodite (Ourania), the Astarte native to Askalon (Herodotus 1. 105), and the name for Aphrodite Ourania in their own language, he says, was Argimpasa (Herodotus 4. 59). Just as such trade and religious links involving Astarte/Aphrodite could be traced westwards from Cyprus to Eryx and Segesta in western Sicily,²⁰ so a perceived similarity or identity in versions of Aphrodite might be traced between the eastern corner of the Mediterranean and the north-eastern corner of the Black Sea. In this case one could suppose that the native Sindoi, the movements of the Scythians south and then north again across West Asia, and the incoming Greeks sailing across the Black Sea, may have all played a part in some such religious syncretism.

Aphrodite Ourania was worshipped notably at cities on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, at Pantikapaion, but most frequently honoured in the cities of its Asiatic side, Phanagoria, Kepoi, Hermonassa, Gorgippia.²¹ Temples to Aphrodite are reported at Phanagoria and at nearby Apatouron.²² At least 12 inscriptions on the Bosphorus were dedicated to Aphrodite Ourania, a number exceeding those addressed to Apollo (Hietros and Delphinios), supposedly the chief deity of Milesian colonists.²³ Phanagoria has not only the reference in Strabo, but also the small temple located by excavation just outside the city to the south, on the hill Mias-kaya Gora.²⁴ At Kepoi, Sokolskii found the remains of two shrines of Aphrodite, one in the

¹⁸ Lapin 1962, 23, n. 36; rejected by him in Lapin 1966, 48, n. 63.

¹⁹ Pausanias *Desc. Graeciae* 1. 19. 2; Pindar *Pythian* 5. 24; Strabo 14. 6. 3; Yailenko 1977, 220.

²⁰ Lee 1999, 1–24.

²¹ Kharko 1946; Ustinova 1998; 1999, 29–53; Tsetsckhladze and Kuznetsov 2000.

²² Strabo 11. 2. 10; Hecataeus *FGH1* F211; Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.*; Tokhtasev 1983, 111; 1986.

²³ Ustinova 1998, 226.

²⁴ Marchenko 1977.

north-western area of the site, from near where came the foot of a kylix-cup of the late 6th century BC, bearing a graffito inscription, 'to Aphrodite while Molpagoras was priest';²⁵ the other, in the south-eastern sector, was a temple of Hellenistic date, in which was found, among other things, a fine statue of Aphrodite – the so-called 'Taman Aphrodite'.²⁶ There is also the inscription of the time of Spartokos II, already mentioned.²⁷ The find of the head of another 'Aphrodite' in 1987 prompted a fuller consideration of Kepoi as a major, if not the main, centre of the cult of Aphrodite on the Bosporus. Its publishers certainly make the (rather different) case that the cult of Aphrodite was the main one at Kepoi itself, a line of thought already started by Sokolskii when linking the name Kepoi to his new archaeological material.²⁸

The site of Apatouron has not been located precisely; some say it was at or near Phanagoria, some put it between Hermonassa and Phanagoria, some believe it to have been outside Phanagoria Island in Sindikē. However, it *was* somewhere in the 'delta' of the River Kuban, in the territory of the Sindoi, and it may be assumed to have had some local topographical or geographical reason for its sanctity. Strabo explained the name as Greek, illustrating a local myth, that Herakles used deceit (apatē) in killing oppressive giants in a cave one-by-one, and freeing the goddess Aphrodite from them (11. 2. 10). Modern scholars will have none of this, deriving it either from the Ionian festival and clan-recognition system, the *Apatouria*,²⁹ or from a local Iranian compound word (Sindian?), made from *ap.* ('water') and *'tura* ('might' or 'swift'), presumably referring to a river or lake nearby.³⁰ The name does not seem to be any more accurately explained than the site is located. However, one feature of Strabo's story (of Herakles, Aphrodite and the giants in the cave) does raise the question whether the idea of activity if underground giants was suggested by the gaseous activity and mud-vents and landslips, of volcanic origin, found on Mt Maiskaya and Mt Boris and Gleb;³¹ on both hills there were shrines outside the cities (Phanagoria and Kepoi).

Just below Mt Boris and Gleb, by the western shore of Lake Akhtanizovka were found two statues (one is now lost, the other is in Moscow), and a base with the inscription 'Komasarye, daughter of Gorgippos and wife of Pairisades, dedicated this to the great god Sanerges and to Astara' (ισχυῶι θεῶι Σανέργει καὶ Ἀστάραι: *CIRB* 1015). This Pairisades is the first of the name, who ruled from 344/3 BC until 311/10 BC; and Komasarye was the daughter of Gorgippos, thus an important lady even before her marriage. Her father gave his name to Sindikos Limen, renamed Gorgippia. Perhaps then Komasarye was a Sindian lady herself,³² though there are other possibilities – that her family came from Asia Minor, for instance. However, one major interest is in the two deities, which are not known elsewhere exactly in these forms, Sanerges and Astara.³³ Astara, however, surely is a local deity similar to Astarte,

²⁵ Sokolskii 1973.

²⁶ Sokolskii 1964; *LIMC* II, 646.

²⁷ Belova 1970.

²⁸ Sokolskii 1964, 116–17; also Yailenko 1977, 221–22.

²⁹ Yailenko 1977, 226–27.

³⁰ Abaev 1949, 153, 185; Ustinova 1998, 211–13.

³¹ Marchenko 1977, 122.

³² Gaidukevich 1949, 202; Sokolskii 1964, 116–18.

³³ Ustinova 1999, 51–53.

the Phoenician Aphrodite. At this point some other Near Eastern deity-names become relevant; the mother of Herakles at Tyre was Asteria;³⁴ at Tarsus, on city-issues of the 5th–4th centuries BC the hero-god is Nergal, in Aramaic lettering,³⁵ and on coins of Roman Imperial date he is called Sandan.³⁶ Sanerges and Astara then seem to have their closest parallels by name and function (hero–goddess relationship) in the Tyre/Tarsus regions of Phoenicia/Cilicia.³⁷ One wonders also whether the place name Asterousia, located in Sindikē by Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Ἀστερουσία) was at this site east of Kepoi.

How such influences may have reached Sindikē, the north-eastern corner of the Black Sea, from the eastern Mediterranean has never been clear. But it is relevant to point to two legs of such a route, said to exist, separately, by Herodotus. He knew of a ‘short’ overland route from Rough Cilicia (Tarsus region) to the Euxine (east of Sinope), which he estimated at five days’ journey (Herodotus 1. 72; 2. 34); such an isthmus across Asia was said to exist also by Ps.-Scymnus (921) and by Strabo (2. 1. 3; 5. 24), though the latter gives its distance as 3000 stades (more than five days’ journey). Herodotus also says that the voyage across the broadest part of the Euxine Sea, from the River Thermodon to Sindikē, took three days and two nights (4. 86). If one puts these two routes together, with a change from land to sea-transport, perhaps at Sinope, one finds that a trader would have a regular through route all the way from the Gulf of Issos, near Tarsus, to the Sindikē (Asian) side of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, no matter that Herodotus underestimated the length of time to cross Asia Minor by land. The religious syncretism among the Sindians (Astara and Sanerges, Herakles and Aphrodite Ourania) might well have been suggested by such contacts with the eastern corner of the Mediterranean, which had already started with the Scythian raids into the Near East.³⁸

Here one should mention once more the name Astara (its cognates Ashtoreth, Astarte, Asteria in the Phoenician language), and also the place-names Asterousia, wherever it lay in Sindic territory, and observe its near identity with the Greek word *aster* (‘star’), *asterios* (‘starry’). We cannot know the meaning of Astara in the unknown language of the Sindoi, but we can be certain that, to the Greeks of the cities on the Gulf of Taman, it would have signified ‘star’, and would invite a visual pun on the name in the Greek language. This, I suggest, is to be seen on the coins of Pantikapaion/Bosphorus of the 5th and early 4th centuries BC (Fig. 1.1–10).

The constant type on the obverse side of the Pantikapaion silver is a facing lion’s head, or on a few, rare, issues, a lion’s scalp. This has been the subject of detailed study, which has followed its various stages of development. It has been linked with the traditional lion on Milesian coinage: a lion looking back on the staters; profile head of a lion on the fractions of small silver.³⁹ The lion is the symbol of Apollo, the chief god of Miletos and of the oracle-temple at Didyma in Milesian territory. The frontal lion’s head would be a natural animal-blazon to choose for the Milesian colony or colonies on the Bosphorus.

³⁴ Head 1911, 787.

³⁵ Kraay 1976, 281, no. 1035.

³⁶ Head 1911, 732–33.

³⁷ Gaidukevich 1949, 202.

³⁸ Herodotus 1. 105; Ustinova 1998, 218.

³⁹ Head 1911, 584–85; Shelov 1951.

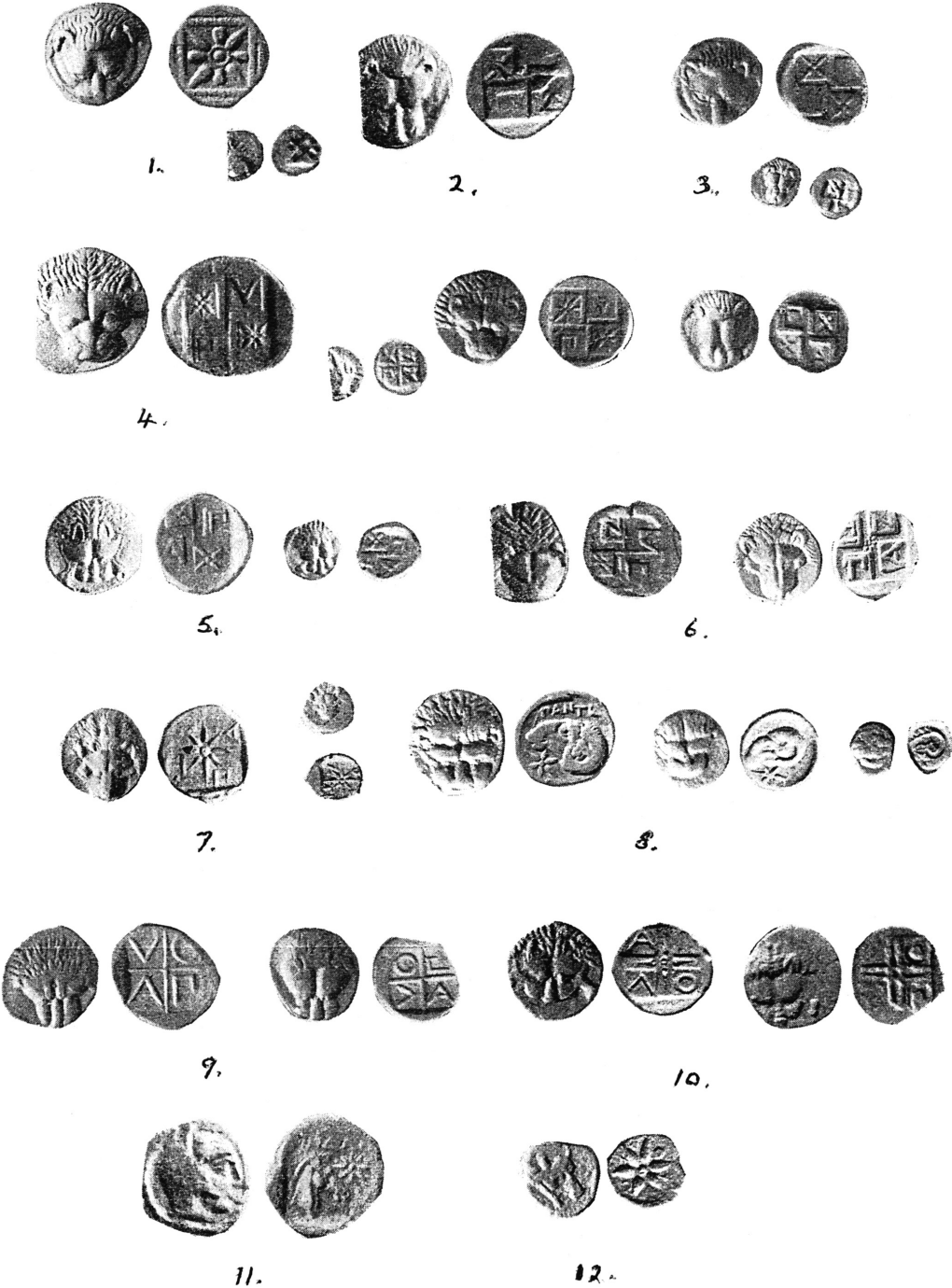


Fig. 1: Bosphoran silver coins: lion's head and star/flower types.

On the Milesian staters the lion is often represented looking back towards a small star (or sun); a rosette/star is the common reverse type of fractions.⁴⁰ Such coins have been found in the Black Sea area: in Colchis, a small silver coin of this type was described as found in a hoard of local silver, though left unidentified.⁴¹ Four similar electrum coins of late 6th-/early 5th-century date were found on Berezan Island in the 1970s; although they have types only on the obverse side, these are the forepart of a lioness to right in the stater, and 'cross-shaped rosette' on the three fractions.⁴² These two coin-hoards represent some of the earliest Greek coins found from the Black Sea region, and, in view of the Milesian near-monopoly of coastal settlement in the Borysthene and Colchis areas, it is reasonable to suppose that they were minted at Miletos.

We now turn to the reverse sides of the Pantikapaion/Bosporus silver. At first the reverse, struck by the punch die, is a shapeless incuse, then a four-part punch, forming a 'mill-sail' of rough wedges, a cross-bar with dots in recessed squares, and a more fully-formed, raised 'mill-sail' or 'swastika pattern'. At this stage (the second half of the 5th century BC) they are anepigraphic (i.e. there is no legend identifying the coin). The shape of the incuse, a rough 'swastika', is closest, out of all the shapes of incuse-punch dies, to those of Corinth.⁴³ The cross-shaped reverse types with dots in recessed squares is reminiscent of silver coins of the Thracian Chersonesus, a state also with Milesian origins, which issued silver coins with the 'lion-looking-back' type.⁴⁴ These prototypes and parallels turn us repeatedly to the Milesian connection.⁴⁵ As minting proceeded, legends appeared on the Bosporan silver, increasingly filling more raised squares of the four-armed 'mill-sail' pattern – PA, PAN, PANTI, reading anti-clockwise around the coin. A few coins have a lion-scalp on the obverse and on the reverse four raised squares and the legend APOL, one letter on each square; others have a lion's-head obverse with the letters APOL in each of four recessed squares between a raised crossed line. The relationship of each of these variants to one another has been the subject of much discussion and is not to be entered into here, except to endorse the view that under the Arkhaianaktid rulers (*ca.* 480–438/7 BC) some joint 'polity' of the Milesian cities in the Bosporus seems to have been formed, involving Pantikapaion and Apollonia (if they were not rival groups from the same community), and that the 'small city' of Myrmekion contributed to the minting venture with the 'small-change' *myrmex* 'ant' coins.⁴⁶

One element in the design of the reverses of these coins has been much neglected in the discussion, that is the floral pattern/star, which is a continuing motif, with variations throughout much of the 5th century BC and into the 4th century (Fig. 1). The reason why it has been neglected, so far as any potential significance is concerned, is that it has been argued that a floral motif/star at this early period (i.e. before the 4th century) cannot be held to be anything other than decoration.⁴⁷ However, the star or stars on the reverses of the

⁴⁰ Head 1911, 585–86; Regking 1924, pl. 6.165; Moucharte 1984; Becker 1988.

⁴¹ Lebanidze 1999, 156, no. 3.

⁴² Karyshkovskii and Lapin 1979, 105; Karyshkovskii 1988, 28, fig. 16.1–4.

⁴³ Kraay 1976, pl. 13.220–223.

⁴⁴ Head 1911, 257.

⁴⁵ See the coin hoards listed in Wartenberg *et al.* 1994, nos. 2 (1990), 54 (1987).

⁴⁶ Frolova 1992, 199–204; 1999, especially 49–50.

⁴⁷ Shelov 1949, 145, n. 2.

Bosporan coinage of the 5th to 4th centuries BC do not have the role of 'filling ornament', and, in any case, such 'filling ornament' is more characteristic of the Orientalising period (i.e. the 7th century and the first half of the 6th century). The star motif, then, has every right to be considered as a major part of the reverse coin-type along with the legend. It may indeed be a visual completion of the legend – a rebus (pun or canting-type). As to a star being of religious or political significance within a Classical Greek state, one can point to the Locrians on the east coast of Central Greece, where the state badge was a star, which they displayed as the main type on the reverse of their coinage *ca.* 400–375 BC, a period close to that of the Bosporan silver.⁴⁸

The stars on these Bosporan reverses are at times more floral (Fig. 1.1, 12); sometimes more 'astral', with longer and shorter rays (Fig. 1.7). Some are eight-rayed, or -petalled (Fig. 1.1, 4, 11, 12); the smaller ones have four rays (Fig. 1.2, 3, 10). Often there is only one star on the reverse side of the coin; indeed the whole series seems to begin with the floral star, occupying the entire flan, within a dotted square (Fig. 1.1). Thereafter there are two stars (preventing any interpretation that the sun might be intended) on the two raised squares of the 'mill-sail'/'swastika' pattern. They remain two, even when the two letters PA appear; then, when the legend is written more fully, one star only appears on the remaining square (Fig. 1.4–6). Eventually the star goes to the centre and the legend surrounds it (Fig. 1.7). When still later a change of reverse type occurs to a ram's head facing left, the star is still there under the muzzle of the ram (Fig. 1.8). It has also appeared on the, somewhat earlier, parallel issue of Apol-coins, in an attenuated four-petalled (or-rayed) form in the centre (Fig. 1.10). Outside these series, but in close geographical proximity to the Bosporan cities, the star appears on the reverse side of coins of the Sindoi (Fig. 1.11) and of Theodosia (Fig. 1.12), which belong to the same period *ca.* 425–375 BC.⁴⁹

The coins with one floral star filling the reverse were at first thought difficult to incorporate in this series,⁵⁰ but they have been found in a small hoard at Nymphaion along with coins having the reverse with incuse and raised cross.⁵¹ They seem to start the trend of placing stars on the squares of the 'mill-sail'/'swastika' motif.⁵² It would be very appropriate for a Milesian (star) motif to be used, when a type was deemed desirable for the first time on the reverse side. That the star was more than mere ornament is indicated not only by its previous Milesian connection, but also by the persistence with which it appeared on the reverse side of the coins of Pantikapaion/Apollonia from *ca.* 460 to 380 BC, outlasting the 'mill-sail' and 'raised squares', and being incorporated briefly in the coin types of the Sindoi and of Theodosia.

Drawing together the political and religious evidence from cities on the Bosphorus, along with that from the types on the coins, it is possible to suggest that the flower-like stars are the canting device (rebus), punning on the name of the goddess Astara (Greek Aphrodite Ourania), whose centres were at Kepoi and Apatouron. Kepoi was both a Milesian city

⁴⁸ Seltman 1955, 160.

⁴⁹ Anokhin 1986, 14–15.

⁵⁰ Shelov 1956, 20.

⁵¹ Zograf 1951, 165; Skudnova 1950; Shelov 1956, 20.

⁵² Frolova 1996, 51.

(the Milesian city on the Asian side of the Bosphorus), and, by name, it was 'The Gardens', dedicated to Aphrodite, as in other parts of the Greek world. The appropriate visual representation of Kepoi would be a flower, or flowers, and in particular, stellar flowers, for Aphrodite's flowers were also the stars (she was Ourania).

The conclusion, then, is that the floral/stellar motif on the reverse of the Bosporan silver is not mere ornament, but a motif referring in a visual pun (canting-type typical of the Archaic and Early Classical periods) to Kepoi, and its cult of Aphrodite Ourania (also known as Astara to Queen Komosarye). This explains why the motif is sometimes more floral and sometimes more stellar. It gives a hitherto unsuspected role in the coin types of the Bosphorus to the very important cult of Aphrodite Ourania, comparable to that long accepted for Apollo in the choice of the lion's head on the obverse side of the coins. It could be that the two together (lion's head and stars) also symbolised the polity of the two Milesian cities in the joint community under the Arkhaiabaktidai *archon*/rulers, that has been argued for in recent decades.

It might be noted too that the visual pun would supplement the legend. The letters, Pa, Pan, Panti (in increasingly full form), would be understood as to be followed by -kapaiton (-καπιτων). This is the normal presentation of the name of the citizens of Pantikapaion written in full in the 2nd–1st centuries BC – Pantikapaitōn.⁵³ The legend (Pa, Pan, Panti) thus presents the first half of the ethnic (a complex name of two elements on any understanding of it) and leaves the second half to be interpreted, using the stars, as *kāpitōn* (Doric)/Kēpitōn – 'of the citizens of Aphrodite's "Gardens"'.

Kepoi appears to have had more importance politically as a Milesian colony, and in religious terms, through the cultic influence of its chief deity, than it is normally credited with. Literary sources, religious dedications and, I have sought to show, the Bosporan silver coinage are all witness to it. And if Kepoi had the special link with Aphrodite Ourania that arose out of its locality and the characteristics of the Sindian goddess (similarities noted to the Phoenician/Cilician goddess), it also had the link with her through the mother-city Miletos. More recently it has become clear that the cult of Aphrodite and a temple (of Archaic date at Zeytintepe outside the city walls) existed there at a date much earlier than previously attested.⁵⁴ Later she is known at Miletos as Ourania as well.⁵⁵ In view of this it is no surprise to see that the cult of Aphrodite appears at an early date at other Milesian colonies around the Black Sea – at Istria, Olbia, Apollonia Pontica – as well as in the Propontis and at Naukratis.⁵⁶

Just as the lion's head on the obverse of the coins is the type symbolising Apollo, the chief god of the Milesians on the Bosphorus, so, I submit, the floral/stellar motif on the reverse sides (Fig. 2) is the canting type of Aphrodite of Kepoi, who was also the goddess Astara.

⁵³ Anokhin 1986, 65, pl. 6.186.

⁵⁴ Senff 1995; Senff and Heinz 1997.

⁵⁵ Rehm 1958, 123.

⁵⁶ Ehrhardt 1983, 165–66; Greaves 2004.

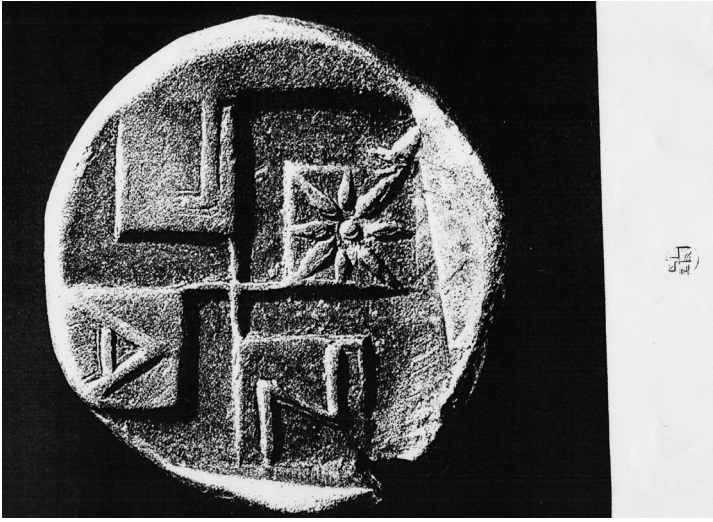


Fig. 2: Floral/stellar motif on reverse.

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REVIEWS

WEST AND EAST: A REVIEW ARTICLE (18)

Handbooks

Among additions to the Oxford Handbook series are those on *Ancient Greek Religion* (edited by Esther Eidinow and Julia Kindt)¹ and *Greek and Roman Art and Architecture* (edited by Clemente Marconi).² The former, broadly conceived in coverage, period, approach and methodology, is divided into nine parts of three to six chapters each: 'What is Ancient Greek Religion?' (setting the scene, and opened by Robin Osborne, in iconoclastic mode, challenging the term 'religion'), 'Types of Evidence' (visual, literary, epigraphic, material, papyrological), 'Myths? Contexts and Representations' (epic, art and imagery, drama, history, philosophy), 'Where?' (temples and sanctuaries, household, in communities, regional groups), 'How?', 'Who?' (gods, heroes, deification, etc.), 'What?' (prayers, curses, sacrifice, oracles and divination, etc.), 'When?' (life-change rituals, calendars and festivals, the afterlife) and 'Beyond?' For our purposes, this last is the most relevant, housing 'Magna Graecia ...' (Gilian Shepherd), 'The Ancient Near East' (Jan Bremmer), 'Greco-Egyptian Religion' (Kathrin Kleibl), 'Bactria and India' (Rachel Mairs), 'China and Greece: Comparisons and Insights' (Lisa Raphala), but especially 'The Northern Black Sea: The Case of the Bosporan Kingdom' (Maya Muratov, drawing on Russian scholarship). The 47 contributors are based largely in Britain, the United States (OSU to the fore), Australia, the Netherlands and Scandinavia.

The 31 contributors to the *Architecture* volume are less Anglocentric: eight are based in German-speaking countries including Liechtenstein and five in southern Europe. Familiar names include Francesco de Angelis, Bonna D. Wescoat, Olga Palagia, Beth Cohen and Caroline Vout. A longer Introduction, explaining the volume, leads on to 'Pictures from the Inside' (theories of art and architecture, specialised writing on them, images of them), 'Greek and Roman Art and Architecture in the Making' (artists, architects, patronage, materials and techniques) and 'Ancient Contexts' (the city in the Graeco-Roman world, functions of art, building, images and rituals, Roman provincial art and architecture, Roman reception of Greek art and architecture), often with pairs of chapters dealing with Greek and Roman, then (pp. 417–686) 'Post-Antique Contexts' (reception, historiography, conservation, display in modern museums, the debate about cultural property) and 'Approaches' (connoisseurship, 'formal', iconographic and iconological, sociohistorical, anthropological, gender studies, theories of reception and 'Semiotics to Agency'). Modestly (but well) illustrated (in black-and-white). From the title, and the nature of handbooks, I was expecting more of a straightforward focus, a factual history, but this was not the

¹ E. Eidinow and J. Kindt (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Religion*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2015, xxii+708 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-964203-8.

² C. Marconi (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Art and Architecture*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2015, xvi+710 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-978330-4.

editor's intention – the volume is much broader, more political, cultural, social and theoretical than aesthetic. Not for the typical handbook market.

Economy

*Poiesis*³ is an interesting speculation from Peter Acton, a sometime 'management consultant' with a Melbourne doctorate in ancient history. *Contra* Acton, the past is at least another country and they did do things differently there – of course, not everything – and Finley's 'Embeddedness Paradigm', here rejected, still has much relevance. Models of success and failure derived from modern business should not be dismissed out of hand, but they need to be embraced with caution: economic modelling and forecasting are notoriously unreliable in our own times. Applying these tools to the ancient economy can cast light in unusual ways, and the result may be enlightening – bringing out shades of grey hitherto unseen – and is indeed a means of leaping the void of scant archaeological and written evidence on manufacturing in antiquity. But, where we have firm evidence, the treatment of it is uneven. Acton eschews caution, but he does not claim that his solutions are definitive or final (far from it). His Introduction includes his methodology (the theory of competitive advantage and its application). Chapter 2 considers industry formation in metalworking, leatherwork, cosmetics/perfumes and textiles. The ensuing chapters examine individual industries: pottery; mining, metals and armour; textiles, clothing and footwear; woodworking; construction industries; and food, drink and personal care. Chapter 9 'addresses manufacturing from the point of view of the participant', identified as investors, craftsmen, women, foreign residents and slaves (or allocated such labels?). An appendix offers examples of 'quantifying manufacturing participation'. The bibliography and references are not OUP's finest hour.

Movement of goods from the traders' perspective inspired the compilation of *Traders in the Ancient Mediterranean*,⁴ formed of an Introduction and five papers: '... Material and Other Relations of Exchange in the Late Bronze Age World', 'Traders in the Archaic and Classical Greek Koine', 'A Hand Anything but Hidden: Institutions and Markets in First Millennium BCE Mesopotamia', 'Hellenistic Traders' and '... Traders in the Roman World'. Experiences varied over time between regional and inter-regional, porous and integrated markets. The aim (fulfilled) is to provide context (historical, social and political, traditions and aims) to trade, its impact and the activity of traders as individuals in the Mediterranean world, asking questions but avoiding definite conclusions. The bias of written evidence about grasping merchants⁵ is at variance with data from shipwrecks. Ancient Mediterranean trade was personal: wealth was not, of itself, the end goal, rather the status and influence that it afforded (true in many ways into at least the Early Modern period). Embedded relationships, webs of connection and interaction, not depersonalised markets, were the key and the core: surely L.P. Hartley's foreign country. Combined bibliography. Index.

³ P. Acton, *Poiesis: Manufacturing in Classical Athens*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2014, xviii+384 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-933593-0.

⁴ T. Howe (ed.), *Traders in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Publications of the Association of Ancient Historians 11, Ares Publishers, Chicago 2015, xi+236 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-89005-628-5.

⁵ Just as common in more modern times: see R.C. Michie, *Guilty Money: The City of London in Victorian and Edwardian Culture, 1815–1914* (London 2009).

Economy and Exchange,⁶ proceedings of a conference held in Oxford in 1999, offers 'New Rome, New Theories on Inter-Regional Exchange. An Introduction to the East Mediterranean Economy in Late Antiquity' (Sean Kingsley and Michael Decker), 'Urban Economies of Late Antique Cyrenaica' (Andrew Wilson), 'The Economic Impact of the Palestinian Wine Trade in Late Antiquity' (Kingsley), 'Food for an Empire: Wine and Oil Production in North Syria' (Decker), '... Non-Ceramic Evidence for Late Antique Industry and Trade' (Marlia Mango), 'The Economy of Late Antique Cyprus' (Tassos Papacostas) and 'LR2: a Container for the Military *annona* on the Danubian Border?' (Olga Karagiorgou), wrapped up by Bryan Ward-Perkins, 'Specialisation, Trade, and Prosperity: an Overview of the Economy of the Late Antique Eastern Mediterranean'. First published in 2001, and well worth reprinting – but adding an index would have been a boon.

*Ownership and Exploitation of Land*⁷ is a valuable addition to Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy. The 18 papers, by authors from Szeged to Winnipeg and Oklahoma, with editors in Ghent and Brussels, offer a variety of approaches and raid a variety of sources (legal, epigraphic, numismatic, papyrological and archaeological as well as literary), to provide rich fare. Arjan Zuiderhoek opens with 'Land and Natural Resources in the Roman World in Historiographical and Theoretical Perspective', joined by Paul Erdkamp's 'Agriculture, Division of Labour, and the Paths to Economic Growth', before the first of the three main parts, 'Ownership and Control', seven chapters focused on landed wealth, property rights, water use and management. The second, 'Organization and Modes of Exploitation', offers two contributions on the villa economy, 'The African Boom ...', 'The Local Economy of Palmyra ...' and 'Changes in Animal Husbandry ...', and the third, 'Exploitation and Processing of Natural Resources', supplies salt in Asia Minor, quarries and 'The Mining, Minting, and Acquisition of Gold ...'. The Conclusions form Part IV. The background is how the institutional structures of the Roman state (and interventions by that state) affected economic performance, for good or ill – 'most of our people never had it so good'. An extensive combined bibliography. Indexed.

Trade and Economic Contacts between the Volga and Kama Rivers,⁸ written by a scholar from Chelyabinsk/Magnitogorsk, is a short but valuable addition to the English-language bibliography. An Introduction outlines of historiography of the problems and the written, archaeological and numismatic sources used. There are four chapters – 'Data from Written Records about the Population and Trade Communications in the Ural, the Volga and the Kama Rivers Region'; 'Transit Trade in the Volga and the Kama Region in the Second

⁶ S. Kingsley and M. Decker (eds.), *Economy and Exchange in the East Mediterranean during Late Antiquity*, Proceedings of a Conference at Somerville College, Oxford, 29th May 1999, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2015 [reprint of 2001 publication], vi+178 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-84217-044-1.

⁷ P. Erdkamp, K. Verboven and A. Zuiderhoek (eds.), *Ownership and Exploitation of Land and Natural Resources in the Roman World*, Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2015, xiii+407 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-872892-4.

⁸ A. Bezrukov, *Trade and Economic Contacts Between the Volga and Kama Rivers Region and the Classical World*, BAR International Series 2727, Archaeopress, Oxford 2015, 99 pp., 8 maps. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1382-5.

Half of the 1st Millennium BC–First Half of the 1st Millennium AD (According to Archaeological Sources)'; 'Role of Coins in Intertribal Trade in the Volga and Kama Rivers Region'; 'Trade and Economic Relationships in the Volga and the Kama Rivers Region' – and brief Conclusions. Comprehensible though not idiomatic English with occasional oddities ('Sassanidian'). Indexed. The mixing of Cyrillic bibliography with Harvard-style references and abbreviations in Roman letters produces inevitably confused alphabetisation in the bibliography etc., and there are a few Russo-Cyrillic 'leftovers' in the text.

Gods, Ornaments and Architecture

Jan Bremmer's *Initiation into the Mysteries of the Ancient World*⁹ may start with the Eleusinian ('Initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries: A "Thin" Description', previously published) but rapidly moves beyond them to 'Mysteries at the Interface of Greece and Anatolia: Samothracian Gods, Kabeiroi and Korybantes', 'Orpheus, Orphism and Orphic-Bacchic Mysteries', 'Greek Mysteries in Roman Times'. 'The Mysteries of Isis and Mithras' and 'Did the Mysteries Influence Early Christianity', plus two substantial appendices (both previously published): 'Demeter and Eleusis in Megara'; and 'The Golden Bough: Orphic, Eleusinian and Hellenistic-Jewish Sources of Virgil's Underworld in Aeneid VI'. The emphasis throughout is on the actual staging of the initiations, not 'an exhaustive study of the ancient cults usually defined as Mysteries' (p. xiii), something quite unsuited to the series of public lectures delivered by Bremmer at Ludwig-Maximilians University in Munich in 2011–12 from which four of the chapters derive (and the tone of which is maintained in the text).

*Ritual und Religion in archaischen Sizilien*¹⁰ publishes Birgit Öhlinger's Innsbruck dissertation (appropriately, it has cultural contact in its subtitle), examining inland indigenous ritual sites from a sociological and archaeological perspective: deeper understanding of religion and ritual is directly linked to a better understanding of predominant social structure, and, in a socio-religious approach, religion, economy, politics and family are among the many sub-systems that partake of reciprocal relationships. Examination of ritual practice allows religion to be 'captured' since the archaeological record is a material expression of human actions. This is undertaken through four chapters, minutely sub-headed and divided: 'Theorie und Praxis' (religion and ritual; methodology), 'Archäologie Siziliens' (the archaeology of cultural contact and cultural transfer; that of religion on Sicily; that of social organisation there), 16 'Fallstudien' (pp. 58–158), including Segesta and Morgantina, and 'Auswertung und Ergebnisse' ('Das Opfer', 'Das Fest', 'Die Kultbauten'). There is an English summary (pp. 200–03). Handsomely produced in large format with many high-quality illustrations.

⁹ J.N. Bremmer, *Initiation into the Mysteries of the Ancient World*, Münchner Vorlesungen zu Antiken Welt 1, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2014, xviii+256 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-029929-8/ISSN 2198-9664.

¹⁰ B. Öhlinger, *Ritual und Religion im archaischen Sizilien: Formations- und Transformationsprozesse binnenländischer Kultorte im Kontext kultureller Kontakte*, Italiká 4, Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2015, 239 pp., 47 pp. plates (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-95490-152-4.

Household Gods,¹¹ written by one of its former curatorial staff, is another of the Getty's exemplary short volumes, packed with high-quality illustrations that showcase its own collection of religious domestic artwork, chiefly statuettes (terracottas, bronzes, alabaster, precious metal objects), supplemented by appropriate images (reliefs, wall-paintings, etc.) from elsewhere. The concordance of Greek and Roman deities and the chronologies make it 'user-friendly' for students and the general reader, likewise endnotes, abbreviations and an index. Nine chapters: 'Communicating with the Divine'; 'Early Household Worship in Greece'; 'Power and Protection ...'; 'Miniature Masterpieces'; 'Love and Fertility'; 'Divines Favor: Luck and Money'; 'Health Matters: Kitchens and Bathrooms'; 'Isis and Foreign Gods'; and 'From Antiquity to Today'.

*Architectural Terracottas at the Sanctuary of Punta Stilo*¹² publishes finds from recent excavations at the urban sanctuary of Kaulonia, a *polis* on the Calabrian coast. The first part serves as introduction and background on the production, development and distribution range of the terracottas: limitations, problems, objectives and methodology; archaeometric analysis, a consideration of the Achaean koine and Peloponnesian influences, Achaean roofs, the 'Horn roof' (a peculiar group of southern Italic terracottas), the nature of the connection with Croton, relations with Sicily and with the Locri and Metaponto-Taranto area, Ionic and Attic influences, etc.; next the role of Kaulonia; broadening into a consideration of the archaeology of production and religion and ideological factors, etc. The Catalogue (pp. 38–56) is divided into 1) Simas, *geison* revetments and waterspouts, 2) Antefixes, 3) Palmette antefixes, 4) Gorgon antefixes (four categories), 5) Antefixes of mythological or unknown subject, 6) a Gorgoneion ridge tile, 7) Acroteria and 8) *Kalypteres*. Comprehensively illustrated (pp. 63–135).

Charlotte Potts has revised her Oxford doctoral dissertation for publication as *Religious Architecture in Latium and Etruria*.¹³ The origins do not intrude. After the opening 'Constructing histories' (actually analysing archaeological evidence to reconstruct a detailed history of the religious architecture), three chapters are grouped in 'From Huts to Temples', considering the first 'sacred huts' (so called, Potts is sceptical) and architecture and decoration of early shrines and temples, while 'Religious Monumentality in Context' broadens the discussion through chapters devoted to altars, cult statues and temple, landscapes, cityscapes and temples, 'Accounting for religious monumentality' and brief Conclusions. The catalogue (pp. 125–51) is arranged as huts, shrines (small buildings), shrines (long buildings), courtyard complexes, podium temples, and altars. Well prepared (including a chronology), well written (explanatory, clear and jargon-light), an incisive re-examination of the hefty secondary literature, an engagement with theory and debates on urbanisation cultural con-

¹¹ A. Sofroniew, *Household Gods: Private Devotion in Ancient Greece and Rome*, J. Paul Getty Museum, Getty Publications, Los Angeles 2015, x+142 pp., colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-60606-456-6.

¹² N. Giacccone, *Architectural Terracottas at the Sanctuary of Punta Stilo in Kaulonia: Genesis, Problems, Developments*, BAR International Series 2777, BAR Publishing, Oxford 2015, vii+135 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1456-3.

¹³ C.R. Potts, *Religious Architecture in Latium and Etruria, c.900–500 BC*, Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2015, xxix+179 pp., illustrations, 48 pp. of plates. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-872207-6.

tact/exchange, but always focused on the evidence (and on the people who used them as well as the buildings themselves), and well presented: two maps, 42 figures and 95 illustrations as plates, all clear.

Thrace

*Die Anfänge der figuralen thrakischen Kunst*¹⁴ examines the origins of Thracian figural art in the 5th century BC. It opens with a sketch of Thracian historical geography in that period, moves on to Balkan coin hordes, then locally manufactured figured objects and symbols of power, before the core of the volume: figural motifs, makers' marks and scenes, divided into Scythian motifs and makers' marks, mixed motifs, Greek motifs, Thracian bridles and a cylindrical silver cup (as an example of Achaemenid influence on Thracian material culture), etc., with numerous subsections and three excursuses. Afterwards, a chapter on golden death masks and plates, and short chapters on the beginnings of Thracian toreutics and the self-depiction of the elite in selected figural motifs, with a short summary of results to conclude. Appropriate to a text in German and Bulgarian, Bogdan Filov is well represented in the extensive bibliography (a little awkwardly arranged in Roman, Cyrillic and Modern Greek). Indexed.

*I Traci*¹⁵ publishes 11 papers, in Italian, French and English, on Thracian history, topography/geography, politics and economics, historiography and culture, literary aspects and material culture: 'L'image grecque de la Thrace entre barbarie et fascination. Pour une remise en question' (a general retrospective by Paolo Schirripa, the editor); 'Starbone e il monte Emo' (Federica Cordano); 'Krenides: una curiosità storiografica' (Maria Mainardi); 'Un « protectorat » thrace? Les relations politiques entre Grecs et Thraces autour de la baie de Bourgas (IIIe–IIe s. av. J.-C.)' (Thibaut Castelli); 'Traci "romani": diffusione della civitas e "romanizzazione" nei centri costieri della Tracia' (Francesco Camia); 'The Roman Conquest of Thrace (188 B.C.–45 A.D.)' (Jordan Iliev); 'Aspects de la colonisation des Daces au sud du Danube par les Romains' (Alexandru Avram); 'Auteurs grec de *Qral/kikav*: questions autour d'histoires fragmentaires' (Dana and Dana); 'Selvage e crudely, femmine tracie nell'immaginario figurative Greco; (Federica Giacobello); '... the distribution of spectacle fibula ...' (Romano and Trefný); and 'The white lotus (*nelumbo lucifera*) decorated silver jug from Naip in local context' (Totko Stoyanov). Deserves a wider circulation.

Athens and Beyond

*Poverty in Athenian Public Discourse*¹⁶ is a thorough revision of Lucia Cecchet's Heidelberg doctoral dissertation. It is a proper book. Obviously, the poor leave fewer material traces

¹⁴ E. Teleaga, *Die Anfänge der figuralen thrakischen Kunst in dem 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Studien zur Eisenzeitlichen Archäologie Thrakiens 1, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2015, x+190 pp., illustrations (parallel text in German and Bulgarian). Cased. ISBN 978-3-886757-881-3/ISSN 2365-5038.

¹⁵ P. Schirripa (ed.), *I Traci tra geografia e storia*, Aristonothos 9, Tangram Edizioni Scientifiche, Trento 2015, 248 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-88-6458-142-2. See also P. Schirripa (ed.), *I Traci tra l'Egeo e il Mar Nero* (Milan 2004).

¹⁶ L. Cecchet, *Poverty in Athenian Public Discourse: From the Eve of the Peloponnesian War to the Rise of Macedonia*, Historia Einzelschrift 239, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2015, 283 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-11160-7.

than the rich, but they impinge significantly in public discourse (deserving or undeserving; emotion and stereotyping; economic, social and moral perceptions; causes, effects and solutions) and there is sufficient evidence of this for the period covered – the 430s to the 330s BC. The Introduction considers the debate over definitions of poverty (absolute, relative), the scope and methodology of the study, terminology, and ‘Athenian Democracy and the Concept of “Active Poverty”’ (promoting ideas about poverty that could enhance political stability). Five chapters follow: ‘The Background of Public Imagery: Perspectives on Destitution in the *Odyssey*’, ‘Beggars on Stage: Acting out the Imaginary of Poverty in Athenian Drama’, ‘Was Poverty a Real Issue in Fourth-Century Athens?’ (demography, loss of empire, restructuring the economy, wealth distribution, possible impoverishment of small farmers, the involvement of the landless in politics, etc.), ‘Poverty as an Argument in Fourth-Century Public Speeches’ and ‘... The Rhetoric of Good Poverty’ (litigation, active poverty *vs.* inactive wealth, real poor and false poor). ‘Good poverty’ was, it seems, a legitimate condition for a citizen and beneficial to the *polis*.

*Athens Transformed, 404–262 BC*¹⁷ may seem pertinent: from popular sovereignty to the dominion of wealth is part of a perpetual see-saw. Phillip Harding, in retirement, began to lecture to lay audiences and this is one of the results, complete with a warning that some scholars will dissent from his interpretation, but he has had 50 years or so to formulate the ideas distilled here. With its target readership clearly in mind, Harding eschews footnotes, gives further reading after each chapter, provides details of his sources in one 20-page appendix and a fleshed-out timeline in another of nearly 30. The page-headers are a little confusing for the two chapters entitled ‘Sovereignty Regained’, or is it really ‘Oligarchs *vs.* Democrats’, then ‘Foreign Policy’ – Harding is ‘at pains to refute the depiction of the peasant farmers and artisans of democratic Athens as a mob of rabble’ (p. 122). Chapter 3 is ‘Sovereignty Lost’, 4 is ‘By Land and Sea’ (finance and organisation of the navy), 5 ‘From Taxation to Benefaction’, 6 covers the demise of jury courts and 7 ‘Farewell Strepsiades, Bonjour Tristesse’ (Aristophanes and Menander, and the disappearance of the peasant from the stage). The brief Epilogue offers modern comparisons as well as a summary.

*Autopsy in Athens: Recent Archaeological Research on Athens and Attica*¹⁸ contains 15 papers, authorship balanced between young scholars and old hands, all with some connection to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, all providing first-hand re-examination of archaeological and epigraphic material and evidence from older excavations. Margaret Miles provides the Introduction, including a brief account of archaeological developments in Greece over the last two centuries, and the final chapter, ‘The Vanishing Double Stoa at Thorikos and its Afterlives’ (discovered in 1754, fully revealed in the 1990s); in between are papers focused on construction techniques, the metopes on the east front of the Parthenon, sacrifice, religion (‘Asklepios and Hygieia in the City Eleusinion’, ‘Asklepios in the Piraeus and the Mechanisms of Cult Appropriation’, ‘Sarapis as Healer in Roman Athens:

¹⁷ P.E. Harding, *Athens Transformed, 404–262 BC: From Popular Sovereignty to the Dominion of Wealth*, Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies 23, Routledge, London/New York 2015, xv+186 pp., 3 maps. Cased. ISBN 978-0-415-87392-5.

¹⁸ M.M. Miles, *Autopsy in Athens: Recent Archaeological Research on Athens and Attica*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2015, 224 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-1-78297-856-5.

Reconsidering the Identity of Agora S 1068'), statues ('The Mutilation of Herms ...', 'Funerals for Statues? ...'), 'The Monumental Definition of Attica in the Early Democratic Period' (boundaries), 'Roadside Assistance: Religious Spaces and Personal Experience of Athens', 'Triremes on Land: First-fruits for the Battle of Salamis', 'Routes out of Attica', 'How to look at a Non-Peripteral Temple', etc. Indexed. Well illustrated and good production standards.

Christian Igelbrink conducts an investigation of the legal forms and political functions of cleruchies and *apoikiai* founded by Athens in the 6th and 5th centuries BC.¹⁹ A very Germanic book of the thesis, arranged in six chapters as 'Einleitung' (which includes causation), 'Kleruchie' und 'Apoikie' – Rechtssystematische und terminologische Grundlagen' (Athenians retained citizenship in cleruchies), 'Die Apoikien Athens im. 6. Jk.', 'Diskussion der athenischen Gründungen des 5. Jh. in chronologischer Reihenfolge' (pp. 132–391, Salamis to Melos, with some debate over which settlements fall in which category; 4.3.10.1–4 covers the expedition of Pericles and the Black Sea foundations of Amisos, Sinope and Nymphaion – this last somewhat complex), 'Systematisierung im Kontext athenischer Machtpolitik' (relating the Athenian colonial system to power politics, Athenian oikists at pp. 417–22, failed integration, the practices of hegemony, and confiscation and resettlement as reprisal and as threat) and 'Ergebnisse'. Comprehensive coverage and analysis, but terminology can be an entanglement (as with the over-defining and refining of categories of *polis*).

The Mediterranean and Beyond

The Roman pottery workshop of Collet Est in Calonge in Catalonia, site also of a Roman villa, is one of the best preserved in Spain. Excavation, by the University of Girona, took place in 2002 in response to the threat of spreading urbanisation. The workshop was established to make amphorae for the export of wine and functioned from the end of the 1st century BC to the middle of the 1st century AD. Nineteen ovens/furnaces were found. The site was then used as a necropolis up to the 5th century AD: 30 inhumations were discovered. This volume²⁰ publishes the results. The workshop and territory are briefly described, then the villa and its necropolis (pp. 23–54), a description and chronology of the ovens/kilns follows (pp. 55–190), the architecture, layout and functions of the workshop, then the material: pottery, an archaeometric analysis of the amphorae, the coins (pp. 203–28). All fully illustrated. Very brief English summary.

Lucy Shipley invites us to experience Etruscan pots²¹ – the phenomenology of objects; physical and emotional interaction with the pots, touching and feeling, seeing and

¹⁹ C. Igelbrink, *Die Kleruchien und Apoikien Athens im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.: Rechtsformen und politische Funktionen der athenischen Gründungen*, *Klio* 25, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2015, ix+527 pp., 1 map. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-044217-5.

²⁰ J. Burch, J.M. Nolla and J. Tremoleda, *La Alfarería Romana del Collet Est (Calonge, Girona)*, BAR International Series 2770, BAR Publishing, Oxford 2015, 245 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1432-7.

²¹ L. Shipley, *Experiencing Etruscan Pots: Ceramics, Bodies and Images in Etruria*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2015, v+155 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-056-3.

quantifying them, thinking about the images on them, not least bodily images, etc. In other words, it investigates and characterises the experience of using Archaic Etruscan pottery (and the divergent experience of using Greek imports).

*Griechische Keramik nördlich von Etrurien*²² publishes the proceedings of a small international conference in Basel in October 2011 (14 papers). It is dedicated to Brian Shefton, who attended it but died a few months later. There are four sections: 'Norditalien' (for example, Martin Guggisberg, 'Attische Figurengefäße in „barbarischem“ Kontext'); 'Das Rhonetal und Ostfrankreich' (Michel Bats, 'Parcours commerciaux et culturels de la céramique grecque en Gaule méridionale du VIIe au Ve siècle av. J.-C.', but mainly focused on Vix: Jean-Jacques Maffre, 'La céramique attique de Vix: trouvailles anciennes'; Ludi Chaelon, 'Vix: découvertes récentes de céramiques attiques à figures rouges. Une amphore d'Euthymidès?'; and Federica Sacchetti, 'Des amphores grecques dans les résidences princières: le cas de Vix'); 'Das nordwestliche Alpenvorland, Süddeutschland und Böhmen' (Jan Bouzek and Marie Dufková, 'Greek, Etruscan and Phoenician Impacts in La Tène Bohemia and Moravia', etc.); and 'Griechische Keramik als Medium des Kulturtransfers' (Beat Schweizer, 'Zwischen Weltsystem und kulturellem Kontext ...'). Handsomely produced. Indexed.

The *Early Iron Age Communities of Southern Italy*²³ are examined from various angles in this collection of 11 papers in English and Italian (with English abstracts). The first section, 'Status', opens with Edward Herring's 'Recognising status in Iron Age South East Italy: issues of methodology and ideology', contains Carmine Pellegrino's 'Pontecagno e l'Agro Picentino: processi sociali, dinamiche territoriali e di strutturazione urbana tra VIII e VII secolo a.c.', and concludes with Ferranti and Quondam's lengthy 'Status nelle comunità dell'alto Ionio nella Prima Età del Ferro' (highlighting similarities and differences between the important funerary complexes of S.M. d'Anglona and Francavilla Marittima). There are four papers grouped under 'Gender', including Margarita Gleba's 'Women and textile production in Early Iron Age Southern Italy' and Giulia Saltini Semerari's 'Towards a Gendered Basilicata'; and four under 'Territory': 'Greek and Greek style pottery in the Sibaritide during the 8th century B.C.' (Handberg Jacobsen *et al.*), 'L'area nord-lucana nella Prima Età del Ferro: formazione e struttura degli insediamenti' (Massimo Osanna), 'Territorio, insediamenti e dinamiche sociali nel Salento tra IX e VII sec. a.C.' (Gert-Jan Bergers) and 'Organizzazione degli abitati e processi di costruzione delle comunità locali nel Salento tra IX e VII sec. a.C.' (Grazia Semeraro). Comprehensively illustrated.

²² S. Bonomi and M.A. Guggisberg (eds.), *Griechische Keramik nördlich von Etrurien: Mediterrane Importe und archäologischer Kontext*, Internationale Tagung, Basel 14.–15. Oktober 2011, Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2015, 228 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-95490-072-5.

²³ G. Saltini Semerari and G.-J. Burgers (eds.), *Early Iron Age Communities of Southern Italy*, Papers of the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome/Mededeelingen van het Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut te Rome 63, Palombi Editori, Rome 2015, 223 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-88-6060-689-2.

*Ceramics, Cuisine and Culture*²⁴ offers 23 papers from an interdisciplinary conference of the same name held in the British Museum in December 2010: archaeologists (of different schools), historians, material scientists, etc. offer various perspectives on coarse ware, the technical aspects of its production, cooking as a socio-economic practice, changing tastes and culinary cultural contact, from the Bronze Age to the Roman period. The editors' opening 'Investigating ceramics, cuisine and culture – past, present and future' leads on to three principal sections: 'How to make a perfect cooking pot: technical choices between tradition and innovation' ('Heating efficiency of archaeological cooking vessels: computer models and simulations of heat transfer'; 'Aegina: an important centre of production of cooking pottery from the prehistoric to the historic era'; and Kristina Winther-Jacobsen, 'Cooking wares between the Hellenistic and Roman world: artefact variability, technological choice and practice'), 'Lifting the lid on ancient cuisine: understanding coking as socio-economic practice' (pots and Late Minoan IB domestic activities, use of chromatography and mass spectrometry to reconstruct the role of domestic vessels, pots in ancient cook-books) and 'New pots, new recipes? Changing tastes, culinary identities and cross-cultural encounters' (for example, Susan Rotroff, 'The Athenian kitchen from the Early Iron Age to the Hellenistic period'; Alexander Fantalkin, 'Coarse kitchen and household pottery as an indicator for Egyptian presence in the southern Levant: a diachronic perspective'). Indexed.

Overlapping (in subject and attendance – Curé, Gauß, Lis, Quercia, Whitbread) is *The Transmission of Technical Knowledge of the Production of Ancient Mediterranean Pottery*,²⁵ offering the proceedings of a conference at the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Athens in November 2012: 19 papers under the headings 'Skill and Learning Networks' (theoretical aspects of knowledge acquisition), 'Making Pots in a Transcultural Perspective: The Impact of Moving Potters on the Transmission of Technical Knowledge' (dissemination of technical knowledge in the production of 12th-century Aegean-style pottery in the coastal southern Levant; Aeginetan potters on the move, and in Athens?; an Italo-Mycenaean connection in technology transfer; innovations from Celtic 'Princely' sites of the 6th–5th century BC, etc.), 'Technical Change in Social Context' (spread of the potter's wheel; development of pottery technology in western Syria, as a result of the rise of Qatna; rapid transition in technology based on deposits of the Shaft Grave era; technology transfer at Kythera, Kolonna and Lerna; 'Wheelmade Pottery and Socioeconomic Changes in Indigenous Mediterranean Gaul ... during the Early Iron Age; Phoenician technology on the Iberian Peninsula), 'Technical Choices as Social Choices' (the impact of social conditions on the potter's decision to use a specific technique) and 'The Art of Firing: Kiln Technology and Firing Practice' (transmission of knowledge).

²⁴ M. Spataro and A. Villing (eds.), *Ceramics, Cuisine and Culture: The Archaeology and Science of Kitchen Pottery in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2015, viii+278 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-1-78297-947-0.

²⁵ W. Gauß, G. Klebinder Gauß and C. von Rűden (eds.), *The Transmission of Technical Knowledge in the Production of Ancient Mediterranean Pottery*, Proceedings of the International Conference at the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Athens, 23rd–25th November 2012, Sonderschriften 54, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna 2015, 368 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-900305-78-9/ISSN 1998-8931.

*Sanctuaries and the Power of Consumption*²⁶ is an extremely impressive collection of materials from a conference held in Innsbruck in 2012: 28 papers, most in English, a dozen in Italian and German (with English abstracts), a focus on networking and elites, all arranged into 'Things in Motion and Western Mediterraneanization', 'Coastal and Inland Sanctuaries as Centers of a Western Mediterranean Elite Network' and 'Sanctuaries and the Formation of Elites: Power of Consumption – Consumption of Power', plus the editors' '... Eight Points to an Alternative Archaeology of Proto-Globalisation' (pp. 493–540). Martin Mauersburg opens the first section with 'Obsolete Perceptions? Frameworks of Intercultural Exchange in Ancient Narrative', followed by Veronika Sossau, 'The Cultic Fingerprint of the Phoenicians in the Early Iron Age West?' Other papers concern southern Iberia, Sicily, Selinunte, Himera and Cyrenaica. The second section takes in Gabii, Gravisca, Pyrgi, Garaguso, 'The Argonauts (and the Others) on the Island of Elba, Capo Cocinto, the Belice valley, Selinunte, Segesta, Gela and Agrigentum. The third contains, 'Powerful Things in Motion: A Biographical Approach to Eastern Elite Goods in Greek Sanctuaries' (Jan Paul Crielaard), 'Sacred Cloth: Consumption and Production of Textiles in Sanctuaries and the Power of Elites in Archaic Western Mediterranean World' (Margarita Gleba), 'Monte Iato: Two Late Archaic Feasting Places between the Local and the Global' (Kistler and Mohr), etc. Well illustrated; indexed.

The Mediterranean Mirror: Cultural Contacts in the Mediterranean,²⁷ proceedings of an eponymous conference in Heidelberg in 2012, primarily for young scholars, focuses on cultural contacts throughout the Mediterranean. The four editors provide a lengthy Introduction, Diamantis Panagiotopoulos the theoretical 'Adjusting the Compass. The Quest for Mediterranean Paradigms', then follow two papers on Egypt and North Africa, four on Cyprus and the Near East, including Susan Sherratt on 'Cyprus and the Near East: Cultural Contacts (1200–750 BC) and Ayelet Gilboa and others on 'Dor, the Carmel Coast and Early Iron Age Mediterranean Exchanges', four on the Aegean ('Mycenaean Recurrences and the Circulation of Arts, Crafts and Ideas ...', '... Artisanal Networking in 12th Century Tiryns', 'Levantine and Cypriot Pottery in Mycenaean Greece ...', piracy), three on the Italian Peninsula and Sardinia (after the Mycenaean collapse, the routes of pithoi, Phoenicians in the Tyrrhenian Basin), and four on the Iberian Peninsula (contacts in the Far West, contacts and identity in southern Portugal, latest developments in south-western Iberian archaeology in the Final Bronze/Early Iron, networks and material connections viewed from eastern Iberia and the Balearics). All thoroughly illustrated.

²⁶ E. Kistler, B. Öhlinger, M. Mohr and M. Hoernes (eds.), *Sanctuaries and the Power of Consumption: Networking and the Formation of Elites in the Archaic Western Mediterranean World*, Philippika 92, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2015, xxix+554 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10507-1/ISSN 1613-562.

²⁷ A. Babbi, F. Bubenheimer-Erhart, B. Marin-Aguilera and S. Mühl (eds.), *The Mediterranean Mirror: Cultural Contacts in the Mediterranean Sea between 1200 and 750 B.C.*, International Post-doc and Young Researcher Conference, Heidelberg, 6th–8th October 2012, RGZM Tagungen 20, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Leibniz-Forschungsinstitut für Archäologie, Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz 2015, viii+327 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-3-88467-239-6/ISSN 1862-4812.

The 2012 Freiburg symposium proceedings, *Policies of Exchange: Political Systems and Modes of Interaction in the Aegean and Near East*,²⁸ open with Mario Liverani's keynote address 'Exchange Models in Historical Perspective', then four papers on 'Syria and the Levant' (Ugarit and Egypt, Late Bronze Age Qatna, the international relations of Hatti's Syrian vassals), five on 'Egypt and its External Relations' (evidence of economic relations with the Levant during the New Kingdom and the Bronze Age, relations with vassal states in the southern Levant, its empire in the southern Levant during the early 18th Dynasty, and 'Exchange, Extraction and the Politics of Ideological Money Laundering in Egypt's New Kingdom Empire'), five on 'The Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean' (stone and glass and their distribution in Mycenaean Greece, distribution, context and interpretation of Mycenaean pottery in the East, sealing and exchange in the Late Bronze Age, Cyprus as a crossroads of civilisations, and Eric Clines's 'Preliminary Thoughts on Abundance vs. Scarcity in the Ancient World: Competition vs. Cooperation in Late Bronze Age Trade across the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean') and two on 'The Hittites and their Neighbors' (Emar's role, archaeological evidence of supra-regional contacts). Indexed.

Anatolia to Central Asia

Another volume from a conference primarily for young scholars (in Turin in 2011) is *Broadening Horizons 4*:²⁹ 34 papers, grouped largely into 'Settlement patterns and exchange networks' (nine), 'Socio-economic reconstruction of ancient societies based on archaeological, historical or environmental records' (13) and 'Application of new technologies in archaeological research' (nine), plus six posters. To take a sample: 'The Early–Middle Bronze Age transition in Transcaucasia: the Bedeni pottery case' (Carminati), 'The Oracle at Didyma, Hittite duduḥumar and the mercy of the gods' (Walker), 'Copper Mining Community in Transcaucasia during Chalcolithic and Bronze Ages' (Gailhard), 'Palmyra, City and Territory through the Epigraphic Sources' (Gregoratti), 'Looking at and beyond Late Chalcolithic Pottery of the Burdur Plain, southwest Turkey' (Vandam and Poblome); 'Influence of the social class division on the Sassanian burial rituals (224–650 AD)' (Farjamirad); 'Unlocking stories from objects: Some Ancient Near Eastern case-studies based on new research at the British Museum' (St John Simpson), 'New technologies in archaeological research in Palmyra ...' (Palmieri and Rossi), 'Probable cases of leprosy in two skulls from the Koc-Oba Kurgan (Kazakhstan)' (Pedrosi *et al.*); and 'The Defences of Hatra: a Revaluation through the Archive of the Italian Expedition' (Foietta).

²⁸ B. Eder and R. Pruzsinszky (eds.), *Policies of Exchange: Political Systems and Modes of Interaction in the Aegean and Near East in the 2nd Millennium B.C.E.*, Proceedings of the International Symposium at the University of Freiburg Institute for Archaeological Studies, 30th May–2nd June 2012, Oriental and European Archaeology (OREA) 2, Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, Vienna 2015, 357 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-7001-7661-9.

²⁹ G. Affanni, C. Baccarin, L. Cordera, A. Di Michele and K. Gavagnin (eds.), *Broadening Horizons 4: A Conference of Young Researchers Working in the Ancient Near East, Egypt and Central Asia, University of Torino, October 2011*, BAR International Series 2698, Archaeopress, Oxford 2015, xi+317 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1347-4.

A valuable service is performed by *The Archaeology of Anatolia*,³⁰ a handy-sized summary of various recent excavations (nine: Çatalhöyük East; Barcın Höyük, 2014; Çamlıbel Tarlası; Çadlı Höyük, 2013–14; Kınık Höyük, Niğde; Uşaklı Höyük; Antiochia ad Cragum; the Ziyaret Tepe expedition, 1997–2014; and ‘Recent Fieldwork at Gordion’ by Brian Rose) and surveys (five: the Lower Göksu salvage project, 2013 and 2014; the Yalburt Yaylası landscape project, 2010–14; the Burdur Plain survey; the Sinop regional project, 2010–12; and Euchaïta), written by people directly involved, as are the editors, Steadman and McMahon. A useful addition. This is the first of an intended (now actual) series, and a good niche product for its publisher (much easier than wading through each year and volume of *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*). It deserves every success.

*Recent Studies on the Archaeology of Anatolia*³¹ is a hefty collection of 35 papers, most from three workshops/conferences in Dokuz Eylül University in Izmir during 2010 and 2011, mainly by Turkish scholars. Ergün Laflı provides the Introduction and contributes thrice more in German. The principal sections are ‘Recent Archaeological Research in Ionia and Mysia’ (13 papers, seven on the Nif-Olympus survey and excavation of 2004–10 through to the Ottoman period, and the nearby Byzantine complex of Başpınar; four on Milesian Agathonisi in the Dodecanese), ‘Coins, Sculpture and Pottery from Caria, Lycia, Pisidia and Pamphylia’ (eight: Carian coins, Neried monument at Xanthus, lamps, amphora production and Cnidian amphora exports to Alexandria, etc.), ‘Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Archaeology in Central and Northern Anatolia’ (eight: Oluz Höyük [Şevket Dönmez], Samsun, Cytorus-Cide, Nicomedia, archaeometric studies of Galatian hilltop sites, the southern Black Sea in the time of Mithradates VI, Roman and Byzantine coarse ware from south-western Paphlagonia) and ‘Recent Archaeological Research in Southeastern and Eastern Anatolia’ (six: Neolithic Şanlıurfa, a Latin military inscription [Hadrien Bru], and surveys of, fortresses of and mediaeval Christian society and architecture in Ardahan). English and Turkish abstracts and keywords; plentiful illustrations. The English and the copy-editing could be better.

The paperback reissue of Peter Thonemann’s *Maeander Valley*,³² published in hardback in 2011 and deriving from his well-regarded Oxford doctorate (there is no sense of ‘the book of the thesis’), is more than welcome. A fine work, using a very wide range of sources, set on the borderlands of historical geography (it covers the 4th century BC to the 13th century AD) and regional and environmental history. Chapter 1 describes the valley itself, Chapter 8 focuses on the interaction between man and the landscape, not least the responses of the people of the lower valley to the advance of the delta. The text in between, constructed as a purposeful journey down the river from Apamea to the floodplain, covers

³⁰ S.R. Steadman and G. McMahon (eds.), *The Archaeology of Anatolia: Recent Discoveries (2011–2014)*, vol. 1, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle-upon-Tyne 2015, xv+368 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-4438-7815-9.

³¹ E. Laflı and S. Patacı, with the assistance of G. Cankardeş-Şenol, A.K. Şenol and G.K. Şahin (eds.), *Recent Studies on the Archaeology of Anatolia*, BAR International Series 2750, Archaeopress, Oxford 2015, iii+498 pp., illustrations, Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1411-2.

³² P. Thonemann, *The Maeander Valley: A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium*, Greek Culture in the Roman World, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2015, xxv+386 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-107-53813-9.

sacred geography, markets and mobility, mental maps and horizons and conceptual boundaries, the pastoral economy and agricultural production, elite behaviour and interaction, etc. The illustrations would benefit from better reproduction or the use of colour.

Landscape Dynamics and Settlement Patterns in Northern Anatolia during the Roman and Byzantine Period,³³ promptly published, originated in a Danish-sponsored seminar, held in Amasya in 2014, which brought together foreign scholars working in Turkey (Owen Doonan, Hugh Elton, Christian Marek, Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen, Max Ritter, Vera Sauer, Kristina Winther-Jacobsen, etc.) with local university- and museum-based colleagues (Lâtife Summerer, Celal Özdemir, İlkey İvgin, etc.), the latter providing results of recent (rescue) excavations. There are four sections: 'The dynamics of landscapes: cities and territories' (Cide region; hinterland of Sinop; landscape of Pompeiopolis; settlement dynamics of Neoklaudiopolis; survey techniques at the Byzantine church at Avkat; end of late antiquity in Paphlagonia – disurbanisation; sanctuary of Zeus Starios, Yassıçal, Amasya region), 'The dynamics of mortuary space: *necropoleis*, graves and grave monuments' (Oymağaç Höyük, Samsun; Byzantine necropolis of Amasya; Zafer near Tekkeköy, Samsun), 'The dynamics of decoration: sculptures and mosaics' (statues from Amastris; dynamics of mosaic design in northern Anatolia; Roman mosaic at Yavru, Amasya province) and 'The dynamics of circulation: roads, inscriptions, coins' (roads and bridges of Vezirköprü district; epigraphy and provincial organisation of Paphlagonian cities; Roman Imperial-era coinage of Neoklaudiopolis and Pompeiopolis). Well illustrated; especially useful maps and plans. Thoroughly indexed.

Equally prompt in publication is *La sculpture gréco-romaine en Asie Mineure*,³⁴ papers from an international colloquium in Besançon in October 2014 (participants include Antoine Hermay, Hadrien Bru, Guy Labarre, also Ergün Laflı). It is divided into three sections: 'Vues d'ensemble' (interpretation of some East Greek *kouroi* and *korai*; Asia Minor bronzes in Greek sanctuaries; funerary sculptures and public statues in the Late Hellenistic period; statues in the work of Pausanias), 'La sculpture dans son territoire' (Archaic sculpture from Lydia; Archaic *naiskoi* of Miletus; Archaic sculpture of Aphrodisias; Hellenistic sculptures and workshops of Knidos; diffusion of statues of Heracles in Pisidia; cultural identities and social conformism on Phrygian and Pisidian steles; Roman sculptures in Anamur, Cilicia) and 'Études techniques et stylistiques' (the Parian sculptural tradition in Asia Minor; diffusion of sculptural techniques through the Hellenistic sphere; architectural sculpture in Lycia in the Hellenistic period; results of analysis of Asia Minor marbles in the Louvre). One paper in English and one in German; short English abstracts for all. Well illustrated. No index.

³³ K. Winther-Jacobsen and L. Summerer (eds.), *Landscape Dynamics and Settlement Patterns in Northern Anatolia during the Roman and Byzantine Period*, Geographica Historica 32, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2015, 354 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11214-7.

³⁴ S. Montel (ed.), *La sculpture gréco-romaine en Asie Mineure: Synthèse et recherches récentes*, Colloque international de Besançon, 9 et 10 octobre 2014, Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, Besançon 2015, 278 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-2-84867-541-1,

*Grabdenkmal und locale Identität*³⁵ began life as Ute Kelp's dissertation at the University of Tübingen (as the structure shows). It is a welcome investigation of grave monuments and local identity in Phrygia during the Roman Imperial period, an era much less investigated there than earlier times. Doorstones – funerary monuments in the shape of a false door – are, as I know from Pessinus, common in Phrygia, and Kelp uses them (not the rare Neo-Phrygian texts) as a cultural marker to help her to identify the extent of Roman 'Phrygia' (which Phrygia?; what do we/they mean by Phrygia?), how Phrygian it was and how far 'Hellenised' (the first section of the volume discusses her methodology, cultural-anthropological concepts, approaches and interpretation, urbanisation, etc.). The next section considers grave types in Phrygia in the Roman Imperial period, individual necropoleis (Pessinus at pp. 61–65), then doorstones: the range of types and of decoration and symbolism (even Hellenised detailing on the tombs of Hellenised individuals), their distribution, chronology, origins (indigenous or import). Numerous maps and plates. The third section, on the construction of local identity in Roman Phrygia, considers other regionally distinctive features – language, myths, cults, coins – and Kelp identifies a growing self-consciousness linked to urbanisation (no longer the derided 'hicks from the sticks').

Urs Peschlow brings us an overdue archaeological re-assessment of Roman and Byzantine Ankara,³⁶ based on his many years of personal observation (of evidence now lost) as well as hitherto unused archival material. The massive expansion of Ankara in the last hundred years has wrought much damage, whatever mitigation of it has been achieved by the Turkish authorities. After a brief historical introduction and exploration of the city in the *Einleitung*, 15 chapters (often with appendices) devoted to detailed description, history of excavation and interpretation of the individual monuments follow: the temple of Augustus and Roma; the theatre; the stadium; the so-called nymphaeum; the bath-gymnasium; the colonnaded streets and porticoes; the praetorium; the dam; the Late Antique city wall; the necropoleis and the types of tombs; the honorific column; the citadel; the church of St Clement (re-dated by Peschlow to the 9th century – so too a church within the temple of Augustus and Roma); the Byzantine wall; and the Ottoman city wall. W. Brandes provides an 'Historische Ammerkungen: Ankyra im 7.–9. Jahrhundert' (pp. 259–68). English and Turkish summaries at pp. 269–79 and 280–89 respectively. No index. This is a well-produced, large-format work (not least the maps, plans and plates), guaranteed to displace all its predecessors as the one to go to.

The two large-format volumes of proceedings of the *International Symposium on East Anatolia South Caucasus Cultures*³⁷ held at Atatürk University, offer rich pickings: coverage

³⁵ U. Kelp, *Grabdenkmal und lokale Identität: Ein Bild der Landschaft Phrygiens in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Asia Minor Studien 74, Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2015, x+318 pp., 72 plates, 4 coloured maps in end pocket. Cased. ISBN 978-3-7749-3809-0.

³⁶ U. Peschlow, mit einem Beitrag von W. Brandes, *Ankara: Die bauarchäologischen Hinterlassenschaften aus römischer und byzantinischer Zeit*, 2 vols., Phoibos Verlag, Vienna 2015, 306 pp. (vol. 1), 176 plates (vol. 2). Cased. ISBN 978-3-85161-132-8.

³⁷ M. Işıklı and B. Can (eds.), *International Symposium on East Anatolia–South Caucasus Cultures: Proceedings I–II/Uluslararası Doğu Anadolu Güney Kafkasya Kültürleri Sempozyumu: Bildiriler I–II*, 2 vols., Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle-upon-Tyne 2015, xxix+402 pp. (vol. 1) and x+509 pp. (vol. 2), illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4438-7234-8 (vol. 1); 978-1-4438-7275-1 (vol. 2); 978-1-4438-7810-4 (set).

stretches from the Chalcolithic (six papers) via the Bronze Age (30) and Iron Age (27) to the Mediaeval (12). Bilingual titles. The majority of papers are in English with Turkish summaries, the remainder (31) in Turkish with long English summaries (the participants were overwhelmingly Turkish, plus several Georgians and Western Europeans). The Bronze Age includes Karen Rubinson 'Revisiting South Caucasus–Iranian Azerbaijan Connections', 'Menhirs from South Caucasus' (Narimanishvili *et al.*) and 'The Gods Aššur and Haldi in the Mountains' (Yervan Grekyan). More familiar are Iron Age contributors: Mahmut Bilge Baştürk ('Considerations on the Belief Systems of the Early Iron Age Peoples in Lake Van Basin'), Altan Çilingiroğlu ('In the Light of Excavations on Van Ayanis Fortress: Recent Developments in Urartu'), Stephan Kroll ('Archaeology between Urartu and the Achaemenids'), Annagret Plontke-Luening ('In Search of the Late Hellenistic City of Tigranokerta'), Vakhtang Licheli ('Achaemenids-Type Painted Pottery in Central Transcaucasus and Eastern Anatolia'), Aynur Özfiat ('Mount Ararat: Bozkurt Late Bronze–Early Iron Age Fortress'), Atilla Batmaz ('Temple Storerooms in the Urartian Fortress at Ayanis'), Ali Çiftçi ('Animal Husbandry in Urartian Kingdom'), A. Tuba Ökse ('The Southern Expansion of the Eastern Anatolian Iron Age Culture: New Findings from the Upper Tigris Basin'), etc.

Warwick Ball has had a long career as a hands-on archaeologist. *The Gates of Asia: The Eurasian Steppe and the Limits of Europe*³⁸ is a well-illustrated paperback (with plenty of maps), fourth in a series examining how much 'East' there is in 'the West', and emphasising the cultural debt of Europe to Asia: common history as peoples pass through the gate 'stepping westwards'. Sensible transliterations, familiar forms, a rejection of BCE as well as Pinyin: these suggest a book seeking to be read. The sweep is broad, but so it must be when dealing with a zone stretching 7000 km from Moldavia to Mongolia and 7000 years, from before the Cucuteni-Tripolye culture of ca. 4500 BC to the demise of the Crimean khanate in 1783 and beyond, in ten chapters, flipping across the millennia and Eurasia for links and parallels, paradoxes and comparanda: 'The Steppe, nomads and barriers', 'Eurasia and Indo-Europe' (and the Indo-European homeland question), 'History and myth on the steppe' (Scythians, Sarmatians, Amazons, Greeks and the Black Sea), 'The art of the steppes' (Scythian Animal Style; Modern Russian identity), 'A silken thread' (the Silk Road), 'Twilight of the gods' (Huns, etc.), 'The steppe and Europe's nation states' (Finns, Bulgars, Magyars, etc.), 'The Atlantis of the steppe' (Khazars), 'The men from hell' (Mongols) and 'Golden Hordes', plus an Afterword. Well worth a read.

A monumental publication under the auspices of the German Archaeological Institute's Eurasien-Abteilung is *Spätbronzezeitliche Grabfunde aus Nordbaktrien und benachbarten Regionen*,³⁹ based on the author's field work within the German-Uzbek project in Dzharkutan (1995–2000), other burials/cemeteries there, and unpublished grave-goods from excavations

³⁸ W. Ball, *The Gates of Asia: The Eurasian Steppe and the Limits of Europe*, Asia in Europe and the Making of the West 4, East and West Publishing, London 2015, xv+289 pp., maps and 48 pp. of colour plates. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-907318-12-2.

³⁹ M. Teufer, *Spätbronzezeitliche Grabfunde aus Nordbaktrien und benachbarten Regionen: Studien zur Chronologie zwischen Aralsee und Persischem Golf*, Archäologie in Iran und Turan 13, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Eurasien-Abteilung/Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin 2015, xiii+670 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-496-01540-6.

at Sapalli in the 1970s and from previous excavations in Dzharkutan. The aim was to date the burials, develop a chronological sequence for the whole of northern Bactria (with new terminology introduced for the phases identified), and place them within a supra-regional classification scheme – chronological analysis of North Bactrian grave-goods is linked to that in neighbouring regions, with examination of periodisation there. The main text is divided into North Bactria in the Bronze Age (topography, chronology of the Bronze Age, types of grave material, North Bactrian chronology based on those finds: pp. 3–71), the adjoining region part 1 (Margiana, South Bactria and excursions on Baluchistan, both Iranian and Pakistani: pp. 73–199) and part 2 (Sogdiana and north-eastern Bactria – Sapalli-Dzharkutan, Andronovo and Beškent-Vaxš cultures: pp. 201–53). The catalogue of finds (140 graves from Sapalli, 35 unpublished graves from the necropoleis 4b and c and the citadel of Dzharkutan, 84 graves from necropolis 3, temples, citadel and the settlement complex on hills 4 and 5, and 31+ items from the ceramic depot) follows at pp. 263–343. Short summaries in English and Russian (pp. 258–61). Comprehensively illustrated: maps, plans, tables, images, 282 pp. of plates. An exemplary production to the highest standard. No index.

Persia to Egypt

Wolfram Kleiss's *Geschichte der Architektur Irans*⁴⁰ is a later volume in the same series and exhibits all of the same excellent traits in format, production standards, etc. Authoritative – written by the first Director of the German Archaeological Institute (Tehran Branch) – and marshalling an impressive knowledge of detail over six millennia (to 1979). First, a history of Iranian architecture, the boundaries of the present study (those of the current Iranian state), construction materials (mud-brick to the fore) and tools, rock-cut architecture, rock reliefs, etc. Then built architecture (pp. 41–174), Western influences, caravan-serais, 'Individual Buildings' (windmills and watermills, bridges and dams, bazaars, pigeon towers, etc.), the 'new' architecture of Islam and its manifestation in mosques, madrasas and burial structures, as well as residences and forts (pp. 247–410), with a short concluding chapter on modern architecture. Summaries in English and Farsi (pp. 440–61). Perhaps this is what a Handbook should be.

Another doctorate (Ghent; supervised by the late lamented Ernie Haerinck) transformed into a book is *Mortuary Practice in Ancient Iran from the Achaemenid to the Sasanian Period*.⁴¹ The text consists of an Introduction (sources, methodology), four brisk chapters on Achaemenid, Post-Achaemenid and Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian burial (all divided between above-ground and subterranean) (pp. 3–32), followed by a comprehensive 340-page Catalogue (with plentiful illustrations), eight chronological maps, and a short appendix about some problematic burial sites.

⁴⁰ W. Kleiss, *Geschichte der Architektur Irans: 6000 Jahre iranische Architektur*, Archäologie in Iran und Turan 15, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Eurasien-Abteilung, Außenstelle Teheran/Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin 2015, xi+463 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-496-01542-0.

⁴¹ M. Farjamirad, *Mortuary Practice in Ancient Iran from the Achaemenid to the Sasanian Period*, BAR International Series 2747, Archaeopress, Oxford 2015, vii+396 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1408-2.

The long-overdue English translation of Pierre Briant's *Darius dans l'ombre d'Alexandre* (Paris 2003) has appeared.⁴² Definitely not a biography (an insurmountable challenge): Briant admits that we still do not know who Darius III was – doomed to be an historical footnote, but one expanded here into a detailed explanation of why he, like many others, 'is condemned to haunt the realm of historical oblivion' (p. x). Briant explains in a new Preface the lack of need for updating and, answering reviewers of the French edition, his inevitable use of Graeco-Roman sources for want of others, not to write a book devoted to Alexander as 'seen from the other side'. The drive to write the book was to uncover 'the state of the Achaemenid Empire at the moment Alexander and his army disembarked' (p. xii), and to deconstruct the stereotypes and models of Darius in order to test the pervasive (self-fulfilling) theory of Achaemenid (and personal) decadence and defects (West and East again) bringing about Darius' defeat. Here we reach another perennial about ancient sources, not just 'Alexander authors': what was fact and what fiction, what was history and what literary embellishment, and (how) can we tell? Subtle historical analysis combined with erudition. Excellent translation by J.M. Todd.

Xerxes has received a 'bad press' too (from later Greek authors and the same Alexander propagandists), and here a new biography by Richard Stoneman, a re-examination that seeks to present him from a Persian perspective, made explicit in the title.⁴³ Nine brisk chapters run from 'Accession' to 'Assassination' via image, religion, a *tour d'horizon* of the Persian empire, the Greek expedition (1) up to and (2) after Thermopylae, building at Persepolis (hubristic in Greek eyes) and 'Family Romances'. In each the evidence is presented first, with Stoneman's own opinions coming at the end – opinions largely supportive of Xerxes. The work draws on the latest Achaemenid research and archaeology and on classical written sources, but in length, tone and arrangement (endnotes, an appendix giving the chronology of Xerxes' advance through Greece) seems ripe for a broader readership. Ottoman and later Persian parallels are introduced. Plentiful illustrations.

Caroline Waerzeggers's *Marduk-rēmanni*⁴⁴ is a complete reworking of her Ghent dissertation of 2001, an archive-based examination of local networks and imperial politics in Achaemenid Babylonia. Most of what is known about him stems from Bongenaar's 1997 prosopography of the Ebabbar temple, where Marduk owned a prebend and was familiarly connected with two powerful priestly clans in the city of Sippar. A dozen cuneiform archives shed light on his life from different angles. Following an Introduction and 'Remains' (a short chapter about his own and satellite archives) comes Part 1, 'The Life...' – family life, business life ('Harbor') and his temple life (pp. 27–139). Part 2, 'The Archive...' provides a critical edition of 187 new texts (with plates of each), a detailed discussion of the archive itself and its discovery (in 1881/82), and a 40-page prosopography. Helpful timeline and

⁴² P. Briant, *Darius in the Shadow of Alexander*, transl. by J.M. Todd, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA/London 2015, xvii+579 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-674-49309-4.

⁴³ R. Stoneman, *Xerxes: A Persian Life*, Yale University Press, Newhaven/London 2015, xi+275 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-300-18007-7.

⁴⁴ C. Waerzeggers, *Marduk-rēmanni: Local Networks and Imperial Politics in Achaemenid Babylonia*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 233, Peeters/Departement Oosterse Studies, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2014, xix+636 pp., 187 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-3040-7.

genealogy of the family: he died in 494 BC. Well written (with verve, almost), deeply researched, a fine eye for detail and the nuances of webs of connection. Impressive.

The seventh (revived) Melammu symposium was devoted to 'Impact, Continuities, Parallels'.⁴⁵ An introductory 'Old Battles, New Horizons: The Ancient Near East and the Homeric Epics' (Robert Rollinger) prefaces seven sections/session, each with an Introduction from the chairman and a Response from a respondent: 'Talking too God(s): Prayers and Incantations' (five papers, including 'Performing Rituals in Secluded Places: A Comparison of the Akkadian and Hittite Corpus' – Cynthia Jean, and 'Worshipping Gods and Stones in Late Bronze Age Syria and Anatolia' – Patrick Michel); '.... Foreign Reception of Mesopotamian Objects' (three, including tripod-stands and rod tripods in Etruria and Central Italy – Giacomo Bardelli); '.... The Use of Literary Figures of Speech' (four, including "Shepherds of the People": Greek and Mesopotamian Perspectives' – Johannes Haubold); 'Mesopotamia and the World: Interregional Interaction' (five, including 'Alexander the Great in Babylon: reality and Myth' – Krzysztof Nawotka, 'The Ancient Near East and the Genre of Greek Historiography' – Gufler and Madreiter); 'The World of Politics: "Democracy", Citizens, and "Polis"' (three, including 'A History of Misunderstandings? Macedonian Politics and Persian Prototypes in Greek Polis-Centered Perspective' – Sabine Müller); 'Iran and Early Islam' (three, including 'Semiramis and Alexander in the Diodorus Siculus' Account ...' – Aleksandra Szale); and 'Representations of Power: Shaping the Past and the Present' (four). Well-known names: Kurt Raaflaub, Daniel Potts, Giovanni Battista Lanfranchi. No index. More effort to standardise 'van' and 'von' and their alphabetisation.

*The Architecture of Late Assyrian Royal Palaces*⁴⁶ is a revised version of David Kertai's Heidelberg doctoral dissertation (evident in the sub-numbered sub-sections). The Introduction discusses sources, 'Seclusion versus Access', court society, spatial arrangement, etc. Chapters then follow reign by reign, with hiatuses between 824 and 722 BC, from Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 BC) to Ashurbanipal (668–651 BC), in the course of which all key royal palaces of Kalḫu, Dur-Sharruken and Nineveh are covered – the chapter for Sennacherib, for example, contains sections on The South-West Palace and The Military Palace at Nineveh – followed by 'Palatial Spaces' and 'The Palace and its Suites' before the concluding '250 Years of Late Assyrian Palaces' (architecture, architectural context, decoration; changes through time – as the empire and the concomitant need for accommodation grew ever larger; the 'palace community', etc.). Kertai's emphasis is on the spatial organisation of the palace community rather than the dichotomy of the public and private realms and rights of access. High-quality plans.

⁴⁵ R. Rollinger and E. van Dongen (eds.), *Mesopotamia and the Ancient World: Impact, Continuities, Parallels*, Proceedings of the Seventh Symposium of the Melammu Project Held in Obergurgl, Austria, November 4–8, 2013, Melammu Symposia 7, Ugarit Verlag, Münster 2015, viii+666 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-86835-128-6.

⁴⁶ D. Kertai, *The Architecture of Late Assyrian Royal Palaces*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2015, xvii+284 pp., illustrations, 24 pp. of colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-872318-9.

*Temple Building and Temple Cult ... in the Levant*⁴⁷ publishes the conference of May 2010 in celebration of 50 years of the Institute of Biblical Archaeology at Tübingen. A hefty and handsome volume of 21 contributions, in English more than German, well furnished with plates, indexed for authors, ancient and biblical texts, deities, persons, places and subjects. The four principal sections focus on the 'Northern Levant' (Mirko Novák, 'The Temple of 'Ain Dāra in the Context of Imperial and Neo-Hittite Architecture and Art', for example), 'Southern Levant' (Sharon Zuckerman, 'The Temples of Canaanite Hazor'; Seymour Gitin, 'Temple Complex 650 at Ekron...'; etc.), 'Jerusalem and Gerizim' and 'Cultic Paraphernalia' (B. Morstadt, 'Phönizische Heiligtümer im Mittelmeerraum und ihre Kulteinrichtungen', etc.). To conclude, Jems Kamlah examines comparative aspects of the temples of the Levant.

*Assessing Biblical and Classical Sources*⁴⁸ is a short collection driven by the renewed attention paid by biblical scholars to the Persian period. It brings them together with Achaemenid historians and classicists and the shared difficulties they have encountered working on ancient sources, indeed with what information they can expect to extract from them: 'Herodotus on the Character of Persian Imperialism ...' (Thomas Harrison), 'The Use and Abuse of Herodotus by Biblical Scholars' (Lester Grabbe), 'The Justice of Darius: Reflections on the Achaemenid Empire as a rule-bound environment' (Christopher Tuplin), 'What is "Persian" about the Book of Genesis?' (Diana Edelman), 'Admiring Others: Xenophon and Persians' (Lynette Mitchell), 'From Fact to Fiction: Persian history and the book of Esther' (Maria Brosius), 'Judahite Prophecy and the Achaemenids' (Philip Davies), etc. Nothing surprising, of course, about the presence of Herodotus, as the Introduction reminds us (pp. 3–4).

*Roman Pottery in the Near East*⁴⁹ brings us 15 papers from a round table held in Berlin in February 2010: pottery from the 'Land of Carchemish' project and the northern Euphrates, local pottery from Ras el Bassit, a 3rd to 4th century AD pottery assemblage from Apamea, the Homs Survey, Roman pottery in Baalbeck/Heliopolis, also local pottery traditions in the rural settlements thereabouts, evidence of Hellenisation and early Romanisation in Beirut, Late Hellenistic and Early Roman pottery productions at Jiyeh/Porphyreion, pithos-type vessels from the excavations at Chhîm, the WDF-XRF database of Hellenistic and Roman fine wares in the Levant, pottery production at Yodefat in the 1st century AD, a provenance study of Hellenistic to Byzantine kitchen wares from the theatre-temple area of Umm Qais/

⁴⁷ J. Kamlah (ed.), in co-operation with H. Michelau, *Temple Building and Temple Cult: Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant* (2.–1. Mill. B.C.E.), Proceedings of a Conference on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Biblical Archaeology at the University of Tübingen, 28–30 May 2010, *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 41, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2012, xxiv+586 pp., illustrations, 73 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-06784-3/ISSN 0173-1904.

⁴⁸ A. Fitzpatrick-McKinley (ed.), *Assessing Biblical and Classical Sources for the Reconstruction of Persian Influence, History and Culture*, *Classica et Orientalia* 10, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2015, 215 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-447-10244-5/ISSN 2190-3638.

⁴⁹ B. Fischer-Genz, Y. Gerber and H. Hamel (eds.), *Roman Pottery in the Near East: Local Production and Regional Trade*, Proceedings of the Round Table held in Berlin, 19–20 February 2010, *Roman and Late Antique Mediterranean Pottery* 3, Archaeopress, Oxford 2014, ii+215 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-905739-67-7.

Gadara, two ceramic incense burners in Late Roman and Byzantine Palestine, Late Hellenistic and Early Roman ceramic trends in Tall Mādabā, Nabataean/Roman-period pottery traditions in Transjordan, and coarse ware from Roman Aila/Aqaba. Well illustrated.

The first volume of the *Excavations at Tell Nebi Mend, Syria*⁵⁰ is a fine example. The excavations themselves were conducted from 1975 to 1995 by the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, in happier times for archaeology, there and here; it is sad that 20 years have elapsed before we have final publication. Peter Parr introduces and describes the setting, the site (near Homs) and its discovery, the project and the excavation and excavation practices, textual sources and ethnography (an appendix by Majed Moussli), also (later) the Enclosure; in between are seven chapters on the Neolithic occupation: stratigraphy and chronology, human burials, pottery (pp. 75–262, Virginia Mathias), flint and obsidian artefacts, ‘Miscellaneous objects, White Ware and a textile impression’, animal husbandry and domestication, and charred plant remains. Large format, thoroughly illustrated. Unindexed.

Publication of the Carlsberg Foundation-funded excavations at Tall Sūkās (Syria) from 1958 to 1963 have resumed⁵¹ after a gap of almost 20 years. Chapters 1–9 cover various types of black- and red-figure pottery (short text, then illustrated catalogue). Chapters 10–11 deal with the inscriptions, their chronology, location and their implications for a permanent Greek settlement here; and 12 and 13 with the Rectangular Building, its finds and its function. All necessary plans, tables and illustrations. The layout of the table of contents is confusing, and the quality of illustrations, though adequate, could be better.

*The Ancient Pottery of Israel and its Neighbours*⁵² shows what can be produced when there are sponsors (numerous) willing to support the lavish publication that the subject-matter deserves. Six multi-part chapters (in effect, 24 chapters), by 20 authors from Israel, North America, Germany and Britain (familiar names include Ayelet Gilboa and Andrea Berlin) provide coverage across two volumes. For example, Chapter 1 is Iron Age I; 1.1 details the Northern Coastal Plain, Galilee, Samaria, the Jezreel Valley, Judah and the Negev; 1.2 Philistia; 1.3 Transjordan. With variations in the combination and division of these eight basic regions, Chapter 2.1–6 covers Iron Age IIA–IIB; Chapter 3.1–6 Iron Age IIC; Chapter 4.1–3 Iron Age I–II Phoenician pottery, Cypriot imports and local imitations, and Greek imports, 4.4 IIC Assyrian-type pottery and 4.5 IB–IIC Egyptian and Egyptian-type pottery; Chapter 5. 1–2 the Persian period and imports; and Chapter 6. 1–2

⁵⁰ P.J. Parr (ed.), with contributions by E.A. Bettles, L. Copeland†, C. Grigson, *et al.*, *Excavations at Tell Nebi Mend, Syria*, vol. 1, Levant Supplementary Series 16, Oxbow, Oxford/Philadelphia 2015, ix+369 pp., illustrations, 3 pp. of colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78297-786-5.

⁵¹ H. Salskov Roberts, *Sūkās XI: The Attic Pottery and Commentary on the Greek Inscriptions found on Tall Sūkās*, Publications of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia 14, Scientia Danica, Series H, Humanistica 4.3, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab/The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Copenhagen 2015, 165 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-87-7304-381-3/ISSN 1904-5506.

⁵² S. Gitin (ed.), *The Ancient Pottery of Israel and its Neighbors from the Iron Age through the Hellenistic Period*, 2 vols., Israel Exploration Society/W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research/Israel Antiquities Authority/American Schools of Oriental Research, Jerusalem 2015, 794 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-965-221-103-3 (vol. 1); 978-965-221-104-0 (vol. 2); 978-965-221-102-6 (set).

the Hellenistic period and imports. Two other volumes are underway to bring this long-term project (over a decade in gestation) from the Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age and should fulfil the intention of creating a 'new "ceramic bible" for archaeological and historical research in the countries of the eastern Mediterranean basin' (p. 1). A feast: comprehensive, comprehensively illustrated (over 6000 images required re-inking to achieve uniformity across the project), maps, colour plates.

Burton Macdonald, who has directed five survey projects in the region since 1979, provides an attractive tour of the Edomite Plain of southern Jordan and the Dead Sea Rift Valley from the Bronze Age until the end of Ottoman control in 1917⁵³ via an Introduction (geography, topography, archaeological, epigraphic and literary sources, basic chronology, archaeological work of others in the area and approach/methodology) and chapters covering the Early, Middle and Late Bronze, Iron I and II, Persian and Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Islamic periods, the Nabataeans straddling Hellenistic and Roman. Indexed for sites, subjects and biblical passages. Excellent illustrations. Everything for the specialist, but presented in a way that should bring a broader readership.

Two volumes of proceedings of international symposia held in Prague (2010 and 2014),⁵⁴ attended by scholars (many) young and old, some participating in both, demonstrate the long-term commitment of the Czech Institute of Egyptology at Charles University to its task. The introductory matter also mentions papers delivered that were not presented for publication. There are 20 papers in the first volume, focused on contacts with the Levant: contacts between Egypt and Syria-Palestine seen at the late Middle Kingdom site of Tell el Dab'a; Hyskos and Middle Kingdom statuary found in the northern Levant; the story of Wenamun at Dor; Tell Tweini harbour site in Syria; the chronological value of Aziru's journey to Egypt; early contacts with the southern Levant from the Tell el-Farkha excavations in the Eastern Delta; Tall Hujayrat al-Ghuzlan and Tall al-Magass excavations near Aqaba; Hittite-Egyptian synchronisms and the consequences for ancient Near Eastern chronology, Bronze Age religious symbol systems in the southern Levant; an image of the Hittite king in Egyptian sources; the identification of Qode; the Amarna letters; Levantine combed ware from Heit-el-Ghurab, Giza; Egypt, Kush and Assyria before 671 BC. The second, with 24 papers, and much core and periphery, is arranged into 'Methods and Technologies' (opened by the Clines on the Amarna letters; timber, economics and environment; Bronze Age technology transfer of luxury craftsmanship, Crete and the Orient; small ingots and scrap in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean; improved technology and networking between Egypt and its neighbours during the Bronze Age; means of

⁵³ B. MacDonald, *The Southern Transjordan Edomite Plateau and the Dead Sea Rift Valley: The Bronze Age to the Islamic Period (3800/3700 BC–AD 1917)*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2015, ix+118 pp., illustrations, 24 pp. of colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78297-832-9.

⁵⁴ J. Mynářová (ed.), *Egypt and the Near East – the Crossroads*, Proceedings of an International Conference on the Relations of Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age, Prague, September 1–3, 2010, Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, Prague 2011, 344 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-80-7308-362-5; J. Mynářová, P. Onderka and P. Pavúk (eds.), *There and Back Again – the Crossroads II*, Proceedings of an International Conference Held in Prague, September 15–18, 2014, Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, Prague 2015, 556 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-80-7308-575-9.

communication with the Levant under the 18th Dynasty; 'Sailing from Periphery to Core in the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean'), 'Egypt and the Aegean – the Iconography' (Best, Minoan Crete, Near Eastern 'Hero' and 'Bull-Man'), '2nd millennium BC' (southern Levant and Egypt in the early Middle Bronze Age, Tell el Dab'a and radiocarbon data, production of green jasper seals in Egypt and the Levant; Egypt, Ugarit and the god Ba'al; the early 18th Dynasty in the northern Levant; children and procession scenes; the location of Danuna; the Amarna palaeography project; Aegean and Cypriot overseas ceramic trade) and 1st millennium (Typhonia of Cailliaud; inscriptions of Natakamani and Amanitor; Tel Mique/Ekron during the 7th century BC; 'Why did Necho II Kill Josiah?'; stone jars in the Mediterranean). Both uniformly and well produced. Indexed.

Alexandria's Hinterland,⁵⁵ an attractive publication, very well illustrated (333 figures, 36 plates, 10 maps), combines material from earlier and more recent surface surveys in the Western Delta with small intensive collections to provide detailed information about 63 sites, much improving the data set and showing the use that can be made of it. It is arranged as 'Introduction and methodology', 'The Late Roman period and the Arab sources', 'Survey 2008–2011: Introduction and Site Gazetteer' (pp. 26–174), 'Surface finds, analysis, plates and tables' (including a pottery catalogue at pp. 180–83).

Festschriften

*Paradigm Found*⁵⁶ honours the Czech archaeologist Evžen Neustupný with 21 essays by colleagues from the United States to Japan, but especially from Central Europe, neatly divided into three sections of seven: 'Contemporary Discourses in Archaeological Theory' ('"Paradigm lost" – on the State of Typology within Archaeological Theory'; 'The Demons of Comparison: Archaeological classification *vs* classificatory terminology', etc.), 'Past and Future Directions' ('How We Have Come to Do Archaeology the Way(s) We Do...'; 'Which Archaeology does the Modern World Need?', 'Paradigm Lost: The rise, fall and eventual recovery of paradigms in archaeology'; 'Archaeology and Politics in the Twenty-first Century: Still Faustian but not much of a bargain', not least the strings attached to public/state funding; etc.) and 'Thinking Prehistory'. John Bintliff provides another of his bracing counterblasts: 'Beyond Theoretical Archaeology: A manifesto for reconstructing interpretation in archaeology', opening minds and liberating academics, field-workers and students from the prison of theory and the brainwashing of the 'Theory Project' – 'a steady progression from any claim to a neutral, open scientific endeavour, towards relentlessly pure ideology', producing 'the current absence of critical, reflective and diverse approaches to reconstructing the Past' (p. 24) – with excavators at the base and a theory elite at the apex: '... we have allowed access to acceptable knowledge to become controlled by an academic minority to the disadvantage of ... the discipline as a whole' (p. 34).

⁵⁵ M. Kenawi, *Alexandria's Hinterland: Archaeology of the Western Nile Delta, Egypt*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2014, xii+241 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-014-3.

⁵⁶ K. Kristiansen, L. Šmejda and J. Turek (eds.), *Paradigm Found: Archaeological Theory – Present, Past and Future. Essays in Honour of Evžen Neustupný*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2015, viii+292 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78297-770-4.

Twenty essays, mainly by North American and 'Old Commonwealth' scholars, honour Waldemar Heckel, retired after 35 years in Calgary, in *Greece, Macedon and Persia*,⁵⁷ with contributions on the history and historiography of warfare and power in the ancient Mediterranean in which Macedonia, Alexander the Great, his successors and his legacy bulk large. such as: 'Darius I and the Problems of (Re)conquest: Resistance, false identities and the impact of the past' (Sabine Müller); 'Clausewitz and Ancient Warfare' (Edward Garvin); 'Thucydides and the Failure in Sicily' (Brian Bosworth); 'Macedonian Armies, Elephants, and the Perfection of Combined Arms' (Graham Wrightson); 'Opposition to Macedonian Kings: Riots for rewards and verbal protests' (Joseph Roisman); 'Arrian and "Roman" Military Tactics. Alexander's campaign against the Autonomous Thracians' (Timothy Howe); 'Counter-Insurgency: The lesson of Alexander the Great' (Edward Anson); 'The Callisthenes Enigma' (Gordon Shrimpton); 'Alexander's Unintended Legacy: Borders' (Stanley Burstein); 'Cleomenes of Naucratis, Villain or Victim?' (Elizabeth Baynham); and 'Polybius on Naval Warfare' (Philip de Souza). But also 'Women and Symposia in Macedonia' (Elizabeth Carney) and the lengthy 'Career of Socrates of Knidos: Politics, Diplomacy and the Alexandrian Building Programme in the Early Hellenistic Period' (Alexander Meeus). A warm tribute to 'Wald', including a visit to Wales, by J.C. Yardley.

*From Source to History*⁵⁸ marks Giovanni Battista Lanfranchi's 65th birthday. The 44 contributions run alphabetically. To sample them: 'Hezekiah's Jerusalem: Nineveh in Judah?' (Ariel Bagg); 'Semiramis and her Rivals ...' (Reinhold Bichler); 'Karmylessos: une Lycie chimérique' (Oliver Casabonne); 'The Ordeal in the Neo-Assyrian Legal Procedure' (Betina Faist); 'Il mostro "anguipede" e il "dio in battello" nelle stele felsinee ...' (Elena di Filippo Balestrazzi); 'Golden Appliqués in Assyrian Textiles: an Interdisciplinary approach ...' (Salvatore Gaspa); 'Historische Aussagen in den Achämenideninschriften im Licht sich wandelnder Legitimationsstrategien' (Bruno Jacobs); 'The King and His Audience' (Mario Liverani); 'River Navigation and Transport in Norther Assyria. The Stone Quay-walls ...' (Daniele Morandi Bonacossi); 'Mount Nišir and the Foundation of the Assyrian Church' (Simo Parpola); 'Guriania, gouravniioi and the Gūrān' (Daniel Potts); 'Zagros Spice Mills: the Simurrean and the Hašimur Grindstones' (Karen Radner); 'Aornos and the Mountains of the East: the Assyrian Kings and Alexander the Great' (Robert Rollinger); 'Der Reichtum Babylonien' (Kai Ruffing); 'From Arshama to Alexander. Reflections on Persian Responses to Attack' (Christopher Tuplin); 'The Extent and Interactions of the Phrygian Kingdom' (Erik van Dongen); and 'Überlegungen zur Lage von Pteria' (Anne-Maria Wittke). Thoroughly indexed.

⁵⁷ T. Howe, E.E. Garvin and G. Wrightson (eds.), *Greece, Macedon and Persia: Studies in Social, Political and Military History in Honour of Waldemar Heckel*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2015, xiv+214 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78297-923-4.

⁵⁸ S. Gaspa, A. Greco, D.M. Bonacossi, S. Ponchia and R. Rollinger (eds.), *From Source to History: Studies on Ancient Near Eastern World and Beyond. Dedicated to Giovanni Battista Lanfranchi on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday on June 23, 2014*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 412, Ugarit-Verlag, Münster 2014, xiv+810 pp., illustrations and 5 colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-86835-101-9.

A handsome volume for Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier, *Ein Minoer im Exil*,⁵⁹ contains 23 papers, most in English, starting with 'Fishing Technology: The Kynos Contribution', a continuing through, amongst others, 'Two More Linear B Inscribed Stirrup Jars from Malia', 'Hadrian, *Abai* and the Memory of the Persian Wars', 'Miletus IIIb. Ramping Up a Minoanized Locale', 'Perceptions of Minoan Religious Symbolism in Mainland Greece during Late Helladic I' (Kalapodi), 'Milesian Imports and Exchange Networks in the Southern Aegean', 'Near Eastern Semicircular Axes in the Late Bronze Age Aegean as Entangled Objects', 'Marine Style Pottery from Knossos', 'Gabenträger aus Zypern in ost-griechischen Heiligtümern', 'Der greiftötende Löwe. Ein Siegel aus Milet', 'Ein stratigraphisch datiertes, hocharchaisches Kapitell aus Abai/Kalapodi', 'Eine geometrische Plattenfibel aus Kalapodi ...', etc. Well produced, larger format – but no index.

Crises and Politics

An eponymous Russo-British conference at Perm is the source of *Deformations and Crises of Ancient Civil Communities*.⁶⁰ A dozen papers mix broad themes and case studies, for example: P.J. Rhodes, 'Instability in the Greek Cities'; Valerij Goušchin, 'Aristocracy in Democratic Athens: Deformation and/or Adaptation'; Polly Low, 'Empire and Crisis in Fourth-Century Greece'; Yuri Kuzmin, 'The Antigonids, Caunus and the so-called "Era of Monophthalmus" ...'; Oleg Gabelko, '... Some Particulars of the Conquest of Cius and Myrlea by the Kingdom of Bithynia'; T.J. Cornell, 'Crisis and Deformation in the Roman Republic: The Example of the Dictatorship'; Amy Russell, 'The Tribune of the Plebs as a Magistracy of Crisis'; Catherine Steel, 'The Roman Political Year and the End of the Republic'; Pavel Rubtsov, 'Imperial Power in the Third and Fourth Centuries: Deformation or Evolution?'; and Aleksey Kamenskikh, '... Political Philosophy and Practice in the Late Neoplatonist Communities'. Of particular interest is Natalia Almazova's 'The "Cultural Crisis" in Rome on the Cusp of the Republic and Principate as Seen in Russian Research of the Late 19th–Early 20th Centuries', a period of cultural transformation that featured Rostovtsev, Zieliński, Blagoveshchanskii, etc. looking at another such, now discussed during a third: 'be it from Soviet to a post-Soviet, not often more fruitful, cultural paradigm, or from the Western culture of the twentieth century to the notorious "post modernism"'.

*Ancient Disasters*⁶¹ is an interesting volume when we consider the fine record of incompetence that beset, for example, New Orleans in the recent past. Nine papers, all but one in English, all but one by Spanish scholars, furnish us with 'Catastrophes and their aftermath, a new old story', 'Attitudes and responses to disasters. The Graeco-Roman records',

⁵⁹ D. Panagiotopoulos, I. Kaiser and O. Kouka (eds.), *Ein Minoer im Exil. Festschrift für Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier*, Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 270, Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Universität Heidelberg, Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2015, 418 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-7749-3971-4.

⁶⁰ V. Goušchin and P.J. Rhodes (eds.), *Deformation and Crises of Ancient Civil Communities*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2015, 194 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11162-1.

⁶¹ T. Naco del Hoyo, R. Riera and D. Gómez-Castro (eds.), *Ancient Disasters and Crisis Management in Classical Antiquity*, Akanthina, Foundation for the Development of Gdańsk University, Gdańsk 2015, 164 pp., 5 maps and plans. Cased. ISBN 978-83-7531-217-1.

“Humanitarian crises” in the Works of Xenophon’, ‘Ilergetan attitudes and responses to imperialistic strategies’, ‘Témoignages épigraphiques d’un possible cas de “déplacement force de population” à Majorque, II–Ier siècles av. J.-C.’, ‘Deportation and re-occupation policies in Southern Anatolia, c.100–50 BC’, ‘A Man-made Humanitarian Crisis: Augustus and the Salassi’, ‘Humanitarian Crises caused by Earthquakes in the Eastern Mediterranean (31 BC–23 AD)’, etc.

Federalism might be understood by the Swiss; certainly not by most Australians. The German (especially Bavarian), American and Canadian contributors to *Federalism in Greek Antiquity*⁶² will at least have some idea of its modern misfires. There are 29 chapters and many well-known contributors: Jonathan Hall (‘Federalism and Ethnicity’); Kostas Buraselis (Aegean Islands); Angelos Chaniotis (Crete); Klaus Freitag (Akarnian League); Miltiades Hatzopoulos (Macedonia); Denis Knoepfler (Euboean League); Nino Luraghi (Messenia); Jeremy McInerney (Phocis); Lynette Mitchell (‘The community of the Hellenes’); Thomas Heine Nielsen (Arcadia); Kurt Raaflaub (forerunners, collaboration and alliance in Archaic and Classical Greece). Some 20 chapters survey particular leagues and arrangements, in the core and periphery (Cyrenaica) of the Greek world, demonstrating their diversity and sophistication, across the spectrum of tautness to hegemony (the Delian League), varyingly impermanent, sometimes chameleonic, driven by proximity and shared identity, but also by military need and for self-preservation, perhaps a solution to inter-state volatility, etc. Emily Mackill writes on the economics: the chicken and the (curate’s) egg of whether economic integration drives political or *vice versa*, and Cinzia Bearzot on ‘Ancient theoretical reflections on federalism’. Likely to supplant J. Larsen’s *Greek Federal States. Their Institutions and History* (Oxford 1968). I suspect that federalism, used loosely ancient and modern to cover arrangements from confederacies to devolved hegemonies via the Soviet Potemkin version and the ‘European project’, may be the next casualty in the terminology wars beloved of Anglophone academics.

For colleagues drawn to (make) broad comparisons across the millennia, *The Political Machine: Assembling Sovereignty in the Bronze Age Caucasus* may be recommended (based on Adam Smith’s 2013 Rostovtzeff Lecture Series).⁶³ It is novel, but I found it very difficult to follow, indeed in some instances to understand, my extensive knowledge of Caucasian, especially Georgian, archaeology notwithstanding. After ‘Introduction: Reverse Engineering the Polity’ come two chapters in ‘Part I: The Machinery of Sovereignty’ and three in ‘Part II: Assembling Sovereignty’. From Ur and Erebuni to Obama, mortuary ritual to flag pins, via Hobbes and Rousseau, Collingwood and Childe, Renfrew and Rawles, it seeks to reveal links between material goods and the political order.

⁶² H. Beck and P. Funke (eds.), *Federalism in Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2015, xxvii+605 pp., 7 maps. Cased. ISBN 978-0-521-19226-2.

⁶³ A.T. Smith, *The Political Machine: Assembling Sovereignty in the Bronze Age Caucasus*, Princeton University Press in association with the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World at New York University, Princeton/Oxford 2015, xv+242 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-16323-9.

Miscellanea

*Diachrony*⁶⁴ grew out of a conference held at Duke University in 2009, the papers reworked and supplemented by special commissions for publication. The intention has been to demonstrate the possibilities of this model of interpretation for the investigation of Greek literature and culture: 11 chapters, one the editor's Introduction. 'Diachrony and the Case of Aesop' (Gregory Nagy) and 'Aristophanic Satire and the Pretense of Synchrony' (Ralph Rosen) give a flavour of the first part. The second contains 'Cultural Change and the Greek Perception of it ...' (Carolyn Higbie), 'Diachronic Parameters of Athenian Pederasty' (Thomas Hubbard) and 'Diachrony in Greek Agriculture' (Anthony Snodgrass), which builds on the results of the Boeotia survey of 1989–91 of isolated farmsteads/small rural sites, underlines the 'danger of extrapolating from modern ethnographic evidence' to cover deficiencies in ancient sources, and offers 'an archaeologically informed model for diachronic change [which] uncovers and explains an important chapter in the dynamic history of the Greek rural economy' (p. 13). Index of sources.

The 18 papers from the colloquium 'Natur – Kult – Raum',⁶⁵ held in January 2012, are, as the title suggests, diverse. Mainly in German, mainly Austro-German authors. As examples: Susanne Berndt-Ersöz, 'Noise-Making Rituals in Iron Age Phrygia'; Helga Bumke, 'Griechische Gärten in sakralen Kontext'; Axel Filges, 'Ein Felsheiligtum im Stadtgebiet von Priene. Privater Kult im öffentlichen Raum'; Andreas Hofender, 'Heilige Haine der Kelten in der antiken Literatur: Kultrealität versus literarische Barbarentopik'; Michael Kerschner, 'Der Ursprung des Artemisions von Ephesos als Naturheiligtum. Naturmale als kultische Bezugspunkte in den großen Heiligtümern Ioniens', Pirson *et al.*, 'Die neu entdeckten Felsheiligtümer am Osthang von Pergamon – ein innerstädtisches Kultzentrum für Meter-Kybele'; Lutgarde Vandeput, 'Nature and Cult in Pisidia with a Focus in Pednelissos and its Territory'. Excellent, large-format publication with fine illustrations and maps/plans.

Finally, *Great Moments in Greek Archaeology*,⁶⁶ an opulent large-format volume, packed with colour illustrations, containing 25 contributions within 'The Stages of Greek Archaeology', 'Great Moments in Greek Archaeology' (the Acropolis, Kerameikos, Delos, Olympia, Delphi, Knossos, the Athenian Agora, Salamis, Thera, Vergina, etc.), 'Great Moments in Marine Archaeology' (Kyrenia, Uluburun) and 'Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture See the Light of Day' (from Aphrodite of Melos in 1822, to the large kouros of Samos in 1980), by two dozen Greek (Vassos Karageorghis) and foreign (Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier) scholars.

Gocha R. Tsetskhladze

⁶⁴ J.M. González (ed.), *Diachrony: Diachronic Studies of Ancient Greek Literature and Culture*, MythosEikonPoesis 7, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2015, viii+400 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-042537-6/ISSN 1868-5080.

⁶⁵ K. Sporn, S. Ladstätter and M. Kerschner (eds.), *Natur – Kult – Raum*, Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums, Paris-Lodron-Universität Salzburg, 20.–22. Jänner 2012, Sonderschriften 51, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna 2015, 380 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-900305-72-7/ISSN 1998-8931.

⁶⁶ P. Valavanis (ed.), *Great Moments in Greek Archaeology*, translated by D. Hardy, Kapon Editions, Athens 2007, 380 pp., colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 960-7037-48-7.

CITYSCAPES

E. Mortensen and B. Poulsen (eds.), *Cityscapes and Monuments of Western Asia Minor: Memories and Identities*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2017, xi+300 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-1-78570-836-7

T. Fuhrer, F. Mundt and J. Stenger (eds.), *Cityscaping: Constructing and Modelling Images of the City*, Philologus Suppl. 3, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2015, viii+317 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-037682-1/ISSN 2199-0255

These books present papers given at conferences respectively at Aarhus University in October 2014 and at Dahlen, Berlin, in October 2012. They have differing interpretations of the meaning of the terms Cityscape and Cityscaping. Mortensen and Poulsen suggest that 'Cityscapes are expressions of identity and memories. They are frames in which street layouts, buildings, monumental structures, and sculptural and epigraphic displays are interpreted and reinterpreted as changing expressions of relations of remembrance identities and power.' For Fuhrer, 'Cityscaping... is the process through which an image of a city or urban landscape is imaginatively constructed. An aesthetically ambitious design need not imitate reality but may construct a city according to its own intentions and ideas.'

Thus *Cityscapes and Monuments* is concerned with the actual architecture and monuments of places in Asia Minor, as revealed by archaeological investigation, while *Cityscaping* for the most part deals with accounts and depictions of places whether real or imaginary in literature and other artistic forms.

First, then, *Cityscapes and Monuments*. Martin Seifert gives an introduction to 'Constructing memories: gateways between identity and socio-political pluralism in Ancient Western Asia Minor'. This is intended to go beyond the mere – but often minutely detailed – description of buildings to discuss rather the understanding of structures in terms of social space and meaning. He looks towards the decision makers, the ruling elites who determined what to build and why, for example, at Aphrodisias where two elite families sponsored the Imperial cult centre, the Sebasteion. One sees the point, but at the same time there may be difficulty – if not impossibility – in discovering what the ordinary inhabitant in the street thought about these structures and the effect they bestowed.

The following papers are divided into five sections. First come 'Cityscapes of Remembrance'. Eva-Maria Mohr, Klaus Rheidt and Nurettin Arslan discuss Cityscapes and places of memory in Assos. This looks at the sequence of development at Assos from its origin, with an overview of the historical and archaeological sequence, leading to its place in the Roman empire, the existence of 'Romaioi', but in all this evidence for remembrance in the city itself.

Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan discusses Assos in the Byzantine era, looking at alterations and transformation of public spaces in Byzantine times, the transformation of the agora and the creation of a new public space to the south-west, complete with a substantial church, as a new build.

Anthony Shannon considers Teos from the epigraphic evidence, the failure of an imposed synoecism with Lebedos proposed by Antigonos Monophthalmos, and another inscription which outlines the foundation and structure of ritualised veneration of Antiochus III and his wife Laodice.

Orhan Bingöl looks at the ways sanctuaries altered the cityscape of ancient cities, with particular reference to Magnesia-on-the-Maeander where he sees evidence in the 1st century AD of a 'neo-Hellenistic' style of architecture. Here I would suggest continuity rather than revival, though after a time when potential uncertainty caused a moratorium.

Eva Mortensen considers narratives and shared memories of Heroes in the Aphrodisian cityscape, statues and memorials to the legendary heroes, back to the supposed foundation of the city, who were part of its general history, and then of actual individuals, the 'new heroes'. She describes dedicatory inscriptions as well as monuments – but what is not really clear is the impact these had on the ordinary inhabitants of the city. Were they really aware of the reasons behind them, or did they just take them for granted as part of their environment?

Jacques de Courtils looks at Xanthos, with its distinctive Lycian pillar tombs and the subsequent construction of other tombs in the same area, the so-called Roman agora, including, exceptionally, tombs later constructed within the city boundary.

Finally, Kai Töpfer considers civic self-perception and constructing identity in public images in Roman Asia Minor, with particular reference to Roman Imperial art in Asia Minor, including monuments honouring Pompey after his victories over Mithradates and then the pirates and, then, the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias.

The next section is headed 'Recollections of the Past in Public Civic Monuments'. Ulrich Mania looks at gymnasia, as a place where a collective memory was shaped by the commemoration of benefactors, starting with gymnasiarchs, by honorific inscriptions and, often, a statue. Commemoration might also include burial within the gymnasium. He also includes the *topos* inscriptions at Priene, as marking the affiliation of the *ephebes* who made them within the gymnasium. (I fear I thought of these more on the level of my fellow school pupils who inscribed their names on the classroom desks.)

Günther Schörner looks at representing and remembering rituals in public space, particularly scenes on reliefs such as those in the basilica at Aphrodisias, the theatre at Perge and the Parthian altar at Ephesos.

Ute Lohner-Urban discusses aspects of Public Memory at the east gate of Side, originally of the period of Augustus, and in particular the inscribed stone in the Sidelic language dated earlier, to the 3rd or early 2nd century BC and apparently prepared for reuse in the gate.

The third part considers 'Representations of Memories and Identities in the Private Sphere'. Elisabeth Rathmayr writes about aspects of remembrance for residents in their houses, where there are places and elements of particular significance. These include the entrances, the type of house, the floor and wall decoration. They may include altars, dedications to the Emperors, together with examples of sculpture and inscriptions.

Christoph Baier discusses the significance, as a place of remembrance, of the monumental Domus on the hillside above the theatre at Ephesos.

The next section is headed 'Narratives of Remembrance in a Religious Context'.

Ergün Laflı discusses a seated statue of a poet from Klaros discovered in 1952, its missing head being discovered in 2002, and which was found, appropriately, in the vicinity of the temple of Apollo.

Helene Blinkenberg Hastrup writes about the Amazon statues from Ephesos, known, of course, from Roman marble copies after the bronze originals, and the historical meanings which can be found from these representations of mythical beings.

Next come two papers about Kos. Monica Livadiotti and Giorgio Rocco on memory related to a processional road in the city, while Luigi Calio gives a visual reconstruction of festive processions in Kos, again related to the principal street of the city.

Mustafa Şahin describes the sanctuary of Apollo Archegetes on the island Asar at Myndos, with an account of the finds from the excavations there.

Finally Katy Opitz, in 'Two Cities, One Goddess', considers the refoundation of Latmos and the transfer of the cult of Athena to the conspicuous new temple at the top of Herakleia.

The final section contains papers on the 'Commemoration of the Dead'.

Benedikt Grammer looks at the burial mounds of Kolophon and the question of their ethnic connections, Lydian, Greek or Ionian, and discusses the mounds themselves and the different cemetery groupings. He comes to the conclusion that the archaeological material does not offer a particularly deep insight into questions of ethnicity.

Martin Steskal writes on defying death at Ephesos – strategies of commemoration in a Roman metropolis. He discusses the tombs of the Roman period, first with burial along roads, then a movement away from pompous single monuments to a less structured lay out.

Poul Pedersen gives a new discussion of *totenmahl* reliefs as well as the *totenmahlen* on the Belevi mausoleum and then the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus itself. He considers that they were almost absent in the 5th century BC but then flourished in the 4th.

Ilaria Romeo publishes new Seleucid portraits in Roman Hierapolis as a distant memory.

Laurence Cavalier writes on memorials to the Lycian dead. He looks at the typology of the Xanthos funerary monuments, discussing Xanthos funerary landscapes in Archaic and Classical times, with relation to public space, and then, finally, in Hellenistic and Roman times.

In the final paper Veronika Scheibelreiter-Gail discusses commemorative inscriptions, and compares as mirrors of common identity inscriptions in ancient and modern (i.e. Vienna) funerary spaces or gravestones.

The second book, *Cityscaping*, is a supplementary volume in the *Philologos* series, which describes itself as 'a journal for ancient literature and its reception'. The present volume states that 'it investigates representation, symbolism, and discursive functions of urban space', and that 'the focus is on texts in which Rome and other ancient cities play a prominent role', while 'continuities and interruptions in the history of "cityscaping" are revealed by drawing on modern classics of writing the city'. At the same time contributions from the fields of archaeology and film studies supplement the literary investigation of how images of the city are moulded.

The great majority of the papers, therefore, are concerned with descriptions and references to functioning (in whatever particular aspect) of city life to be found in literature. They follow a chronological sequence of composition. Damien Nelis discusses visions of Troy, Carthage and Rome in Virgil, in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* as well as the *Aeneid*, that is, both imaginary and looking forward to what actually existed in Virgil's time. Alison Keith considers cityscaping in Propertius and the Elegists, for example Propertius' references to luxury shopping along Rome's *Via Sacra*. Therese Fuhrer looks at Thessalian Hypata in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. Lydia Krollpfeifer considers Claudian. Jan Stenger deals with John Chrysostom and his account of the unchristian evils of the long-standing

classical tradition of urban life. Maximilian Benz looks at Carthage in a 12th-century AD poem, Heinrich von Veldeke's *Eneasroman*, where the model is taken not from reality but, rather, from Virgil.

The next sequence of papers is concerned with the investigation of cities and elements relating to city structures in more recent literature. Felix Mundt looks at speeches and theoretical texts from the ancient world and the renaissance (but ignoring the Middle Ages) which praise and describe cities. He begins with Herodotus' description of Babylon. Catherine Edwards discusses Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, and his own involvement with the city of Rome itself. Christian Rivoletti considers Italo Calvino's *La città invisibili* to see whether it contains references to reality and the question of literary Utopias, divergences from the literary utopian tradition, and rather a dialectical process through which the reader is provoked to take a critical look at contemporary urban reality. Katrin Dennerlein presents a comparative study of how the city is depicted in Alfred Döblin's novel *Berlin Alexanderplatz*. Finally, a paper by Margrit Tröler on visions of ancient Rome in film, specifically in the films *Gladiator* and *Rome*.

In addition to these papers, which are concerned, intrinsically, with literature, there is one interesting archaeological paper. Manuel Royo writes about the *equus maximus in foro* and the Domitianic project on the Palatine. Here we are involved with an actual development in the city after the downfall of Nero's self-aggrandising development with his colossal statue, and, of course, his Domus Aurea. Vespasian had begun the corrective process with the construction of the Colosseum, the Flavian Amphitheatre. Domitian goes further with his treatment of the visual link between the Forum and his palace with what is in effect a visual forecourt to the Palace. Here we have a significant use of architecture within the city for an overt political purpose – cityscaping as architectural reality.

My edition of *Chamber's Concise Dictionary* (1991) simply defines 'city-scape' as 'a view or picture of a city (following *landscape*)' that is, as an art term. The two books reviewed here give a far wider definition, beyond the concept of a pictorial work of art. There is an obvious case for discussion which rounds out the more visual interpretation of a city; as it were, to populate it, to investigate how it functioned, the impact of social, political and economic life, to fill out the bare bones of its architecture and archaeology. Whether this properly includes memory (an element in both these books) is perhaps debatable. Similarly, we might question the extent to which any particular element in a city's architectural structure impacted on its actual, contemporary population, let alone the memory of this in later external interpretation of city life. Thus many of the papers in *Cityscaping*, and certainly the non-contemporary ones reveal the attitudes of the individual sources discussed rather than of those who actually lived there in antiquity. Moreover, it is reasonable to argue that even in antiquity itself, at any given moment in the ancient city's existence, different elements of the population would have had different views of its structure – how many inhabitants of a city in Hellenistic or Roman Imperial times, for instance, actually frequented the gymnasia? And how many of those who did gave a second thought to the monuments set up by (now deceased) leading citizens and families? The impression these two books leave on me is that their interpretations of 'cityscaping' are too vague and fanciful.

ACHAEMENID EGYPT

M. Wasmuth, with a contribution by W. Henkelman, *Ägypto-persische Herrscher- und Herrschaftspräsentation in der Achämenidenzeit*, Oriens et Occidens 27, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2017, 380 pp., illustrations, 12 colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-11693-0

H. Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Ägypter und Perser: Eine Benennung zwischen Anpassung und Widerstand*, Archäologie, Inschriften und Denkmäler Altägyptens 4, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2016, 64 pp., colour illustrations (photographs by E. and H. Fedderken). Paperback. ISBN 978-3-86757-534-8/ISSN 2102-2349

The two books above detail aspects of Achaemenid Egypt, the first focusing on Egyptian and Persian representations of the Great King, the second, well illustrated, a necessary supplement for the data described in the first. A consideration of the ‘manuscript tradition’ of Melanie Wasmuth’s book explains this statement.

Her work first existed in the form of a doctoral dissertation (2009), still extant and available for borrowing from the Universitaet Basel: *Reflexion und Repraesentationen kultureller Interaction: Aegypten und die Achaemeniden*. By 2015 its publication was expected, under the same title, the structure of the book already established.¹ But publication was delayed and a change of title necessitated by (Dys)Tyche: the dissertation and initial book version were to contain 383 illustrations, but these lay within a ‘rechtlichen Grauzonenbereich’ for public use. Publication of such were rendered impractical (p. 11). After swearing an oath (printed on p. 12) W. was able to overcome the *Grauzonenbereichs-ministerium* by means of her artistic skill (numerous line drawings and reconstructions of damaged monuments, including the colour plates after p. 380) and by the Achaemenid-inpiration co-operation of Wouter Henkelman in providing the *Anhang*, ‘Egyptians in the Persepolis Archives’ (pp. 273–99 and colour plates 4–12 of selected tablets). In place of the absent illustrative material W. provided a 243-item list, the *AH* (*Verzeichnis der Abbildungshinweise*, pp. 304–17) and the names of key works which might serve as sources for illustrations (p. 12). Some of the Sternberg-el Hotabi illustrations can be mapped to W. (see end of review).

W.’s work is of a high academic standard as evidenced by the reasoning behind her initial selection of illustrative material, which I cite in full as a *Vorbild* for future comparative works. ‘Hierdurch sollte (p. 11)

1. die Detailanalyse ohne muehsame Nachrecherche fassbar sein
2. offengelegt werden, auf welcher Materialbasis die Arbeit beruht
3. diese Materialbasis einem interdisziplinäerem Leserkreis mit potentiell sehr unterschiedlichem Forschungsschwerpunkt zugänglich gemacht werden
4. von Augen gefuehrt werden, in wie vielen Bereichen weitere hochspezialisierte Forschungen notwendig waeren, die den Rahmen eine Dissertation sprengen und nur begrenzt von einer Person zu leisten sind.’

¹ As evidenced by M. Wasmuth, ‘Political Memory in the Achaemenid Empire: The Integration of Egyptian Kingship into Persian Royal Display’. In J.M. Silverman and C. Waerzeggers (eds.), *Political Memory in and after the Persian Empire* (Atlanta 2015), 203–37.

Her introduction (pp. 15–28) sets down the chronology, emphasising that most of the datable evidence falls within the reign of Darius I. One may also determine the influence of each culture on the other via their interpretation by a third culture (for example at Pasargadae). The Achaemenid practice of using word and image to clarify and publicise a claim to kingship would lead to a blending of iconography for use both by a Great King and by a Pharaoh in the person of a single entity.

The second chapter takes up the ruler as Great King (pp. 29–97): focus was on the legitimisation of the kingship, i.e. the individual's suitability for the maintenance of religion, culture and the land's wealth. Deeds justified divine support. Egypt appears frequently in the Achaemenid lists of lands – extent and ownership of said lands important. When Egyptians appear, documents relating to construction language and skill are tied together: they were noted for working both gold and silver (p. 49 due to their involvement in the silver trade, a ready source for gifts). When W. begins her discussion of Egyptian elements in the royal arts of Persia the absence of the readily available illustrative and comparative materials makes a greater impact (pp. 49–66). The crown found on the winged figure at Pasargadae was selected as an exotic, Levantine interpretation of an Egyptian crown. Depictions of envoys were in part inspired by Egyptian models as was the Persepolis image of the Great King surrounded by a 'frame' while in audience. Incorporation of additional elements may have been the result of Egypt's long existence as a kingdom and Darius' own participation in Cambyse's campaign. A number of objects found in the Persepolis Treasury (which had long been looted) bear the names of rulers of the 26th Dynasty or are simply anonymous. Most are fragmentary, whether tribute or booty unknown.

Egyptians are present in the administrative tablets found at Persepolis (pp. 77–84, 97, 273–99), some settling in Persia in the artistic workshops at Tamukkan. There remain difficulties in interpreting the exact nature of some of the professions recorded. In the most recent study of Darius' codification of Egyptian laws Sandra Lippert suggests, reasonably, that priests and officials would have been summoned to court to work on the project.² Unfortunately, these are the types of personnel not recorded (*cf.* p. 249, n. 749). Egyptians present in Persia did leave behind small pieces of art, but the influence on Persian art is difficult to detect.

W. then considers the Great King as controller of Egypt (pp. 98–220, plus p. 100 for inscription list), which required the Great King to meld two incompatible roles: the Pharaoh defeats Egypt's enemies, but the Great King holds Egypt as part of the realm which he rules from outside Egypt proper. Darius successfully integrated these royal concepts in the Susa statue(s), the steles along the Darius Canal and at the Hibis temple – his work taken up by Artaxerxes III in his own self-definition. The Darius statue found at Susa, of Egyptian stone and worked without metal chisels, was possibly one of four (i.e. two pairs). The clothes and attributes are modelled on representations in Persis, the style not an exact duplication of the Egyptian canon (pp. 109–10; the missing head was Persian in style, pp. 118–20). Darius is praised as one satisfied with Ma'at (i.e. Arta), the cartouche done in accordance with Egyptian practice (pp. 110–17). W. suggests the cuneiform inscriptions may have been added after completion of the hieroglyphics. A summary of Egyptian and non-Egyptian

² S.L. Lippert, 'La codification des lois en Égypte à l'époque perse'. In D. Jaillard and C. Nihan (eds.), *Writing Laws in Antiquity/L'écriture du droit dans l'Antiquité* (Wiesbaden 2017), 78–98. I thank her for sending a preliminary version.

characteristics of the statue is given on pp. 122–24: None of the subject peoples are represented in bonds, there is special treatment for neither the Persian nor the Egyptian; all people of the realm offer Darius in the form of his statue their desire that he continue to be protected by the Gods and that they, the peoples, continue to receive his protection.

The Darius Canal steles are fragmentary in physical form and in proper publication. They stood prominently displayed in at least four places. The Maskhuta Stele, inscribed on only one side (hieroglyphics), is now at Cairo, Petrie's squeeze now lost (p. 145, Abb. 19). The Kabret and Kubri steles, similar in design, were worked on both sides (hieroglyphics, cuneiform): reconstructions of both faces are presented on colour plates 2 and 3 (*cf.* pp. 128–48). The number and structure of the Serapeum Stele/ae, briefly described in the late 1800s, remain uncertain. W. concludes that not one, but two independent versions of the hieroglyphic and cuneiform existed: the Kubri and Kabret were one, the Maskhuta a separate one. The first two steles were so positioned that sailors saw an Egyptian and then later a Persian face sailing in one direction and the opposite faces when sailing in the other direction. Thus one entity was both Great King and Pharaoh at once. The Egyptian and Persian toponym lists and images are compared in detail (where extant, pp. 156–86). The steles and statue lists go back to a common model, the figures' dress paralleling Achaemenid models. None are shown, as was customary in Egypt, dead or in bonds. There were a number of further 'monuments' in the general vicinity of the Darius Canal, but they survive only in written notes or sketches (pp. 186–200). W. posits the existence of fire-altars by the Kubri, Kabret and Serapeum steles.

Representations of the Great King/Pharaoh existed in moveable objects. A silver stater of Artaxerxes III depicts him on the obverse wearing Persian dress and an Egyptian double crown while seated on a Levantine-style throne. He is labelled Ba'al of Tarsus, associating king and city deity. On the reverse, a seated lion and a bow, i.e. royal symbols. Thus Artaxerxes advertised his re-establishment of order in the Levant and Egypt. A second group of objects were jars bearing the name of the king (usually in hieroglyphics, pp. 208–14). These were used for 'official' shipments, the nicer containers serving as gifts to subordinates.

Chapter 4 (pp. 221–44) discusses the Great King as Pharaoh, the best evidence for which survives at the Hibis temple. For the Egyptians the Pharaoh was supposed to prevent a collapse into chaos, and can do so via legitimisation by descent, by myth (the coronation) and by accomplishments (in the land, towards religion, in defence). The Hibis temple is a mixture of Saite and Achaemenid construction, sometimes difficult to distinguish. Here Darius is depicted as Seth in the form of Horus, i.e. the living Horus, who resides outside Egypt proper, but still kills the Ma'at-hating Apophis snake (pp. 238–39). Further Achaemenid building activity (including monument restoration) and support for religious activities (for example the Apis cult) is outlined on pp. 239–43, activities 'wesentlich flächendeckender und diversifizierter' (p. 244) than suggested in modern scholarship.

The Great King in the form of an Egyptian deity (Chapter 5, pp. 245–48) indicates how Darius was personified in public and private monuments as Horus, Hapi and Seth/Horus (above). Apparently he enjoyed success in his efforts.

The final chapter (plus summary, pp. 250–72) presents a synthesis of W.'s inquiries into royal titlature (not all can be dated); the successful integration of Egyptian and Achaemenid concepts of royalty; elements of Egyptian art at the Persian court (both a source of pride that the elements appeared and of dismay that the elements were only one of many cultures'); and the economic development of the Egyptian landscape. I express no dissatisfaction with W.'s work.

Sternberg-el Hotabi's short, well-illustrated book is part of a series (with Facebook page) aimed at the educated German reading public. The eight chapters present an overview of Achaemenid Egypt, with emphasis on the tensions between adjustment to foreign rule (by elite and priesthood) and dissatisfaction leading to open resistance (most of the population, p. 8). To her credit she introduces to a wider public the existence of evidence surrounding Petubastis IV (pp. 17–18), and publishes colour photographs of the now-lost Darius shrine from the Mallawi Museum (Abb. 54, 55, 69, 70). She approaches the topic in general with a distaste for the Achaemenid presence, perhaps a reflection of national feeling (*cf.* pp. 33, 35), but which serves to diminish the value of her presentation to those not aware of the scope of the ancient evidence. In spite of Darius' efforts, Achaemenid control, when not thrown off, undergoes a persistent decline (pp. 55–58), until, at the time of Artaxerxes III (p. 11): 'Bemuehten sich die persischen Koenige dieses Jahrzehnts in keiner Weise als Pharaonen aufzutreten und unterdrueckten das Land auf Schrecklichste' (*cf.* Wasmuth, p. 16, and Rottpeter³).

On p. 13 she confuses Ptolemy I Soter with Ptolemy III Euergetes (due to the Satrap-Stele?).⁴ The co-operating elite gave up all real power (p. 30). The Darius Canal was just another burden on a populace subjected to forced labour (p. 35). After citing the wrong reference in Diodorus (p. 37; should be Diodorus 1. 46. 4), she blames Darius for looting Egypt of its skilled artisans, thus ushering in the stagnation of Egyptian art (pp. 35, 37–39, 58). The panoply of deities represented on the Hibis temple (her Abb. 68) is the priesthood's attempt to collect and preserve religious goods in a time of foreign occupation. Rottpeter's study of the Egyptian 'rebellions' (see note 3, below) indicates that the impetus came from Libyan dynasts west of the Delta, with the occasional support of Greek forces. Egyptians neither incited nor carried out rebellions, and afforded those disorders in progress a very limited support. Thus Sternberg-el Hotabi's distorted portrait of Achaemenid rule diminishes her work of efficacy. Such a picture serves better as a portrait of Eastern Europe enslaved by the Soviets, a time when vodka alone was plentiful, and cardboard dance shoes a fashion statement.

Below is a table of Wasmuth's items which can be mapped to Sternberg-el Hotabi:

Wasmuth	AH 9	Sternberg-el Hotabi	Abb. 31
Wasmuth	pp. 86–99	Sternberg-el Hotabi	Abb. 44, 45
Wasmuth	Abb. 18	Sternberg-el Hotabi	Abb. 56 (colour), Abb. 71 (frontal, line drawing)
Wasmuth	AH 135	Sternberg-el Hotabi	Abb. 37
Wasmuth	pp. 224–49 Hibis	Sternberg-el Hotabi	Abb. 57–64, 67, 68
Wasmuth	Abb. 53a	Sternberg-el Hotabi	Abb. 52 (photograph)
Wasmuth	Abb. 54b	Sternberg-el Hotabi	Abb. 63 (colour, not restored) Abb. 64 (line drawing, restored)

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³ M. Rottpeter, 'Initiatoren und Träger der "Aufstaende" im persischen Ägypten'. In S. Pfeiffer (ed.), *Ägypten unter fremden Herrschern zwischen persischer Satrapie und römischer Provinz* (Frankfurt 2007), 9–33.

⁴ *Cf.* D. Schäfer, *Makedonische Pharaonen und hieroglyphische Stelen: Historische Untersuchungen zur Satrapenstele und verwandten Denkmälern* (Leuven 2011), 74–83.

THE LEVANT

M. Konrad, *Emesa zwischen Klientelreich und Provinz: Identität und Identitätswandel einer lokalen Fürstendynastie im Spiegel der archäologischen Quellen*, Orient-Archäologie 34, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Orient-Abteilung, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2014, 108 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-89646-664-8/ISSN 1434-162X

H.-P. Kuhnen (ed.), *Khirbat al-Minya: Der Umayyadenpalast am See Genezareth*, Orient-Archäologie 36, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Orient-Abteilung, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2016, 177 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-89646-666-2/ISSN 1434-162X

Nestling close to the Orontes, Emesa (modern Homs, Syria) lay within the fertile corridor that linked the eastern Mediterranean seaboard with the steppe of the Syrian interior. In late antiquity, the city would go on to act as a major *entrepôt*. Silks, spices and exotic animals – tigers and rare birds – would pass through it, having come from as far away as China and India, on their way to the mansions of the Roman wealthy. But as Michaela Konrad's focus on an earlier period – particularly the first 1st century AD – makes clear, even when the city and its region were in transition from client kingdom to Roman provincial territory, Emesa had already been exposed to a profound Central Asian influence. Here, the Roman East never was, and never could have been, simply a 'Greek East'.

The nature of the study she gives us is reflected in its subtitle. It is an exploration of the culture of a ruling class and a ruling house. Just over half the main body of this lean volume (pp. 9–41) is a meticulous and well-illustrated study of the monumentality and grave-goods of the city's necropolis, excavated as long ago as 1936. The remainder of her substantive discussion (pp. 43–71) is a series of reflections on the finds in their cultural and political context. The ultimate thrust of her analysis is to argue, plausibly enough, that the encroachment of Roman rule prompted a conscious, cultural re-positioning of the governing class of Emesa, toward Roman styles and away from those of Parthia and Central Asia. The result is a worthy successor to the studies of Henri Seyrig, who began publication of the discoveries in the early 1950s.

The exploration of elite mausolea is, of course, only one angle of approach to the problem of acculturation in an ancient city of the Fertile Crescent. But it is plainly an important angle for the study of some of the most self-conscious choices made by a city's rulers. Konrad's material offers, as a result, a limited view of a much larger problem; but the approach is nonetheless impeccable and well executed so far as it goes. And because, as we know, it is the tragedy of Homs to have become a pivotal battleground in the Syrian Civil War, one is all the more indebted to Konrad for this volume, and the expertise she brings to it. By the time this book was published, much of Homs had become a desolate ruin, and much of Syria's archaeological heritage had come – as we also know – to lie in peril, or to be damaged or destroyed.

Close to 240 km south-southwest, by the Sea of Galilee, archaeological field work has by contrast continued. Hans-Peter Kuhnen has brought together a collection of seven papers by eight authors, with a concentration on the area of Khirbat al-Minya in the early Islamic period. Despite the German title of the volume, all seven papers are in English. The first

– co-authored by Christian Schneider and Markus Dotterweich as well as Kuhnén – offers a preliminary survey of the geoarchaeology of the area (pp. 7–21). Kuhnén follows this with a substantial paper on landscape change from the Hellenistic to early Islamic eras (pp. 23–57). These approaches to the physical environment are complemented by Wolfgang Zwickel's richly-mapped account of 'geographical conditions' around the Sea of Galilee in Islamic times (pp. 85–109) – a discussion that, as its title contrives *not* to imply, also encompasses substantial mapping and tabulation of settlements.

Questions of settlement, of varying scope, define the remaining papers. While Seyrig's team was uncovering the Emesene necropolis in 1936, Alfons Maria Schneider and the German archaeological team at the Umayyad palace at Khirbat al-Minya near-simultaneously found an Arabic inscription whose date and context has often been taken for granted since. Markus Ritter (pp. 59–83) returns to the question, and to the wider context of Umayyad foundation inscriptions, in an alert attempt to bring precision to our sense of what we know – and do not know – about the early 8th century. Katia Cytryn (pp. 111–29) takes a long view, both of Tiberias and Khirbat al-Minya, from the late 6th and 7th centuries to the Crusader period. The more familiar 8th-century finds now plainly need to be seen through an altogether longer lens, as recent excavations have made apparent. Jutta Häser provides a succinct *vade mecum* on the early Islamic rural settlements of Jordan, emphasising their long-run continuity (pp. 131–45). And Franziska Bloch returns to the ceramic and architectural evidence unearthed in the 1930s, in an effort to clarify the settlement history at Khirbat al-Minya, in the context of an intensification of activity in the region through the 8th century (pp. 147–59).

Both of these volumes show very high 'production values'. Maps, drawings and photographs abound, and are predominantly characterised by an excellent standard of precision, with a generous dash of colour. Authors and publisher alike are to be congratulated on their services to Middle Eastern archaeology. In the case of Khirbat al-Minya and its environment, we are fortunate that there is a distinct air of work in progress, with more to come. Conversely, the very fact that so much of the discussion presented in these volumes still builds closely on discoveries that were made in the 1930s is a reminder of the long delays, and sometimes catastrophic losses, brought on by wars of both a European and a Middle Eastern making. When we worry about the effects of high visitor numbers at some ancient sites, we should at least remember how fine a thing it is to have the chance of having that problem.

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Aktuelle Forschungen an Gräberfeldern des 1. Jahrtausends n. Chr., Siedlungs- und Küstenforschung im südlichen Nordseegebiet [SKN] 39, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2016, 300 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-86757-857-8/ISSN 1867-274

This volume is part of the series on settlement and coastal research in the southern North Sea region, published by Verlag Marie Leidorf on behalf of the Lower Saxony Institute for Historical Coastal Research Wilhelmshaven. The book is dedicated to Dr Ursula Koch, a renowned scholar in the study of funerary archaeology of the Early Middle Ages,

particularly that of southern and south-western Germany. The publication was the outcome of a conference held in Wilhelmshaven in 2015 concerning funerary practices in north-western Germany during the 1st millennium AD. It is divided into five sections according to subject. All 17 papers are written in German with an English and German abstract; all are complemented by ample photographs, figures and plans.

The first section ('Forschungen zu Gräberfeldern der Römischen Kaiserzeit und Völkerwanderungszeit') discusses cemeteries dating to the Roman Iron Age and migration period. Schlotfeldt's article ('A Structural comparison of Roman Iron Age and Migration Period cemeteries in Schleswig-Holstein') applies a structural comparison to a selection of cemeteries situated along the Baltic Sea coast of Schleswig-Holstein to conclude that in terms of funerary archaeology the area shares more similarities with the areas of the Elbe and Mecklenburg than with Scandinavia. Augstein and Karlsen ('Nienbüttel – the Most Richly Endowed Urn Cemetery of Eastern Hanover') attempt to reconstruct and understand archaeological evidence unique for the area by presenting a current project concerning the re-examination of finds from the burials of Nienbüttel. The significance of the cemetery rests on its plethora of high-quality imported bronze vessels and weapons. Monhike ('Reading the signs – On funerary pottery of the later Roman Iron Age and the Migration period in the Lower Saxony Ilmenau region') examines the rich material of ceramic vessels uncovered in cemeteries of the Lower Saxony Ilmenau region. Hüser ('The cemetery "Lederne Lampe" of Holtgast, Ldkr. Wittmund, in East Frisia') discusses the archaeological evidence from the cemetery of 'Lederne Lampe' dating to the later pre-Roman Iron Age and the Roman period and highlights the similarities and differences with other cemeteries of the region.

The second section ('Besondere merowingerzeitliche Bestattungen in Niedersachsen') concerns the area of Lower Saxony and consists of two papers ('Gravesites of the Merovingian elite in Lower Saxony – Notes on the current state of research', by Ludowici; and 'In search of the "chieftain's" house – Settlement and elite burial in the Merovingian period', by Winger, Bartelt and Gerling). Both papers look into social differentiation and the emergence in the area of an elite during the Merovingian period as reflected in the funerary record and the treatment of the dead.

The third section ('Aktuelle Untersuchungen an Gräberfeldern aus West- und Süddeutschland') comprises papers that examine burial practices in western and southern Germany. Koch ('Outstanding source material from Early Medieval graves in South Germany – Unearthed? Documented? Evaluated? Detailed research: for what?') presents an overview of the evidence for Early Mediaeval burials uncovered in southern Germany, particularly rich material which when combined with the evidence from bioarchaeology can provide a detailed reconstruction of the society in the area. Höke ('The late burials of Lauchheim and the cemetery of Neuburg a.d. Donau – Two contrasting examples of burials of the late Merovingian time in Southern Germany?') examines a particularly interesting period, that of late Merovingian, which is characterised by important socio-economic changes reflected in the funerary record. Saal ('Therefore is it so beautiful at the Rhine – Viniculture and Frisian trade at the Middle Rhine in the late Merovingian and early Carolingian time') discusses the rich material from the Early Mediaeval cemetery of Rhens and highlights the evidence for trade between the area and Frisian communities.

The fourth section ('Neue spätsächsische Gräberfelder in Nordwestdeutschland') consists of five papers that focus on north-western Germany. Schön and Peek ('Early medieval grave finds near Dorfhagen, Municipality of Hagen, Ldkr. Cuxhaven') present the evidence from an Early Mediaeval cemetery uncovered near Dorfhagen. With the use of phosphate analysis, they were able to determine the presence of cremation burials and mortuary houses. Insight into the burial practices of the Early Middle Ages in Lower Saxony is provided for the area of Visbek ('The late Saxon cemetery of Visbek-Uhlenkamp II': Hummel), including 40 animal burials, and Hamburg ('The late Saxon cemetery of Neu Wulmstorf-Elstorf District of Harburg': Brandt). Finck and Schäfer ('The early medieval cemetery of Riensfröde, Hanseatic city of Stade') emphasise the presence of family plots in the extensive Early Mediaeval cemetery of Riensfröde. An interesting insight on the manufacture of metal finds with the use of digital computed tomography is presented by Brieske and Lehmann ('A prime location with a view to the River Weser – Detailed analysis of selected finds from the early medieval cemetery of Porta Westfalica Barkhausen, District of Minden-Lübbecke'). The finds were uncovered in the cemetery of Porta Westfalica/Barkhausen and date to the Carolingian period.

Finally, the papers of the fifth section ('Naturwissenschaftliche Analysen an frühmittelalterlichen Bestattungsplätzen') focus on the examination of the Early Mediaeval cemetery of Dunum. Both contributions ('A pilot study on selected cremation burials from the early medieval cemetery of Dunum, District of Wittmund, East Frisia – an interim report', by Peek and Siegmüller; 'The anthropological analysis of selected cremation remains from the early medieval cemetery of Dunum, District of Wittmund', by Grefen-Peters) present examinations of selected material from the cemetery with the use of scientific methods, such as radiocarbon dating and osteological analysis. Finally, a particularly intriguing topic is examined by Hähn and Halle: the visibility of disability in skeletal remains from cemeteries of Germany ('Dis/ability History on Burial Grounds in Germany – examples from the Southwest, Problems in the Northwest').

The book presents the particularly rich funerary material from various areas of the southern North Sea region, which provides insights into the social and economic setting during the 1st millennium AD. It is an interesting and thought-provoking contribution, and well edited.

Thessaloniki, Greece

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B.V. Andrianov, *Ancient Irrigation Systems of The Aral Sea Area: The History, Origin, and Development of Irrigated Agriculture*, edited by S. Mantellini with the collaboration of C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky and M. Tosi, American School of Prehistoric Research Monograph Series, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2016, xxxv+393 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-84217-384-8

The volume is a critical re-edition and translation into English of *Drevnie orositelnye sistemy priaralya v svyazi s istoriei vozniknoveniya i razvitiya oroshaemogo zemledeliya* published in 1969 in Moscow. The translation by Gian Luca Bonora and Giò Morse, has been funded by the Segretariato Europeo per le Pubblicazioni Scientifiche, Bologna.

The long introductory section includes lists of contributors, figures, tables, abbreviations and a glossary by Bonora; a Preface, 'Boris V. Andrianov and the Archaeology of Irrigation',

and notes on translation, references and transliteration, and acknowledgments are all by Simone Mantellini.

We are then offered a sequence of specialist contributions, starting with that by Dolukhanov (p. 1) entitled 'Central Asian Archaeology: The Russian and Soviet Times'; by Bolelov (p. 7), 'Boris Vasilevich Andrianov and the Study of Irrigation in Ancient Khorezm'; by Francfort and Lecomte (p. 11), 'Map of the Main Archaeological Sites of Khorezm published in 2002 after S.P. Tolstov'; by Betts and Yagodin (p. 13), 'The Karakalpak-Australian Expedition in Khorezm 50 years after B.V. Andrianov'; by Galieva (p. 17), 'Memories of Boris Vasilevich Andrianov'; by Lamberg-Karlovsky (p. 23), 'Irrigation Among the Shaykhs and Kings'; and by Arjantseva (p. 55), 'References and Bibliography of Boris V. Andrianov'.

The translated text of A.'s book then starts with a short foreword by Merpert, a page from the author and an Introduction. Part I, 'Ancient Irrigation Study Methods', considers the origin and development of irrigated agriculture (two chapters); Part II, 'The Lands of Ancient Irrigation of the Aral Sea Area' houses three chapters focused on specific regions. Then a Conclusion (p. 245), figures (p. 255), tables (p. 317), endnotes (p. 329), editor's notes (p. 344) and references in Russian (p. 347), and the original references in other languages (p. 377).

The effort made by Mantellini is one that deserves special applause, not least because of the importance already gained by A.'s volume, and the indispensability of its translation into an accessible language, above all. Placing the book in an up-to-date methodological perspective through essays of high specialist content by outstanding scholars gives the reader the sensation of being confronted by a completely new book.

The task was not easy. To translate a book is a technically difficult operation, and here it is necessary to thank Bonora and Morse. To edit and update its content is a different, more sophisticated operation, and above all, very useful. Those who have been dealing with Central Asia in recent decades have certainly complained that without a thorough knowledge of Russian, they were limited in their work.

There is another particularly significant aspect in this critical update proposed by Mantellini, i.e. the relocation of the volume in the epoch in which it was conceived, permeated with the political and ideological values of the time; these elements, today might bring a smile, but have their place in the history of archaeological research in Central Asia of the Soviet era.

The setting of the book is provided by the introductory articles, first Dolukhanov, with a general outline of Russo-Soviet archaeology in Central Asia, then a description of the main investigations carried out in the former Soviet republics (including a very short piece on Samarkand-Afrasiab provided by Frantz Grenet).

Bolelov focuses on the importance of research of ancient irrigation systems carried out by A. in Khorezm and in the Lower Syrdarya. He provides a brief history of the Khorezm Archaeological Expedition, its different topics and targets, and remarks on the advanced multi-disciplinary approach given to it by Tolstov.

The map presented by Lecomte and Francfort (2002) summarises the main discoveries of the expedition, showing major settlements, their chronology and function, graveyards, the main irrigation networks, as well as the aerial and car routes used during field work.

Galieva deals mostly with A. himself, her principal supervisor when, in the early 1980s, she moved from Tashkent to Moscow to obtain her doctorate. Yagodin and Betts provide an up-to-date archaeological view of the area formerly investigated by the expedition in light of recent discoveries by the Karakalpak-Australian Archaeological Expedition.

Lamberg-Karlovsky develops his theoretical essay on the role of irrigation, and water management more generally. Based on archaeological data, written sources and different schools of thought on this matter, he provides a comprehensive analysis of the role of water in ancient civilisations with numerous references to the contemporary situation.

Part of the bibliography is specifically devoted to all the works published by A. throughout his career, those mentioned in the book but also all the geographical-archaeological research, particularly on irrigation and water management, that he published later.

The translation begins with a page about Bukinich, the engineer and irrigation specialist whose work marked the beginning of the study of Central Asia ancient irrigation systems.

The Introduction focuses on the main aspects of ancient irrigation systems and their socio-economic implications. Starting from the climate-environmental situation of Khorezm A. seeks to outline an historical interpretative line that takes into account both the geo-environmental setting and human interventions through channelling operations, necessary for agricultural control of the territory. In particular, he underlines the double aspect of irrigation systems: on one hand, they play a major role in the development of arid regions; on the other, they are difficult to study and to be dated. A. presents previous studies on the ancient irrigation in Khorezm, started in the early 1930s with Voevodskii. Gulyamov continued this research pre- and post-war, that A. considered 'the most important step in studying the history of irrigation in Khorezm'.

The first Part of the book is more general and theoretic; the second focuses on specific field work and results achieved by A. and the archaeological-topographical unit.

Chapter 1 describes the approach employed by the archaeological-topographical unit in researching the historical dynamics of irrigation systems and their relation to settlement pattern. A. argues that such a study 'requires an interdisciplinary approach combining natural geography and human sciences'. He provides a summary of aerial archaeology history and its application in studying ancient irrigation systems and hydraulic devices. A. summarises the main publications and pioneer scholars in aerial archaeology, such as Beazley, Crawford, Poidebard and Chevallier in the West, and the early experience in Russian archaeology and the Khorezm expedition.

Chapter 2 deals with the 'Origin and Development of Irrigated Agriculture' in different areas of the world. A. shows a very good grasp of research throughout the world, from the main ethno-archaeological studies of the American Indians by Steward, Forde and Haury, to archaeological survey in Mesopotamia by Adams, and excavations in the Near East (Jericho, Jarmo, Ali Kosh, Çatal Huyuk, Hacilar, etc.), which allowed the appearance of irrigated agriculture in the Old World to be dated as early as the 8th–6th millennia BC. A. recalls the theory of 'hydraulic societies' advanced by Wittfogel, where the development and maintenance of large-scale irrigation systems were possible only through a strong centralist state, with a bureaucratic structure and the wide use of forced labour.

Chapter 3 concerns 'The Southern Delta of the Akchadarya', the first area investigated by the archaeological-topographical unit. Irrigation works are described according to their

chronology and location. Although the data available for the Bronze Age are poor, it is highly possible that the inhabitants of Khorezm practised irrigated agriculture at that time: there is evidence of the introduction of some important devices in the development of irrigation technologies. The 6th–5th centuries BC were the building period of massive irrigation systems both on the right and left banks of the Amudarya. In that period, canals heads were moved into the major river channel rather than in one of its lateral branches showing the great ability of Khorezmians in building ‘artificial rivers’ and small ‘artificial deltas’.

Research in ‘The Sarykamysh Delta’ is presented in Chapter 4. Here the Bronze Age finds are even poorer than in the Amudarya, thus A. argues that irrigated agriculture and hydraulic facilities appeared in this region somewhat later. In the 6th–5th centuries BC, the construction of important irrigation systems on the Chermen-yab and Daudan was connected with the strong state formation developed in Khorezm. As on the right bank of the Amudarya, progress in irrigation technology was considerable, and the water supply pattern was: riverbed–head works–drainage–main canal–feeder–field.

The fifth chapter describes the results achieved during work in ‘The Lower Syrdarya’, in particular on the left bank of the river. A. provides an overview of the natural conditions of this area. The Lower Syrdarya has less water than the Lower Amudarya and it was a huge deltaic area, with numerous swamps and lakes, before the development of irrigated agriculture. The Bronze Age sites have not been sufficiently studied and irrigation systems of that period are poorly identified. The hydraulic works of antiquity (4th–2nd centuries BC), are better preserved, especially in the environs of Babish-Mulla and Chirik-Rabat along the Middle Inkardarya.

In the Conclusion, A. retraces the stages of development of irrigation systems and water management after the research of the archaeological-topographical unit in Khorezm and in the Lower Syrdarya. In Khorezm, the development of irrigation techniques started in the Bronze Age, with the first attempts of wetland reclamations, flood controls and primitive forms of *kair* and estuary agriculture. During the Amirabad (9th–8th centuries BC) and Archaic (6th–5th centuries BC) periods regulated riverbeds and former riverbeds began to be turned into small artificial main canals.

Based on some ethnographical studies in the Khiva Oasis, A. evaluates the high cost of labour investment required for such work and introduces his hypothesis on the emergence and development of the slave-owning mode of production. In an attempt to consider the origin and development of Khorezm irrigated agriculture in a wider perspective of other Old World arid zones, A. used the most recent ethno-archaeological (Childe, Forde) and palaeobotanic (Helbaek, Flannery, Vavilov) studies. He asserts that the spread of irrigated agriculture was not a simple mechanical transfer of skills in farming and irrigation methods from one area to another, but rather a complex historical-cultural process, varied in different ecological conditions of natural vegetation and water resources. Supporting the theory of the geographers Berg and Voeykov, and their criticism against the determinism of Huntington, A. suggests that the decline of the Khorezmian and Central Asian oases was primarily due to socio-economic factors, such as wars and feudal fragmentation, which contributed to the movement of people and abandonment of cultivated lands and irrigation systems.

S. Atasoy and Ş. Yıldırım (eds.), *Tios: An Ancient City in Zonguldak. General Assessment of Works between 2006 and 2012 / Zonguldak'ta Bir Antik Kent: Tios. 2006–2012 Arkeolojik Çalışmaları ve Genel Değerlendirme*, Tios-Filyos Arkeolojik Kazı Projesi, Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Ankara 2015, v+575 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-605-149-776-1

This thick volume printed on heavy chalk paper sums up the results of the excavations and survey project led by Prof. Sümer Atasoy. Most of the text is in Turkish, but there are reasonable English summaries of most of the papers. Tios was founded in 7th century BC by an eponymous legendary Milesian. It was one of the small cities on the Black Sea coast of Bithynia, with harbour, Acropolis and lower city. The Archaic and Classical periods are little known. In the 3rd century BC it minted its own coins; it was flourishing in Hellenistic and Roman times and remained under Byzantine rule until the end of the 13th century. Part 1 summarises the history of the city from ancient Tios to recent Filios. Part 2 is the excavation report on the lower city with remains of city walls, and two Roman baths. Part 3 refers to the Acropolis digs with modest deposits of Archaic, Attic black- and red-figured pottery. A Roman 2nd-century AD temple, probably devoted to Zeus, was uncovered on the Acropolis, as was an Early Christian church. Tombs of cist, pit and tile-covered type around the church contained 80 skeletons; they date from 10th to 12th centuries AD. Part 4 summarises other digs on the Roman lower city, where houses with mosaics, Anatolian and African sigillata and other minor finds were uncovered. Of mosaics, one with Ambrosia and Lycurgus is very fine, another with an animal of late antiquity. Part 5 reports on surveys and small digs on the area around Tios, Part 6 gives a report on restorations and Part 7 brings the bibliography on Tios. Special papers publish epigraphical monuments and coins. Strabo considered Tios of little importance, but it was not always so and the volume under review substantially enlarges our knowledge of this corner of the Black Sea.

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Jan Bouzek

S. Avetisyan and Y.H. Grekian (eds.), *Bridging Times and Spaces: Papers in Ancient Near Eastern, Mediterranean and Armenian Studies Honouring Gregory E. Areshian on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2017, xx+401 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-699-2¹

In the opening of his contribution to *Bridging Times and Spaces* Grekian notes (p. 103) that ‘the research of Gregory E. Areshian knows no temporal or spatial bounds’, to which one may add ties of friendship and admiration. This *Festschrift* offers not only a procession of colleagues and students, but also a procession of empires, extending into contemporary times. As is ancestral custom in most *Festschriften*, articles are arranged alphabetically by the author’s last name. Space forbids commenting on them all; instead, I present a few,

¹ Contents: <https://www.oxbowbooks.com/dbbc/bridging-times-and-spaces-papers-in-ancient-near-eastern-mediterranean-and-armenian-studies.html>.

thematically, after beginning with the extensive and informative interview conducted in 2016 by Areshian's colleagues, Abrahamian and Kantrim (pp. iv–xx).

At the tender age of five Areshian was hooked on archaeology, soon visited a local dig, read about Near Eastern and Greek mythology, and used his childhood savings in fulfilling the fantasy of having his own set of armour. Surrounding this network of parents and family friends was the reality of Red-maladministration. Replacement of Stalin with the slightly less degenerate Khrushchev permitted a moderate regrowth in limited areas of the humanities and social sciences. Stalin's inability to transform his entire realm into a charnel house paved with a *Schädelplatz* meant that the few surviving well-trained (pre-1917) historians and philologists attracted to Yerevan State University new students and the attention of similarly matured scholars. For Areshian, antiquity was a safe field of interest. Illumination would follow once the Marxist-Stalinist prison of *pyatizm* (unilinear progress through a putative five consecutive 'social-economic formations') was shattered.

Areshian outlines to his interviewers the stages of interests and foci. The need for a multi-disciplinary approach was recognised early, evidenced in his dissertation on Urartian-era iron-working. His old interest in mythology led to the study of cultic ceremonies and their archaeological context. His wider ranging investigations permitted him to suggest 'six macro-periods within the periodisation of Armenian history' (p. xi). Realities also marked his *res gestae*: foundation of a centre for archaeological research at Yerevan (1978–81), a ministerial post in the newly constituted Armenia, and the difficult attempt to shake the disease of nepotism in the functioning of the state (p. xvi). An unwilling departure led to his subsequent reshaping and improvement in the archaeological investigations at a number of prominent American institutions. Returning to Armenia to take up the post of Professor of History and Archaeology at the American University of Armenia, Yerevan, Areshian, at the time of the interview, held out hopes for an eventual multinational project, including both Armenia and Turkey, in the one-time Armenian capital, Ani, now located in Turkey.

Two contributions, by their detail in content and bibliography, permit one unfamiliar with the archaeology of the Armenian world to gain insight into the development of archaeological inquiries and structures participating in the investigations. Badalyan and Smith (pp. 11–28) are members of the Armenian-American Project for the Archaeology and Geography of Early Transcaucasian Societies (Project ArAGATS) and present the results of their 2013 and 2014 field seasons at the *kurgans* near Gegharot village. The tombs were first known in the 1950s, but it was Areshian who suggested in 2003 the continuation of previous work. Focus is placed on the well-preserved Kurgans 2 and 3, dating from the period when mobile communities developed into the centralised societies of the Late Bronze Age. Kurgan 2, multi-chambered, displays in its central chamber reuse for an intrusive Early Iron Age burial. Kurgan 3, in addition to human remains, contains portions of two horses (skulls) and bronze artefacts all suggestive of a yoke designed for transport or military use: 'The entire assemblage, along with head and hooves horse remains, appears to provide a synechdochic (*pars pro toto*) representation of a chariot' (p. 25). A census of all finds from these *kurgans* is given on pp. 22–25. Kalantaryan, Perello and Chataigner (pp. 183–200) discuss the 'agglomerated houses' at Arteni, Armenia. Aerial surveys and then satellite photography permitted the identification and study of the series of enigmatic stone structures found throughout the Near East and its environs. These are assigned a variety of names, based on their visual outline as seen from above: kites, wheel houses,

agglomerated (or 'bubble-like') houses. Their purpose remains difficult to assess. Their presence in Armenia is surveyed, emphasis placed on Arteni and the results of the first season (June 2015). The complex occupied 2 ha (i.e. $2 \times 10,000 \text{ m}^2$). Excavated sections revealed now-collapsed multiple courses of stones (a habitation?). A stratigraphic sequence of the site is presented at p. 199, fig. 11. The stone structures were built in the Late Bronze Age, abandoned, and then reoccupied in the Achaemenid era.

Now, a procession of (some) empires. Grekyan (pp. 103–32, with excellent bibliography) investigates settlement size and population estimate of Urartian cities, only the larger administrative centres mentioned by name in Urartian royal inscriptions (listed: pp. 104–05). The *susi*-temple formed the fortress core, its open yard surrounded by cultic-purpose buildings. The 'palatial complex' represented the ceremonial-administrative sector. The outside town, i.e. spread outside the fortress walls, held houses for the elite and more numerous dwellings for the majority. There was 'no evidence of any town-building standard' (p. 120). The normal size for the centre and outlying town was 40–50 ha. The outer town served the fortress complex, town needs met by a redistribution system (p. 121). Grekyan advises circumspection in judging the population size; the limited territory and population remained commensurate with the functions carried out in the centre.

Stronach (pp. 339–47) discusses the manner in which the face of Cyrus the Great was represented. Initially, a shorter, Anshan-style beard may have been preferred. Cyrus himself, in the Cyrus Cylinder and in the presence of Assyrian-inspired sculptural forms at Pasargadae, also emphasises that he has taken up the position once occupied by Assurbanipal. Thus, Cyrus may have later preferred the longer, Assyrian style beard. A stone inset on Darius' image at Bisitun gives him a beard that is remarkably Assyrian (pp. 343–47). Herles's survey of the Achaemenids and the southern Caucasus (pp. 133–53) describes their reuse of Urartian settlements. He accepts Knauss's proposal that there was a network of administrative headquarters, for example Armenia's Beniamin (four large halls; site reuse in mid-2nd century BC) and Azerbaijan's Karachamirli (architectural parallels with Persepolis). Grave-goods (pp. 143–48) from sites in Armenia and Georgia can be assigned to the Achaemenid period.

I end the procession of (some) empires with the Sasanians and Daryae's discussion of the 'Great King of Armenia' (pp. 85–87). That title was a mark of status, its holder close to (if not related to), but subordinate to, the real King of Kings. The same form of title is found in the Sasanian Far East, in the title Great Kushanshah – indicative of high status, dynastic ties, yet subordination to the King of Kings.

The concern the Sasanians took with both ends of their empire thus prefigures Areshian's desire to cast his net wide.

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S. Balatti, *Mountain Peoples in the Ancient Near East: The Case of the Zagros in the First Millennium BCE*, *Classica et Orientalia* 18, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2017, 429 pp., illustrations, 22 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10800-3

It is immediately obvious that Silvia Balatti's work is constructed upon a solid foundation whose stone setting was observed and facilitated by a notable group of predecessors (pp. xxi–xxv). Her purpose is met: 'To provide a better understanding of the social organisation and

the life-ways of the ancient peoples dwelling in the Zagros Mountains and to clarify their relationship with the surrounding environment and with the state authorities of the plains' (p. xxiii).

The first two chapters (pp. 1–32, 33–50) detail the sources consulted: written records produced by those foreign to the Zagros, whose accounts, most imperial in origin, present stereotypes, accurate observations, and a mixture of a royal glorification and poetic vistas; the non-written sources, some the result of the Zagros inhabitants: archaeological data, zoological-archaeological data and palynological (botanical) records. After outlining the results of previous investigations, she presents her 'conceptual and theoretical' framework, defining those present-day terms which would be acceptable for use in discussing peoples whose ways of life represented a departure from organised states. These peoples, generally called pastoral, 'primarily subsist on herding domestic animals' (p. 44). But they are always tied to sedentary peoples; trade and exchanges remain regular, but changing over time – 'a fluid distinction rather than a dichotomic opposition' (p. 49).

The next four chapters discuss the treatment of the Zagros peoples in the ancient sources, which are given in text (or transliterated cuneiform) and modern translation. Chapter 3 (pp. 51–118) concerns the Neo-Assyrian sources (maps display the presently reconstructed locations of the inhabitants, although some of the maps seem truncated). Assyrian royal ideology and its expansionist policy meant pressing towards the limits of the known world with a hope of imposing a more stable control. Campaigns in the eastern mountains did result in the acquisition of a greater knowledge of the inhabitants, agreements with local leaders, and payment of metals and livestock (plus the forcible acquisition of captives). Apparently this situation declined with Assurbanipal's lack of attention (668–630 BC). Royal inscriptions and letters are the main sources: few 'ethnographic' details, much attention to resource exploitation, warfare and strategies for control. They depict a variety of societies: extensive, organised kingdoms (Mannea, with core and peripheral districts) and small, city-based polities ruled by 'city-lords'. Trade (plus local raids), horticulture, agriculture, viticulture and metalworking are all mentioned. But often there are the *topoi* – their way of life is worthy of disrespect, they know nothing of Shamash, they live clad in skins. Urartian sources (Chapter 4, pp. 119–33), although limited in number, reflect a perception that the Zagros peoples were not too different from the Urartians. Some of the peoples are described as groups who claimed descent from a common ancestor (p. 129). Booty from Urartian campaigns – captives, livestock, horses – were important for military resistance against Assyria.

Chapter 5 (pp. 135–93), Neo-Elamite, Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid sources indicate the importance of local men plus real – or pretended – lineage-based societies. The Neo-Babylonians continue the *topos* of unruly peoples living in a refuge for criminals. Only after the Achaemenid conquest of Babylon do business contacts increase, evidenced in private records of family commercial interests. The Achaemenids controlled – at least indirectly – portions of the Zagros (B. points to the backlog of untransliterated and untranslated documents). It is noteworthy that Darius refers to rebels making claim to descent from a heroic (Median) past, the family of Cyaxares. Although it is difficult to reconstruct the realities of peoples mentioned in the Persepolis archives, they appear to have been well integrated into the administrative machinery: some groups were assigned portions of royal herds, others specialised in raising animals. Stations on the royal roads

were centres of collection and distribution, every transaction carried out with the approval of the Great King.

The Graeco-Roman sources (Chapter 6, pp. 195–246) excel in describing military activities with an admixture of exaggerations and stereotypes. Xenophon's account of his interactions with the Carduchians in November 401 is pragmatic: guerrilla attacks, mountains, bad climate, the existence of agreements with the local Achaemenid authorities in the plains. Alexander, in spite of Arrian *Indica* 40, appears to have neither founded cities nor introduced agriculture to the inhabitants of the Zagros. The Uxians, some residing in highlands, others on plains, maintained an exchange of gifts and favours with the Great King. Alexander was less successful. Curtius' depiction of the Cosseans and mountainous regions of Media is unreliable – other sources point to the presence of resources and good pasturage for horses. Among Alexander's successors, Antigonus foolishly ignored the advice of his officer, knowledgeable about the agreements between the Cosseans and the Great King. We learn of Media and Elymais from the campaigns of Antiochus III and IV, Media known for pastoralism and agriculture, Elymais inhabited by some living in the plains (farmers), others mountain-residing marauders.

The investigation of written sources concluded, B. turns to social organisation and way of life in the Zagros (Chapter 7, pp. 246–301). She emphasises that one needs be circumspect in creating analogies based on mediaeval and modern times. Several different peoples inhabited the region, but there are only some shared features. The northern Zagros displays evidence of adaptation of Assyrian models, the result of cultural interactions. The central and southern Zagros were marked by small, autonomous entities with real or pretended kinship ties. The Assyrians were able to perceive the different levels of societal organisation. Media was characterised by city-lords' fortresses indicative of a hierarchical organisation, but still had simple architectural designs. The area of the Cosseans, Uxians and Elymais: simple social structures, 'a great fragmentariness and fluidity' (p. 268). Five features can be detailed in the inhabitants' way of life. First, pastoralism and trade in livestock, a shift to more distant forms of grazing and coexistence with more sedentary groups. The quality and quantity of livestock suggests a successful widespread pastoralism. Second, hunting, trading and 'robbery' – this last, she suggests, may be linked to the social values of autonomy and bravery. Third, agriculture, viticulture and arboriculture – this last the result of Achaemenid-era encouragement of cultivating trees. Fourth, crafts and weaponry. Ores, water and fuel supply spurred metalworking. Textiles were not objects for long-distance trade, animal fibres used for clothing. The participation of pastoral groups in Achaemenid textile production requires further investigation (p. 298). Finally, religious practices indicate the presence of some Mesopotamian cultic traditions. The use of open air sanctuaries needs additional investigation as well (pp. 300–01).

Chapter 8 (pp. 303–26) discusses the Zagros environment and its depiction in the sources: 'Thus, the Zagros Mountains region was far from being unproductive and barren' (p. 326). Analysis from lake cores (illustrated in pollen charts, figs. 20, 21, 22) indicate climate and vegetation did not experience any significant change, save for those caused by humans (for example, increase in pastoral activities and in the percentage of cultivated trees). Chapter 9 (pp. 327–41) discusses the pastoral societies and their relations with authorities on the plains. The Assyrians, who believed mountain dwellers to be duplicates of an uncultured Enkidu, did acquire some knowledge of the realities, but the peoples remained partially

misunderstood. This picture persisted in Graeco-Roman sources: Brigands *vs* those who had settlements, agriculture and orderly pasturage. Thus an ancient perception of high land, hard to reign in. The autonomous mountain dwellers – fragmented, small polities – were most successfully dealt with by Achaemenid authorities expert in finding local notables and negotiating agreements: a successful indirect control without the asymmetrical warfare detailed in Xenophon and the Alexander historians.

B. summarises the results of her inquiries in a short Conclusion (pp. 343–52) which will prove of value for one to consult before examining the more detailed Chapters 2–9. This is a work which will prove difficult to replace, but one which can be built upon by consideration of new data and the subsequent scientific treatment of materials already examined.

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T. Bekker-Nilsen and R. Gertwagen (eds.), *The Inland Seas: Towards an Ecohistory of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea*, *Geographica Historica* 35, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016, 419 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11439-4

This book is an edited collection of 15 articles plus an Introduction, all regarding the question of how the inhabitants of countries bordering the Mediterranean and the Black Sea (treated in three contributions) have interacted with the ecosystem over time. The volume calls itself an ecohistory, but most of the papers are better described as an economic history of fishery, for most of these are concerned with fishery or the exploitation of shell fish, leaving other natural factors aside. However, this being a relatively new approach, the book gives an excellent overview of the state of art in this field. Most of the contributions focus on classical antiquity; two are concerned with prehistory (Arturo Morales-Muniz and Eufrosia Rosello-Izquierdo; Dimitra Mylona); and others (Ruthy Gertwagen and Sabine Florence Fabijanec) cover the post-classical periods. One article covers the complete history of fishing in the Lower Danube from prehistory till today (Constantin Ardeleanu,) while the final contribution by Ferdinando Boero treats the impact of human behaviour on the Mediterranean ecosystem in our own time, taking its history in account, and warns against contemporary economic growth. Some contributions are concerned with the legal aspect of fishery in antiquity (Ephraim Lytle); others, such as those of Carmen Alfaro Giner, Robert Curtis, Dario Bernal-Casasola and Benedict Lowe discuss the economic aspect of (garum) trade. The contribution of Morhange, Mariner and Carayon treats the interesting aspect of the ecohistory of ancient Mediterranean harbours. The conclusion of Dario Bernal-Casasola that amphorae were not always manufactured at the same location as their contents is an important reminder for everybody who draws conclusions about trade in amphorae. Very interesting are the regional studies of Constantin Ardeleanu (Lower Danube) and Sabine Florence Fabijanec (Dalmatian coast) regarding more recent periods. They could use more documentary data (often lacking for antiquity) and even statistics. Of course, with such a wealth of information, a few critical notes can be set. For instance, the claim by Morales-Muniz and Rosello-Izquierdo (p. 39) that offshore fishing was highly exceptional in prehistory is contradicted by the remains of far offshore dolphins in the Bronze Age layers of settlements near Sozopol and Kiten on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast. In the same contribution (p. 42), the fact that through changing sea levels settlements were moving inland and

became at some distance from the coast could explain the drop in fish remains in the Neolithic settlement instead of a real climate change. The claim by Carmen Alfaro Giner (p. 139) that Pliny and Aristotle had direct contact with fishermen diving for murex is not really substantiated, as their remarks on this exploitation could be from a general point of view. It is true that the ideal place for fish processing was a lagoon since salt was necessary, but it ignores the lively trade in salt, which could also have reached other places. Although there are some debatable issues and omissions, unavoidable within this enormous amount of data, this book is an extremely valuable contribution for both specialist and students who want to be informed about this rarely studied and superb mix of economic and ecohistory.

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F. Berger, *Inszenierung der Antike: Präsentationskonzepte in öffentlichen Antikenmuseen des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, Philippika 99, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2016, ix+339 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10697-9/ISSN 1613-5628

Frederik Berger, in a work based on his 2014 dissertation plus investigations carried out principally on the Berlin museums, gathers a wealth of documentation and presents a solid foundation for further examination of antiquities museums, not just of the 19th century (1815 on), but into the continuities and changes which occurred after the final years of the *Kaiserreich*. As he reminds us (p. 284), there was no single exemplar of the *Antikenmuseum*.

The major museums of eight German cities are presented. Each city is introduced with a table detailing the museum, its focus, the sponsoring institution(s), years of independent existence, potential audience, hours of operation. It is important to note that the impetus for display came from private organisations and from public figures, i.e. royalty, local nobility and civic groups. Generally stated (pp. 264–84), the museums' goals were to build the nation morally, to train artists (these first two to be accomplished by museums of art – painting, sculpture, casts/models) and to express a national identity, the concept of which underwent development during the century. Early on, one can detect differences in focus (local *vs* Mediterranean basin), geographical and/or chronological arrangements of objects and, acquiring greater significance for the period after the *Kaiserreich*, the discussion of division between 'prehistoric' art and 'provincial Roman'. B. rightly observes (p. 284): 'Es konnte keine unmittelbare Auswirkung solcher ideologischen Faktoren auf die Inszenierung beobachtet werden – wobei des Movens zur Sammlungsgründung durchaus ideologisch begründet sein kann.' One topic which does not receive much attention is the problem of lighting and the eventual electrification of the museum. It is obvious from surviving drawings and early photographs that large windows were employed for illumination. There is discussion of column placement and background colours for walls, but to what extent could be galleries (and work spaces) be illuminated by the predecessors of electric bulbs without causing damage to the objects displayed? Very few of the initial display locations were designed for antiquities and B. points to the significance of the 'Höhenlinie' (for example p. 282), i.e. how visible was the object to the visitors' line of sight.

Now the museums. The museums of Berlin (pp. 8–75) were all supported royally. The Altes Museum used columns in its halls as backgrounds for objects and for permitting proper lighting. Special exhibits were at first not planned – the Pergamene altar fragments

were placed in the rotundum and additional space restrictions soon arose. Although successful in increase public appreciation and study of art, the museum required a new building (pp. 42–66), of which room-by-room account of contents are extant. Again, more space was needed: the gypsum models and ethnographic collected were removed, construction began on the Museuminsel which housed the Olympia exhibit (the wealth of didactic material made the exhibition unique in the 19th century) and the Pergamene material (of which only the inscriptions were arranged in true chronological order). This first Pergamene Museum remained until 1908/9; not until 1930 was its replacement opened.

Unlike Berlin and Munich, Dresden's four royal museums (pp. 76–120) possessed only small collections of ancient minor art, but B. is able to trace the museums' popularity via visitor records. One of the earliest displays was Mengs's bequest of gypsum models, placed in the former 'Stallgebaeude', without a fixed *schema* for arrangement. The 'Japanese Palace' offered a second display location: 18 to 20 of the best objects were placed in the centre of the gallery. Eventually, all objects, ancient and modern, were transferred to the Albertinum (p. 114: 1924 map of upper floor display), which opened in 1891. The now even more extensive collection of gypsum 'action figures' was used for the basic study of archaeology until the 1940s.

The museums of Munich (pp. 121–61) did not include a true Antikenmuseum. Sculpture, vases and small pieces of art were all separated. Two collections of models were dependent on sponsoring institutions, which used them as teaching collections (*cf.* pp. 153–61). An initial art collection, located in the residence of Munich local nobility, the Antiquarium, was a 'depot' in internal appearance. Crown Prince Ludwig, who after 1805 became a lover of ancient art, decided to establish the Glyptothek – to awaken the sensibilities of his people to art and enable their moral development. The collection of Graeco-Roman antiquities was divided into four major chronological categories. His collection of vases was displayed, out in the open (not in cases), in the Alte Pinakothek (into which further investigation should be conducted, pp. 135–37). Finally there was the Königlichen Vereinigten Sammlung, two disparate collections in one hall, containing art work from all the continents. Maximilian II provided the impetus for the foundation of the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, a means of heightening Bavarian national feeling. Here were displayed artefacts from all period of Bavarian history. A new building for the collection was opened in 1900.

Local nobility supported the museum at Kassel (pp. 162–75), playing an important role in site planning. This Fridericianum (for which are extant many display descriptions) was eventually succeeded by the Hessisches Landesmuseum (1913), whose focus was the culture and art history of the province. Cologne's museums (pp. 176–91) changed sponsorship from private to state upon museum expansion. The Wallrafianum, supported by civic funds (after the invoking of the memory of Germanicus and daughter Agrippina), was expanded into the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum thanks to the efforts of businessman J.H. Richartz (1850s). As was customary for the time, the museum possessed a large collection of casts (models), some of which were displayed in rooms of Pompeiian style, apparently to awaken the interest of the general population.

In Mainz (pp. 192–215) impetus came from a citizen's group, the Verein zur Erforschung rheinische Geschichte und Altertümer; eventually there were five exhibition locales. In the 1850s the future Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum's collection was open to the public, its displays attempting to meld both ancient remains and modern

reconstructions for public education about finds from the classical and early German eras. A second Verein made casts available for public display and education, until interest waned in the latter part of the century. Bonn's museums (pp. 216–46), too, were the result of private initiative until Frederick William III called for the foundation of a university (1818). The Museum Rheinisch-Westfälischer Alterthümer gathered local finds and those materials in private hands; one can detect tension between those preferring Graeco-Roman remains as opposed to provincial, local finds (pp. 219–21). By the 1850s the museum was tied more closely to the university, and was now regarded as the 'provincial branch' of the academic art museum. The Verein von Altertumsfreunden's collection, initially scattered, was placed into the provincial museum in 1875. This institution, the Bonner Provinzialmuseum, formally opened in 1873, increasingly placed its emphasis on finds from the Rhineland. In 1884 the gypsum models were moved to the university's Alte Anatomie building and were displayed in a manner mimicking a proper museum. The museums of Trier (pp. 244–62), the last city detailed by B., were both private (Sammlung der Gesellschaft für nützliche Forschung) and royal (the Prussian King's Regierungssammlung). An agreement between the province and the state in 1874 led to Trierer Provinzialmuseum, a building of proper size for it opening in 1907 and housing thematic displays.

Although some data remain scanty (for example for Trier), B. has succeeded in laying out the development of these museums, presenting enough material to develop 'virtual tours' of some of these institutions and to fabricate the 'reality' behind the green screens should need arise for the creation of a Hohenzollern-era 'Indiana Jones'.

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Michael Weiskopf

B.N. Berressem, *Die Repräsentation der Soldatenkaiser: Studien zur Kaiserlichen Selbstdarstellung im 3. Jh. n. Chr.*, Philippika 122, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2018, xi+487 pp., 8 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-19755-7

The book is a PhD dissertation in classical archaeology defended at the University of Trier. Its subject fits well into recent scholarship dealing with the representation of Roman emperors in the 3rd century AD. Ben Berressem focuses on the period between the death of Severus Alexander in AD 235 and the accession of Diocletian in AD 285. This period usually is called in German scholarship the period of the 'Soldatenkaiser', a period characterised by emperors heavily reliant on the military and often reigning only short periods of time without establishing dynasties.

The book fills a gap in scholarship, treating a period of 50 years in a systematic way. B. focuses on two groups of evidence. He discusses the building activities of the emperors and he analyses the portraits of the emperors to understand their representative strategies. By looking at this evidence, B. is able to describe characteristics of this period and he critically evaluates the archaeological evidence. He shows how certain emperors used their portraits in attempting to establish a dynasty and how the portrait types were employed to emphasise certain values. The results of the study do not radically change the picture and no new thesis about the period is developed. However, as a collection of evidence, this book is useful for studying the period.

Beyond stating the usefulness of the collection, some remarks on the methodology of B. are necessary.

Although in the last decades, a more nuanced picture of the 'crisis of the 3rd century' has emerged and it has been emphasised that one cannot generalise a crisis for the whole *imperium Romanum*, Berressem claims that there was such a general crisis (pp. 12–15). This claim is made without putting forward new evidence or arguments for a crisis. Therefore, when it comes to his conclusions, he is surprised (for example, pp. 115 or 132) what the emperors did in spite of his alleged crisis.

In recent years, it has more and more become obvious that when dealing with the representation of Roman emperors, it is necessary to strictly distinguish between evidence that originates from the emperor and evidence that comes from other groups such as provincials or the senate. This distinction is crucial for understanding the reciprocal dynamics of how the image of an emperor was created. Berressem does not properly take this distinction into account and claims that finally all the evidence somehow was approved by the emperor and therefore can be taken as representation originating from him. This 'top-down'-model is clearly a step back, and B. does not even attempt to reconstruct possible contexts of portraits of the emperors. He also does not take into account Roman provincial coins of the period which would provide a different picture. He takes the portraits of the emperors as direct evidence for imperial representation without discussing possible local contexts and variations.

When Berressem discusses the portraits of the emperors, he heavily has to rely on coins, since only few portrait sculptures are preserved. This numismatic approach is the only way to tackle the portrait representation of the emperors. In his discussion he relies on the work of Delbrück from 1940,¹ which is an excellent work of numismatic portraits which however is also a bit outdated. Unfortunately, B. only rarely goes beyond the 1940 evidence and although he sometimes discusses more recent type classifications, he himself does not work with them and he does not develop his own typology as a basis for an analysis.

The first part of the book deals with the building projects of the emperors during the period of the 'Soldatenkaiser'. Buildings in Rome and the provinces are of course an important means of political representation of rulers, but quite often, we have to rely on dubious literary evidence (such as the *Historia Augusta*). B. rightly is skeptical of the factual source value of these texts and therefore the chapter is quite frustrating since it often comes to the conclusion that the evidence is not good enough for securely tracking building activities. The reviewer does not understand why B. made this material so central for his study and why he completely neglected a much more suitable and valuable source material, namely the reverses of the imperial coins. Coins are an official medium of the emperors and an iconographic analysis of the reverses would have been crucial for an understanding of the representation of the emperors. It would have been the coin reverses that answer questions about the 'military' *vs* 'civil' nature of the emperors or about the divine character of the emperors. B. in length discusses possible interpretations of the portrait types and the physiognomy of the portrait and he dismisses many former interpretations of the types without being able to offer a new interpretation. If B. had analysed the coin reverses in combination (i.e. in context) with the obverses he probably would have been able to develop a new or at least a more solid and substantial interpretation of the programmatic representation of the emperors.

¹ R. Delbrück, *Die Münzbildnisse von Maximinus bis Carinus* (Berlin 1940).

In conclusion, the study of B. will be used, but it will be used mainly as a reference work to find an updated catalogue of imperial portrait sculpture of the period and to find evidence for building activity of the emperors. Methodologically, the book is a step back and hardly will stimulate the dynamic field of studying 3rd-century Roman imperial representation.

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Achim Lichtenberger

G. Biard, *La représentation honorifique dans les cités grecques aux époques classique et hellénistique*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome (BEFAR) 376, École française d'Athènes, Athens/Paris 2017, xii+573 pp., illustrations, 52 plates. Paperback. ISBN 978-2-86958-277-4

Cet ouvrage est la version remaniée d'une thèse que l'auteur, ancien membre de l'École française d'Athènes, avait soutenue en 2012 sous la direction de Bernard Holtzmann. Comme la plupart des travaux universitaires français de ce genre, il se compose de trois parties, précédées par une introduction et suivies d'une conclusion. La première partie propose une «étude historique», la deuxième est une «étude matérielle» et la troisième une «étude iconographique». Cinq annexes figurent à la fin comme tableaux récapitulatifs, où les monuments discutés sont présentés avec les références bibliographiques essentielles: «l'emplacement des représentations honorifiques d'après les décrets», «les représentations honorifiques peintes d'après les inscriptions», «les statues honorifiques en bronze d'après les inscriptions», «les statues honorifiques en marbre d'après les inscriptions», «les représentations honorifiques privées d'après les bases de statues». L'ouvrage est clos par une liste bibliographique et des index très détaillés.

Il est manifeste qu'il s'agit d'une approche essentiellement archéologique, menée d'ailleurs avec beaucoup d'acribie. Toutefois, dans la bonne tradition cultivée par son maître, Guillaume Biard se propose d'intégrer le phénomène dont il rend compte dans l'ensemble de la communauté civique, ce qui l'amène, dans sa première section, à se pencher sur les nombreux documents épigraphiques qui évoquent les honneurs rendus aux bien méritants par la cité ou, le cas échéant, par des associations, des collèges de magistrats ou des subdivisions civiques, prévoyant entre autres l'érection de statues. C'est ainsi que l'on trouve des considérations judicieuses sur les bénéficiaires de la représentation honorifique publique (bienfaiteurs étrangers, juges étrangers – on s'étonnera quand même de ne pas trouver des références à l'étude fondamentale de L. Robert, «Les juges étrangers dans la cité grecque», dans *Xenion. Festschrift für P.I. Zepos* [Athènes/Fribourg/Cologne 1973], 765–82¹ –, rois, reines, dynastes, etc., magistrats divers de la cité, ambassadeurs, prêtres, artistes et athlètes), sur les rapports entre l'honorifique et le cultuel, sur les représentations honorifiques privées ou sur les honneurs rendus aux morts.

Dans la seconde section, après avoir passé en revue les types de représentations honorifiques (représentations peintes, reliefs et statues en marbre ou en bronze), B. s'attarde en détail sur l'emplacement des statues, sur la typologie des bases et sur la vie d'une statue depuis sa fixation jusqu'à l'éventuel emploi ou, le cas échéant, à sa destruction ou évacuation. Là

¹ = *Opera minora selecta*, vol. V (Amsterdam 1989), 137–54.

aussi, l'enquête sur les monuments qui nous sont parvenus est complétée par une mise à profit des sources épigraphiques et, dans une moindre mesure, littéraires. Une note: je ne crois pas que l'éperon de navire (plutôt que «proue», comme pour B.) mentionné par l'inscription d'Apollonia du Pont *IGBulg* I² 388 bis = *ISM* I 64 (il aurait d'ailleurs fallu ajouter que j'ai rattaché au même décret le fragment *ISM* I 34),² εἰκόνι χαλκῇ ἐν ὅπλοις ἐπ' ἐμ[β]όλου (l. 36–37), soit synonyme de la base mentionnée quelques lignes plus loin (38–39), γράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς τὴν βάσιν, comme le veut B., lorsqu'il se prononce sur les sens variés du mot βάσις (p. 184: un «support très original»), ou quand il estime avoir trouvé comme analogie (p. 209) la célèbre inscription rupestre d'Hagèsandros, accompagnée de la représentation en relief d'une poupe de navire, de Lindos.³ Tout d'abord, j'ai du mal à concevoir du point de vue technique une base en forme d'éperon de navire, et encore moins un tel élément capable de porter un texte de quelques dizaines de lignes, deuxièmement, le rédacteur de l'inscription d'Apollonia n'écrit pas εἰς ἔμβολον, comme si l'*eikôn* avait été emplacée sur une base en forme d'*embolon*, mais ἐπ' ἐμβόλου: je comprends donc que l'*honorandus* était lui-même représenté sur un éperon de navire (symbole de ses exploits) et que cet ensemble était fixé sur une base ordinaire.

La troisième section comporte des considérations sur l'iconographie des représentations de dieux, de héros, de souverains, de militaires, d'athlètes, de magistrats, d'orateurs, de femmes, voire d'enfants ou d'adolescents. Bien illustrées, avec de bonnes photos, les démonstrations de l'auteur sont claires et toujours convaincantes.

Solidement documenté, l'ouvrage de B. est extrêmement bienvenu et d'une grande utilité, surtout pour les historiens de l'art, mais plus généralement, pour tous les hellénistes.

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Alexandru Avram

K. Bolle, C. Machado and C. Witschel (eds.), *The Epigraphic Cultures of Late Antiquity*, Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien 60, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 2017, 615 pp., illustrations and colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-11558-2

Ce volume réunit les actes d'un colloque qui a eu lieu du 26 au 27 juin 2009 à l'Internationales Wissenschaftsforum de l'Université de Heidelberg. Malgré la publication des travaux huit ans après, les contributions, mises à jour en vue de la publication, conservent pleinement leur actualité. En fait, ce colloque avait réuni autour de la même table presque tous les grands spécialistes de l'épigraphie gréco-latine tardive, «la terza età dell'epigrafia», pour reprendre l'intitulé d'un recueil déjà célèbre.

Comme l'annoncent d'emblée les éditeurs dans leur introduction, «the aim of this book – and of the conference on which it was based – is to document and discuss the diversity and wealth of the epigraphic cultures of Late Antiquity. It is an attempt at understanding the various political, cultural and religious structures that characterised this period, and the special place occupied by inscriptions in the societies that produced and

² *Dacia* n.s. 51 (2007), 87–88, n° 34 (*SEG* 57, 651); cf. *Bulletin épigraphique* (2008), 375.

³ C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos. Fouilles et recherches, 1902–1914*, vol. II: *Inscriptions* (Copenhague/Berlin 1941), n° 169.

lived with them» (p. 15). Pour atteindre ce but, ils ont conçu la publication des actes en trois grandes sections: «regional studies», «genres and practices» et «the (new) world of Christian epigraphy».

Dans la première section, introduite par l'article plus général et très utile comme base de discussion de Christian Witschel («Spätantike Inschriftenkulturen im Westen des Imperium Romanum. Einige Anmerkungen»), les aperçus régionaux sont consacrés à l'Hispanie (Judit Végh), à la Gaule méridionale (Lennart Hildebrand), à *Tuscia et Umbria* (Katharina Bolle), à l'Afrique romaine, et en particulier à Leptis Magna – Tripolitana (Ignazio Tantillo), à l'Asie Mineure (Stephan Mitchell) et aux provinces de Palestine et d'Arabie (Leah Di Segni). À remarquer quand même deux absences plutôt étonnantes. D'une part, l'espace balkanique, avec notamment la Grèce (n'aurait-elle pas mérité un *Forschungsbericht* à part?), la Thrace et l'Illyricum, que l'on aurait pu même prolonger jusqu'au nord de la mer Noire.¹ D'autre part, l'Égypte, où une investigation épigraphique aurait, bien entendu, profité du recours aux papyrus.

La seconde partie propose des approches sur la réutilisation des statues en Italie dans l'antiquité tardive (Carlos Machado), les représentations de *togati* à la même époque (Ulrich Gehn), les «orations in stone» (Silvia Orlandi; à noter entre autres l'*editio princeps* d'une inscription honorifique, en provenance très probablement de Rome, retrouvée au musée du Palazzo de Venezia), les inscriptions métriques de Rome (Lucy Grig) et de Grèce (Erkki Sironen) et surtout une étude érudite extrêmement importante de Denis Feissel sur «Trois fonctions municipales dans l'épigraphie protobyzantine (*curator, defensor, pater civitatis*)», avec des tableaux regroupant l'ensemble des attestations pourvues de références complètes.

La troisième partie est introduite par une discussion visant à identifier les expressions les plus appropriées pour définir le phénomène épigraphique d'époque tardive (Charlotte Roueché et Claire Sotinel, «Christan and Late Antique Epigraphies»). Elle comprend ensuite une contribution à l'étude des hérésies à travers les inscriptions de l'espace insulaire égéen (Georgios Deligiannakis), un essai se proposant une comparaison entre les pratiques épigraphiques ayant trait à la construction des églises en Italie et dans le Proche-Orient (Rudolf Haensch) et un autre, très ingénieux, sur «Graffiti, Pilgrimage and Liturgy in the Late Antique and Early Medieval West» (Mark A. Handley), qui remet ainsi à l'honneur «l'épigraphie mineure».

Le volume, illustré avec des photos de grande qualité, est donc équilibré comme thématique et rend parfaitement compte de l'état actuel des «cultures épigraphiques» tardives. Contrairement à l'épigraphie du Haut-Empire et malgré l'existence de plusieurs corpus de référence et d'instruments de travail performants, l'épigraphie du Bas-Empire est manifestement plus dispersée, car partagée parfois entre des publications difficiles d'accès. Le recueil que je signale ici aidera énormément les épigraphistes à s'y retrouver.

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¹ Voir récemment, pour cette région, le corpus mis en ligne par A. Vinogradov (Londres 2015) comme cinquième volume de la nouvelle édition des *Inscriptiones orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini [IOSPE³]*, <http://liospe.kcl.ac.uk/corpora/byzantine/index.html>, et dont on attend aussi une version sur papier; cf. D. Feissel, *Bulletin épigraphique* (2016), 589.

I. von Bredow (†), *Kontaktzone Vorderer Orient und Ägypten. Orte, Situationen und Bedingungen für primäre griechisch-orientalische Kontakte vom 10. bis zum 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Geographica Historica 38, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2017, 394 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11860-6

Das Buch befasst sich mit der primären, also vor Ort, in den Ländern statt findenden Kommunikation bzw. Rezeption zwischen (hier externen) Griechen und (internen) Bevölkerungen der südlichen Türkei, der Levante und Ägyptens vom 12. bzw. 10. bis zum 6. Jh. v. Chr., um einen Beitrag zu leisten, die hinter den offensichtlichen nahöstlichen ‚Einflüssen‘ auf die frühgriechische Kultur, umgesetzt als sekundäre Rezeption (in diesem Buch dezidiert nicht behandelt), stehenden Mechanismen, Voraussetzungen und Routen besser zu verstehen (S. 11). Konkret angestrebt ist auf der Basis der gewonnenen Erkenntnisse aus der Historie, den Quellen, den auf den jeweiligen geschichtlichen und kulturgeschichtlichen Situationen basierenden Analysen der weiterführenden und besonders hervorzuhebenden Teile III (Kommunikation und Rezeption) und IV (Kontaktsituationen), in denen sich die große Breite der Autorin zeigt, und den Schlussfolgerungen aus theoretischen Ansätzen (z. der Praxeologie), Aussagen machen zu können zu einer allgemeinen, vorläufigen Chronologie sowie einer Geographie der Ost-West-Kontakte (S. 14). Als Voraussetzung für das Verständnis primärer, letztlich jeweils individueller griechischer Kommunikation bzw. primären Kulturaustausches/-transfers postuliert die Autorin gute Kenntnis der Regionen, ihrer Geschichte und ihrer schriftlichen und materiellen Quellen, in denen diese stattfanden oder hätten stattfinden können, allerdings, um einerseits die Studie übersichtlich zu halten, unter Ausschluss weiterer infrage kommender Kontaktzonen wie z.B. Zypern, andererseits, weil als Hypothese formuliert wird, dass komplexe Impulse „aus den großen Metropolen des Ostens gekommen sein müssen“ (S. 12). Eine umfängliche Quellenbasis – Quelle interpretiert in ihren jeweiligen Funktionen als kulturspezifische Medien (S. 12) – (östliche und griechische Schriftquellen, Eigennamen und Lehnwörter, die Eingang in die griechische Sprache fanden, archäologische Befunde), Auswertung unterschiedlicher Kontaktbereiche bzw. -situationen sollen mit Hilfe theoretischer Ansätze (kommunikationswissenschaftliche, soziokulturelle und soziotechnologische) und neuer Methoden erlauben, typische Kommunikations- und Kontaktmuster herauszuarbeiten.

Die Publikation ist in fünf Teile gegliedert, wobei Teil I und II ‚Basiswissen‘ liefern, Teil III und IV die Anwendung und Einbettung des Basiswissens zeitigen und Teil V als zusammenfassende Auswertung in Bezug auf die Geographie der Kontaktzonen und die Chronologie beschrieben werden kann.

Teil I bringt einen jeweils historischen Abriss 1. Griechenlands (S. 15–23), 2. Ägyptens (S. 23–34) sowie des Vorderen Orients (3. Assyrien: S. 34–53; 4. Neubabylonisches Reich: S. 53–58; 5. Syrische Länder: S. 58–139) vom 12. bis zum 6. Jh. und damit eine nützliche, wenn auch nicht immer ganz aktualisierte Zusammenschau aus unterschiedlicher historischer Perspektive. Als mit die wichtigsten Kontaktzonen für Griechen und Orientalen werden „die syrischen Länder“ ausgemacht, wozu die Autorin etwas gewöhnungsbedürftig auch die sog. spätluwischen Fürstentümer wie Que/Qawa oder Melid in S- bzw. SO-Anatolien rechnet, ferner u.a. die phönizischen Städte, Juda und Israel, und die bis zur Grenze Ägyptens sowie im Osten bis zum Euphrat reichen. Sie werden daher auch stark untergliedert (5.1 Que; 5.2 Die nordsyrischen Länder: Bit-Adini, Kummuh, Gurgum, Melid, Sam'al, Karkemis;

unter 5.2.1 Bit-Agusi/Arpad, 5.2.2 Patin/Unqi, Hamat; 5.3 Die nordsyrischen Küstenstädte, 5.3.1 Kinet H., 5.3.2 Al Mina...; 5.4. Die südsyrischen Länder, 5.4.1 phönizische Küste, 5.4.2. Aram Damaskus, 5.4.3 Israel und Juda, 5.4.4 Philistinische Küstenstädte). Angemerkt sei, dass im gesamten Buch der Nomenklatur keine erkennbare Stringenz unterliegt, sondern allgemein eingeführte Namen für Orte, Länder usw. genutzt werden.

Teil II (S. 141–85) erläutert in engem Fokus auf primäre Kontakte auszugsweise und durch Beispiele belegt die dem Zeitschnitt zuzuweisenden materiellen (wichtige Indikatoren: Keramik, Architektur, Ikonographie, Schrift und Sprache i.S. von ‚Objekt‘) und schriftlichen Quellen (griechisch-literarische, inkl. Herodot, neuassyrische und neubabylonische, bes. Annalen und Chroniken, AT; ägyptische Texte sowie HL-Inschriften sind für die Thematik nicht erkennbar relevant) und ergänzt diese durch die Beachtung von Eigennamen und Lehnwörtern. Letztere lassen sich z.B. im Griechischen diversen Lebensbereichen zuordnen: u.a. dem *oikos*, dem Militärwesen, Handwerk und Handel, Kult und Mythos (S. 184–85).

Teil III (S. 187–226) befasst sich mit „Kommunikation und Rezeption“, wobei die Kontakttypen „verbale und nichtverbale Kommunikation“ sowie die äußeren Kontaktbedingungen (politische bzw. kulturelle Dominanz sowie soziale Unterschiede zwischen Kontaktpersonen) Beachtung finden, unterschiedliche Rezeptionsstufen (Entlehnung, Adaption, Akkulturation) definiert sowie Besonderheiten der Rezeption geistiger Kultur angesprochen werden. Teil IV beleuchtet die verschiedenen Kontaktsituationen. Dabei werden Beziehungen im Rahmen von Söldnertum, Handel, Dienstverhältnissen, Handwerk und Technologien, Sklaventum zu lang dauernden Kontakten gerechnet, dagegen Piraterie, Gesandtschaften, Bildungsreisen zu kurzzeitigen (S. 227–338). Hinweise auf eine genutzte/allgemein bekannte *lingua franca* (wie zeitweise Akkadisch, Aramäisch u.a.) oder ‚gemischte‘ Schiffsbesatzungen wie die bronzezeitlichen Wrackfunde von Uluburun oder Kap Gelidonya nahelegen, scheinen für die behandelte Zeitphase nicht erkennbar zu sein.

Teil V ist überschrieben mit „Rezeption und die Entwicklung neuer Identitäten durch primäre Kontakte und Kommunikation“ (S. 339–59). Zu den wichtigen Ergebnissen zählt die Erkenntnis, dass erste Kontakte von Griechen im militärischen Kontext erfolgten, erst später in kommerziellen oder anderen Feldern. Zudem werden die einzelnen verifizierten Kontaktzonen von Que bis Ägypten ausgewiesen, chronologisch justiert und ihre jeweilige spezielle Bedeutung für die Ost-West-Kontakte eingeordnet. Abschließend wirft die Autorin noch einen Blick auf „neue Identitäten durch Rezeption“ im Zusammenhang mit Adaption und vor allem Akkulturation bei den sog. mutterländischen und sonstigen Griechen des 9./8., und besonders des 7. und 6. Jh. v. Chr., vorrangig in der jeweiligen Aristokratie, resultierend aus den eher individuellen Zielen und unterschiedlichen Bedingungen der griechischen Kontaktträger im Vorderen Orient, ein brandaktuelles Thema vor eisenzeitlichem Hintergrund.

Dem Text ergänzend beigegeben sind sieben grobe Kartenskizzen zur Orientierung, ein kombiniertes Personen- und geographisches Register (S. 387–94) sowie ein umfängliches, nicht ganz komplettes Literaturverzeichnis (S. 369–86). So ist neuere Literatur ab 2000 nicht so stark, wie es zu wünschen wäre, vertreten (z.B. H.C. Melchert [Hrsg.], *The Luwians* [Leiden 2003]; A. Bagg, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der neuassyrischen Zeit 1: Die Levante* [Wiesbaden 2007] mit vielen Details; ders., *Die Assyrer und das Westland* [Leuven 2011]; H. Niehr [Hrsg.], *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria* [Leiden 2014]). M. Novák *et al.* (Hrsg.),

Die Außenwirkung des späthethitischen Kulturraumes. Gütertausch – Kulturkontakt – Kulturtransfer (Münster 2004) fehlt als eigener Eintrag wie auch z.B. R. Rollinger und M. Korenjak, „Addikritušu: Ein namentlich genannter Grieche aus der Zeit Asarhaddons (680–669 v. Chr.). Überlegungen zu ABL 140“, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 28 (2001), 372–84, oder M. Liverani, *Neo-Assyrian Geography* (Rome 1995). Diverse (überarbeitete, ergänzte) Neuauflagen wurden nicht herangezogen. In A.-M. Wittke *et al.* (Hrsg.), *Historischen Atlas der antiken Welt* (Stuttgart 2007) wurden differenzierte und kommentierte Karten zum bearbeiteten Zeitschnitt u.a. von A. Fuchs, J. Kamlah, M. Novák vorgelegt (S. 32–39, 42–55, 58–59), die z.B. Teil 1 und 5 ergänzen könnten. Verwiesen sei auch u.a. auf die Kapitel 2.5., 2.6. und 2.7. sowie 2.8.2f. sowie Teil 3, „Aspekte des Kulturkontakts“, in A.-M. Wittke (Hrsg.), *Frühgeschichte der Mittelmeerkulturen (12.–6. Jh. v. Chr.)* (Stuttgart 2015), in denen die jeweiligen Autoren zu vor allem in historischer Hinsicht aktualisierten, wenn auch häufig ebenfalls vorläufigen Ergebnissen gelangten.

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Anne-Maria Wittke

A. Bresson, *The Making of the Ancient Greek Economy: Institutions, Markets, and Growth in the City-States*, transl. by S. Rendell, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2014, xxvi+620 pp., maps and tables. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-14470-2

This is a revised and expanded English translation of *L'économie de la Grèce des cités*, published in French between 2007 and 2008. The main objective of this book is to present economic growth as a fundamental factor of the economy of ancient Greece; with this purpose the author aims to attack and criticise the dominant orthodoxy, which considers that ancient Greece was a no-growth society. Throughout his study, Alain Bresson tries to dismantle the idea of the self-sufficiency of domestic units, that trade focused only on luxury objects, and that there was no technological innovation. For this, the author considers that it is necessary to use in a considerable way, in addition to the literary tradition, the archaeological evidence. The period covered goes from the 6th century BC until the end of the 1st century BC.

As usual in any work dealing with the ancient economy, B. makes the customary analysis of the different economic theories applied to the ancient world by the various schools (Neo-classical and Austrian) and authors (Weber, Polanyi, Finley) to show ultimately a clear adherence to the postulates of the 'New Institutional Economics' which, according to him, ends the debate between primitivists and modernists or substantivists and formalists. There are many suggestions of interest that the book presents and that it is impossible to summarise in a few pages, so I will list some of the topics that this book addresses. For example, the importance of the sea as well as the introduction of the ecological perspective in the study of the Greek economy, including climatic changes and a situation surely different from the current one. Demographic models are also considered, highlighting the absence of high levels of mortality, especially in comparison with the Middle Ages or Early Modern Europe, and to the existence of a real population growth favoured by an important potential for demographic recovery, coupled with the absence of famines, which is taken for granted in the Greek world during the period studied. B. collects figures from inhabitants of Greece and neighbouring areas which, however, are subject to a high degree of uncertainty, and this

leads him to accept a long period of population growth between the 6th and the 4th centuries, thus rejecting the orthodox view that ancient populations were fairly static or slow growing.

Another issue examined is the question of the energy needed for the transport of goods and, therefore, the associated costs. B. assumes the idea of connectivity based on maritime transport, but he also rejects the traditional idea that the Greek world lacked roads that would allow the transfer of goods to internal territories, something that is denied by archaeology (amphorae, for example). However, it is the sea and maritime transport that act as a fundamental element of trade, observing a progressive improvement of shipbuilding techniques and, therefore, of cargo capacity. The investment of cities in port infrastructures would show their interest in trade.

On the relation of the *polis* with the economy B. begins his analysis going back to the Mycenaean world; he adopts a shared vision with many that the palaces did not control all the spheres of the economic life of their respective kingdoms. The end of this world provokes a great fragmentation accompanied (paradoxically?) by a (supposed) growth of population that would allow the Greek colonisation. In the same way, B. emphasises the differences between the economy in the Eastern world (dependent on the palace) and subject to heavy taxation and in the Greek *polis*, based above all on the trade between the members of the community among themselves and subjected to a very low taxation by the state. The hoplitic model of citizen-soldier avoided excessive expenses on the part of the state. B. therefore establishes as an important cause in the development of the market the freedom of peasants and artisans to dispose of their surplus as they wished. The situation would change in the territories controlled by the Macedonians both in Classical times and in the Greek centres that arose in the Hellenistic period.

Agriculture, as the main generator of wealth, is also addressed in the work; centred on the 'Mediterranean trilogy' and other complementary products, as well as on live-stock, it constituted the bulk of the economy of the Greek world. This leads B. to analyse the features of the agrarian economy in Greece; in his opinion, the importance of large estates should not be minimised, especially in the case of territories such as Macedonia where large agricultural complexes presuppose large estates. On the acquisition of the property, B. insists on the importance of the sale. Diversification and accumulation were strategies used to alleviate the uncertainty of the agricultural cycle in Mediterranean climates but, in his opinion, agriculture also sought innovation against what has been commonly considered.

Other economic fields, such as fishing or craft activities, were riper for innovation. Of the first, B. tries to show that its importance for food (especially in some cases as the tuna) was much more relevant than it was thought, also developing its export to places where it did not exist. With regard to handicrafts, the development of specialised workshops since the beginning of the Classical period with a great further development stands out. This leads B. to question the idea of the 'consumer city', since he considers that, with the development of these activities, the city also contributed to return part of what it received, and points out as elements of interest textiles and pottery. In my view, however, B. perhaps attributes too relevant a role to pottery which may have had only a significant (but perhaps not extraordinary) weight in cities such as Athens, which would in any case be an exception.

All this brings B. to develop his ideas on 'the logic of growth'; he questions the idea of self-consumption and defends the importance of the market which, in his opinion, could supply up to 25% of the non-agricultural population. Despite the examples placed to argue this hypothesis, very focused on the case of Athens, it seems, even for this case, excessive and certainly was much more in other cities that did not enjoy the special characteristics possessed by that one. B. ensures that, even in cases where self-consumption is well attested, the omnipresence of the market can be observed. The result of this way of interpreting the reality, causes him to accept a sustained growth of the economy in the Greek world that is estimated at 0.1% a year between *ca.* 700 and *ca.* 300 BC. His rejection of the primitivist vision leads B. to postulates that clearly fit the modernist vision, although he intends, in the opening chapters of the book, to run away from this dichotomy in the interpretation of the ancient economy. Concepts like innovation that produces increase of profits and decrease of the costs of production go in this line. He recognises, however, that these innovatory processes were slow by our standards. With the Roman empire, this period of progress developed by the Greek world would end.

Another of the sections is dedicated to the market and trade, with the classic division between the domestic market, based on the agora, and international trade, centred on the *emporion*. The basic presuppose of these transactions was individual and private property, also based on the freedom of individuals. The agora, the *emporion* and the religious festivities or *panegyreis* minimised the transaction costs and favoured the collection of taxes by the cities. The city established these spaces and monitored the correction of their transactions by specialised officers, and even by issuing currency to guarantee those transactions. On coinage, B. presents an updated panorama on its emission, meaning and use, highlighting the differences between the circulation of the metal in the Greek world and its hoarding in the Eastern world. He also underlines the importance of credit as a key element of economic activity in Greece. Similarly, the *emporia*, with their regulated trade, guarantees, fees, were a key element of economic transactions in the Greek world and between Greeks and non-Greeks. To the *emporia* B. dedicates, therefore, a substantial section of his work; an important observation is that all the Greek territories formed a great network that interconnected different market areas; in it, each city sought its specific niche that allowed the satisfaction of their needs through mutual exchange. Beyond this, cities could sometimes impose restrictions on the trade of certain products, especially grain, to guarantee self-consumption; a well-known case is that of Athens which, moreover, had to import wheat to supply a population which B. estimates at a maximum of 330,000 people.

Abounding over the development of the market in Greece, B. remains faithful to the centre-periphery model, although insisting that in his vision of the Greek economy the periphery operates at the same pace as the centre in a synchronous development. As a centre he places Athens with its productive capacity of silver. The Macedonian conquest, and then the Roman one, would end this system. The old market was not liberal and was marked by strong state intervention; this, along with other factors, limited the amount of wheat put on the market.

The book presents a series of interesting proposals, fruit of the author's long history in the study of the economy of ancient Greece, and these permeate the work. Practically all fields of the ancient economy are approached, as well as some methodological issues

that make it an indispensable volume. However, his perspective will be more convincing to those who are closer to the modernist postulates than to those who, without becoming primitivists, think that the image of the Greek economy that B. presents is sometimes unrealistic because of his optimism: his emphasis on economic growth or the importance of markets, if it is certain (which is sometimes dubious), may have occurred, at most, in some exceptional cases such as Athens and in very few places more. In the vast majority of Greek cities, where exchanges are undoubtedly present, the impression that the evidence shows is that they were almost always moving along the limits of subsistence. A clear indication of this, which B. does not exploit sufficiently, can be given by the limited ability of most of these cities to carry out relevant public works that would presuppose the availability of a clear economic surplus, both by the state and the individuals. Perhaps the use of this and other types of evidence could have provided a more balanced picture which, without completely rejecting the results of B.'s research, could have generated a less optimistic and more valid image for the vast majority of Greek cities. What is also missing, at a time when it is observed how part of the Greek world was grouped into supra-political structures such as leagues or federal states, is the role that these might have played in the economic field. Today the idea of the *polis* as the dominant political structure in the Greek world has been surpassed by a new emphasis, made in recent years, on Greek federalism; therefore, it will be necessary to explore how these federal states, of different types and with different internal structures, intervened (if they did) in the economic development of ancient Greece.

Be that as it may, B.'s book will long remain an irreplaceable reference work for knowledge of the economy of ancient Greece.

Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

Adolfo J. Domínguez

H. Bru and G. Labarre (eds.), *L'Anatolie des peuples, des cités et des cultures (IIe millénaire av. J.-C.–Ve siècle ap. J.-C.)*, Colloque international de Besançon, 26–27 novembre 2010, 2 vols. Vol. 1: *Autour d'un projet d'atlas historique et archéologique de l'Asie Mineure. Méthodologie et prospective*; vol. 2: *Approches locales et régionales*. Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, Besançon 2013, 240+374 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-2-84867-473-5

These two volumes contain papers presented at an international colloquium organised by the University of Franche-Comté and which took place at Besançon in November 2010. The essential theme of the colloquium was the promotion of an historical and archaeological atlas of Asia Minor. The first volume contains papers devoted to the concept of the atlas, its methodology and prospective, the second volume to the local and regional approaches for this. The time scale extended from the 2nd millennium BC to the end of the Roman empire. Most of the papers were of the usual type presented at such conferences, accounts of work in progress prior to definitive publication. Volume 1 begins with two papers devoted to the project of the Atlas. These are followed with papers devoted to specific areas or topics within Asia Minor presented generally in a chronological sequence. They begin with Geoffrey Summers on East of the Halys, thoughts on settlement patterns and historical geography in the late 2nd millennium and first half of the 1st millennium

BC. Next, Françoise and Geoffrey Summers on remote sensing at Kerkenes, an Iron Age capital in Central Anatolia. Then Massimo Forlanini considers the toponyms of the Bronze Age in Pontus and Cappadocia, the ethnic continuity, linguistic and tradition of the Hittite empire through the 'obscure' centuries to the beginning of the Classical Age. Anca Dan writes on the difficulties of constructing an historical map of the Bosphorus in antiquity. Then Mustafa Sayar writes on the historical geography of the ancient cities and harbours in south-eastern Thrace and the Thracian Chersonese (so extending the discussion beyond the strict limits of Asia Minor). Alexandru Avram discusses the Bithynians in Thrace, Moesia Inferior and the Black Sea in the Imperial period, again going beyond the strict limits of Asia Minor. Franck Préteux looks at archaeology and new approaches to the understanding of the straits of the Propontis linking the Aegean with the Black Sea. Keran Eren gives an archaeological review of the historical geography of Ionia in the Archaic period. Claire Barat discusses the history and population of Paphlagonia. Dominique Kassab Tezgör looks at the archaeological work along the south coast of the Black Sea. Then Sayar again on the historical geography, ancient cities and harbours of Cilicia Tracheia. Stéphane Lebreton reflects on the study of Cappadocia. Finally, in this sequence of regional accounts and studies Sylvain Destephen considers early church evidence, the Acts of the Councils, subscription lists and episcopal notices for the best use of ecclesiastical sources.

The papers in the second volume are more restricted in their geographical scope. René Lebrun discusses two 2nd-millennium strongholds in western Anatolia known from Hittite records, the mountain Arinnanda and the city of Puranda. Özedemir Koçak considers 2nd-millennium settlements and cemeteries in the eastern interior of Mid-West Anatolia. Isabelle Chalier and Stéphane Lebreton describe Zeyve-Porsuk, a rural stronghold on the *Via Tauri* in Cappadocia. Gocha Tsetsckhladze writes about his excavations at Pessinus, in succession to those conducted by Ghent University, and concerned with the earliest stages of the settlement. Adrian Dumitru discusses the territory of Byzantium and the barbarians at the beginning of the 3rd century BC, with reference to a passage of Polybius. Gilles Courtieu identifies the location of the Asklepieion of Lysimachus in the Troad, and Strabo's reference to it in his Book 13. Markus Kohl looks at the site of Sebastopolis-Herakleopolis (Sulusaray Tokat), the relationship of its inhabitants with its environment. Lâtife Summerer discusses Pompeiopolis, the metropolis of Paphlagonia, while Eva Christoff and Ergün Lafli transcribe and translate 43 inscriptions from that city. Mehmet and Nesrin Özşait describe their systematic survey in the provinces of Amasya, Samsun, Ordu and Tokat in Pontic Cappadocia. Marijana Riel considers current archaeological and epigraphic research in Lydia. Lorenzo Campagna and Giuseppe Scardozzi look at the archaeology of water supply in Phrygian Hierapolis. Von Kienlin, Summerer and Ivantchik discuss Kelainai in Phrygia, 'a city between East and West'. Claude Brixhe and Mehmet Özşait look at inscriptions in Greek letters but not Greek language from the Middle Eurymedon area, whose language has been identified as Pisidian. They list the letter forms used. New inscriptions are transcribed and the relationship to the language of Pamphylia discussed. Guy Labarre and Mehmet Özşait describe two sites, Eski Beydili and Kesme in the valley of the Eurymedon. Nevzat Çevik and Isabelle Pimouguet-Pédarros consider Kelbessos and Kitanaura in the territory of Termessos in Pisidia. Hamdi Şahin describes the temples and inscriptions of eastern Cilicia Tracheia. Emmanuelle Goussé looks at place names and Asia Minor ethnics in the inscriptions of Cilicia Tracheia, and finally Anthony Comfort lists

and describes the Roman bridges of southern Anatolia, listing those on the Tigris and the Euphrates, both permanent stone bridges and wooden pontoon bridges.

Taken together, the papers present a region-wide coverage of recent archaeological work over the whole of Asia Minor. They bring into sharp focus the proposals put forward in the first paper of the first volume, Hadrien Bru on the project of an historical and archaeological atlas of ancient Asia Minor. The reasons behind this are obvious – works such as the present two volumes stand as independent publications, and though they come with detailed indexes, on personal (ancient) names and geographical/place names (both ancient and modern) there is no external means of finding the information they contain (which might have occurred if, for instance, they had been published in a regular academic journal). The advantage of an overall general externally organised reference system is obvious. Thus the concept of an historical/archaeological atlas of ancient Asia Minor is very attractive.

In his article, therefore, Bru proposes the establishment of a body to achieve such an atlas, based on the University of Franche-Comté at Besançon. He looks at the similar *Tübinger Atlas der vorderen Orient*, of 1977–1994, though he suggests the results here are somewhat concealed with its 130 thematic volumes – and which, of course, have a fixed date attached to their publication. This is clearly a work destined for residence in academic libraries.

Secondly, Bru considers the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, published in 2000, less specialised and, he argues, less complete, generalised and with failings in its bibliographical content. I have my own copy of the *Barrington* and I have found it extremely useful for references and, above all, its excellent series of maps contained in its large printed format, but with the text and descriptive account contained on compact discs, and therefore much more useable within the limits of a personal study and direct access to my personal computer. A comparison of the maps and plans in the *Barrington Atlas* and the small scale maps and plans in *l'Anatolie des peuples* is illuminating, if unfair, since, obviously these were provided by the various authors with resulting variations of quality and a total lack of consistency. Whatever form the proposed atlas takes it has to have a sequence of relatively large scale maps.

Finally, Bru refers to the Turkish TAY project, which he judges to be very promising as a reference work but which cannot adequately cover the wide range of material. Bru is indeed looking for an international, multi-disciplinary approach over an extended time content.

Bru then lists the general objectives of the proposed atlas. He sets the geographical boundaries, from the Aegean to the Caucasus, including the present day countries of Turkey, Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, but without excluding communities beyond these territorial limitations. Secondly, he discusses the scientific objective, to gather historical, geographical, cultural and archaeological research within the defined area and to present the work to the general public on line as well as regular hard publication on paper. So it will require its own web-site, open archives (including photographs), bibliographical information and the production of original, interactive maps and the means of updating them.

In this respect it is interesting to turn to the final papers in the first of the present volumes, by Christoph Schäfer and Wolfgang Spickermann on the *Interaktiver, Dynamischer Atlas zur Geschichte* (AIDA), and the paper by Jasmin Schäfer and Peter Probst on the Hamburg epigraphic database for Asia Minor.

Bru outlines the set up he considers necessary for the multi-disciplinary undertaking such an atlas would require. Three types of work groups – one for specialised techniques, one for thematic studies, one for regional groups, though some of these, he suggests, already exist. He then details the full list of sub-headings of the work. These groups would pursue all the needed work in close collaboration with a coordinating committee. The aim would be the publication of results in a balance of electronic and on paper. He accepts the probability that English would be used for the syntheses, though contributions would also come in German, French and Italian. He envisages a trial period for the establishment and first stages of the work, lasting five years from 2011 to 2017.

This is a most serious and welcome proposal and undertaking. Your present reviewer only hopes he lives long enough to see it come to fruition.

Birmingham, UK

Richard Tomlinson

S.L. Budin and J.M. Turfa (eds.), *Women in Antiquity: Real Women Across the Ancient World*, Rewriting Antiquity, Routledge, London/New York 2016, xxxvi+1074 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-138-80836-2

Women in Antiquity is a compilation of contributions, part of the series *Rewriting Antiquity* published by Routledge that aims to provide the latest research, combining established scholarship with current approaches. It covers a broad geographical and chronological domain with its attempt to offer a comprehensive and comparative understanding of the subject.

The volume is divided in ten sections, each organised on the culture examined (Mesopotamia; Egypt; the Hittites; Cyprus; the Levant and Carthage; the Aegean, Bronze Age and historical; Etruria and the Italian archipelago; Rome; 'At the Edges'; and 'Coda'), each consisting of approximately ten chapters, including an introduction which briefly presents the geographical area under examination and the historical context. Individual chapters are followed by their own extensive bibliography. Moreover, there is a short general introduction written by the editors, clarifying the meaning of the key terms in the volume, namely 'women' and 'antiquity', along with the motivation for undertaking this particularly overwhelming task. The notes on the contributors, who are all well-known and respected scholars in their fields, are particularly enlightening.

The objective of the editors is to reveal real women in antiquity, and by real women they mean their names, bodies, sex lives, activities, occupations, legal standing and religious functions. Since the volume spans a plethora of different cultures, it consequently and unavoidably treats topics that are shared among them. This allows for an interesting comparison between different cultures, time periods and geographical regions offering valuable insights into the particular topic, which is after all the intention of the series.

In general the main topics examined in the volume are the representation of women, either in the iconography, the written evidence or in the burial record (Suter, Kelly-Buccellati, Justel, Brosius, Serwint, Younger, Whitley, Lo Schiavo and Milletti, Norman, Mayor, Prados Torreira, Aldhouse-Green, Wicker), motherhood and aspects related to it, such as marriage, birth, child-rearing (Couto-Ferreira, Feucht, Beckman, Budin, Yon, Hong, Bonfante, Bartoloni and Pitzalis, Larsson Loven), female sexuality and prostitution

(Budin, Orriols-Llonch, Glazebrook, Ashede), the religious role of women and their participation in cult performance (Gadotti, Onstine, Collins, Michel, Meyers, Ferrer Martin and Lafrenz Samuels, Boelle-Weber, Dillon, Edlund-Berry), women's daily lives (Langlois, Yon, Ebeling, Meyers, Hemelrijk), the activities, roles and contribution of women in relation to the economy of their households and communities (McCarthy, Steel, McGeough, Shelmerdine, Burke, Cohen, Gleba, Becker). There are also contributions that examine women of different social standing (Suter, Kelly-Buccellati, Svård, Zinn, Tyldesley, Phillips, Bryce, Smith, Swaddling, Bartoloni and Pitzalis, Benelli), and chapters that focus on topics associated with specific regions only, for example the female tavern-keepers in Mesopotamia (Langlois), or Daunian women (Norman).

The chapters focusing on actual bodies of women through osteological analysis of their physical remains, with discussion of health, diet, trauma, congenital disorders and violence, are of particular interest, especially the probability for cultural modifications of the female body (Lorentz, Fox). The latter, at least for ancient Greece, is an area that remains wide open for further research. The authors do not neglect specific groups of women, which due either to fragmentary evidence or lack of research have been under-represented, such as those of ancient Nubia (Phillips) or Philistine women (Yasur-Landau).

Finally, the contributions that study groups of women, such as female gladiators in ancient Rome (McCullough), Amazons (Mayor) or women associated with Roman military settlements (Greene), are fascinating in highlighting a very different way of life.

The investigation of an important and diachronic topic related to women is that of the violence exercised towards them, usually associated with warfare and hostilities, and the chapters that discuss it (Monge and Selinsky, Day, Gaca) remind us that regardless of the amelioration of the circumstances and the social position that women could achieve in various cultures and time periods, they were always and still are vulnerable to violence and exploitation.

The volume is well illustrated and well edited. The contributors are all experts in their fields and therefore provide a thorough account of their topics. The book may be challenging to read because of its size, but the information provided offers an invaluable insight into what it meant to be a woman in antiquity. It comprises an important contribution to archaeology in general and more specifically to the archaeology of women, thus achieving its purpose to be 'useful' according to the aspiration of its editors.

Thessaloniki, Greece

Christina Aamodt

A. Coşkun and A. McAuley (eds.), *Seleukid Royal Women: Creation, Representation and Distortion of Hellenistic Queenship in the Seleukid Empire*, Historia Einzelschriften 240, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016, 322 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-11295-6

This engaging and valuable collection of essays originated from the workshop entitled 'Seleukid Royal Women: Roles, Representations, and Expectations' held at McGill University, Montreal, in February 2013. The workshop constituted the fourth iteration of the Seleucid Study Day series. The volume includes the works of 16 scholars (however, many more participated in the workshop as the Introduction clearly states).

The book opens with a Prologue by Hans Beck, which nicely introduces the main theme of the volume, rightly pointing out that women in antiquity, and women of the Seleucid empire in particular, have been generally marginalised as a result of the masculine stereotyping mindset of the ancient sources and the scarce attempts by modern scholarship to challenge it.

The rest of the volume is thematically and chronologically arranged and divided into three parts. Part I, on Apama and Stratonice, opens with Ann-Cathrin Harders's essay on the making of the Hellenistic *basilissai*. In the first part of the paper she sets the wider scene and very conveniently discusses the new forms of kingship and the new type of ruler which emerged in the Hellenistic world after the death of Alexander the Great. The multifaceted role of the *basilissa*, she argues, has to be read within this context and it has to be considered as an innovation of this time. Harders then focuses on the two first Seleucid wives; she cautiously approaches the figure of Apama and points out that she was presented by Seleucus I as associated to his new king's *persona* but officially addressed as *basilissa* only by the Milesian subjects of the Seleucids. Stratonice, on the other hand, was formally elevated to queen by Seleucus himself; yet, Harders notes, she drew her royal status from her natal Antigonid line, showing a certain autonomy from her nuptial family.

The first two Seleucid *basilissai* are also the main focus of a fine essay by David Engels and Kyle Erickson. After discussing Apama's and Stratonice's historical lives and the prominence and influence of these queens within the early Seleucid court, they analyse the legend concerning the love between Antiochus and Stratonice and the story of Stratonice's love for the eunuch Kombabos. They convincingly demonstrate that these literary narratives, which are open to multiple interpretations and can be assigned to both the Seleucid queens, drew heavily on Iranian and Near Eastern literary traditions. These stories construct a specific representation of the queens at the Seleucid court and thus show their pivotal role in the creation of Seleucid dynastic identity and ideology.

The story of the love between Stratonice and Antiochus is also discussed by Eran Almagor in his essay on 'Seleukid Love and Power: Stratonike I'. Almagor peels off the multiple layers of the narrative and painstakingly reflects on the historicity of the event as well as on its reception and representation within the literary tradition. He argues for the historicity of the act itself which he reads in light of Achaemenid practices and succession rituals and successfully tries to differentiate between an original Seleucid court version of the account and the later embellishments of it by the moralising and sensationalist literary sources.

The final essay of Part I, by Gillian Ramsey, focuses on the diplomatic activities of Apama and Stratonice. She explores Apama's role as assistant and gatekeeper of Seleucus during his territorial expansion in the upper satrapies and argues that the *basilissa*'s Achaemenid background certainly favoured the consolidation of Seleucid sovereignty over the East. The author then concentrates on Stratonice and notes, by a thorough analysis of the available evidence, that the queen's diplomatic actions aimed at maintaining a close connection with her Antigonid birth family in order to confront the rival Ptolemaic royal influence in the West. Ramsey's contribution brilliantly demonstrates the fundamental diplomatic role played by the two queens in creating and consolidating the authority of the Seleucid dynasty in the making.

Part II, 'Representation, Visibility and Distortion of Seleukid Queenship', begins with Altay Coşkun's contribution on the *basilissa* Laodice I, the first wife of Antiochus II. Coşkun's essay is a successful attempt to rehabilitate the reputation of the Seleucid queen who is depicted by the ancient as well as modern literary tradition as an evil and power-hungry queen. Coşkun, expertly deconstructing the ancient literary sources, shows that the allegations against Laodice originated within the court of Ptolemy III Euergetes, as part of Ptolemaic propaganda, and were then further distorted and dramatised by the moralising historiographical tradition which was initiated by Phylarchus.

The representation of Cleopatra Tryphaina, the sister and wife of Antiochus VIII Grypos, in Book 39 of Justin's epitome of Trogus is the theme of the chapter by Brett Bartlett. By a subtle analysis of the texts the author convincingly notes that the story concerning the rivalry between Tryphaina and her sister, Cleopatra IV, which is exclusively transmitted by Justin, is highly distorted by the Roman historian on the basis of his inclinations towards a rhetorical and moralising historiography.

Part II ends with the very useful essay by Sheila Ager and Craig Hardiman which explores the visual representation of Seleucid royal women for the first century and a half of Seleucid rule. Through a thorough and systematic analysis of a complete collection of evidence, Ager and Hardiman reflect on the apparent lack of visibility of the Seleucid queens in the male-dominated Seleucid iconography (none of the extant portrait statues can be safely attributed to any Seleucid queen, and Seleucid coin types rarely depict these royal women, the first evidence of this only appearing at the time of Laodice IV) and explore the possible reasons and implications of this.

Part III of the volume considers 'Dynastic Intermarriage and Hellenistic Queenship in the Shadow of the Seleucids'. It opens with Alex McAuley's paper on Apama, the daughter of Antiochus I, who was married in a diplomatic exchange with Magas of Cyrene. McAuley's work echoes Bartlett's in the sense that his concern is the distorted representation of Seleucid royal women offered by Justin. He rightly questions Justin's account of Apama's love affair with her Antigonid son-in-law and re-contextualises it within the political environment of the time. He acutely argues that Apama's choices and actions were driven by loyalty to her natal house and the desire to strength the Seleucid strategic interests on a wider scale.

Richard Wenghofer and Del John Houle then follow with a fascinating study of Seleucid marriage policy in the far east of the empire. The authors brilliantly discuss the possible pivotal role played by Seleucid royal women in securing Seleucid influence in Baktria and India up until the reign of Eucratides I (*ca.* 170–145 BC). As far as the very limited evidence allows, Wenghofer and Houle succeeded in showing that Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings then legitimised their rule by emphasising their ties to Seleucid princesses thus transforming the vassal states into some sort of matrilinear monarchies.

The importance of Seleucid women in the transmission and legitimisation of royal status is also discussed in the chapter by Rolf Strootman. He focuses on the representation of the ancestors of Antiochus I of Commagene which are displayed at Nimrud Dağı. Challenging the *communis opinio*, which tends to see the male Achaemenid *progonoi* as the most significant in the Commagenian ancestral line, he convincingly argues that Antiochus' maternal line of descent, which was represented by the Seleucids and included four or five royal women (whom identity is unfortunately difficult to reconstruct), was more valuable

to Antiochus and his descendants than the Achaemenid one. It was primarily the Seleucid descent which could legitimise Antiochus' claims of imperial status.

A fascinating examination by Julia Wilker of the royal women of the Hasmonean dynasty follows. She compares the royal traditions of the emerging Hasmonean dynasty with Hellenistic dynastic models and concludes that Hasmonean women played, like their Seleucid (and Ptolemaic) peers, pivotal roles in the politics of their time, being presented and perceived as important members of the royal family. Yet, Wilker rightly warns us that the role of women in the Hasmonean dynasty differs, in many aspects, significantly from that of their Hellenistic counterpart and argues that this has to be read in light of the dynasty's Jewish ideological framework.

The final contribution of the volume is by Adrian Dumitru. The author successfully attempts to throw light on the life of Cleopatra Selene, the last Seleucid queen. By a detailed analysis of numismatic and literary evidence, Dumitru explores watershed moments of Selene's life (in particular the queen's numerous marriages) and shows that the queen was not just a passive tool in a wider dynastic power game but, rather, an active player who effectively pursued her own political choices.

In conclusion, this book is definitely worth reading as it leads the way towards a new understanding of female royalty in the Hellenistic period as well as in the classical world at large. I believe it will become an indispensable work of reference for those dealing with women in antiquity and will be of great value to scholars and students alike.

University of Durham

Chiara Grigolin

G. Delley, M. Díaz-Andreu, F. Djindjian, V.M. Fernández, A. Guidi and M.-A. Kaeser (eds.), *History of Archaeology: International Perspectives*, Proceedings of the XVII UISPP World Congress (1–7 September 2014, Burgos, Spain), vol. 11 (Sessions A8b, A4a and A8a), Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2016, viii+237 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-397-7

The three sessions from the XVII World Congress of the Union Internationale de Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques, published promptly in this volume furnish a dozen papers under 'International Relations in the History of Archaeology', seven under 'The Revolutions of the Sixties in Prehistory and Protohistory' and five in 'Lobbying for Archaeology'. Several authors make more than one contribution (and in more than one session). Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Victor Fernández provide an Introduction to the first section, which houses papers that consider the presence of Spanish archaeologists in Italy (1907–1936), contacts between Spanish and Italian classical archaeologist during the time of Primo de Rivera (1923–1930), 'Africanism and international relations in Spanish prehistoric archaeology (1939–1956)', i.e. the departure from Morocco, '... Tracking and Tracing International Relations throughout Portuguese colonialism' (Angola and Mozambique, but also J. Desmond Clark and the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum in Northern Rhodesia in between), 'The "Tagus Generation" in Portuguese Archaeology' (New Archaeology and the 1960s) and 'The Introduction of "New Archaeology" in Spain, 1975–1990', to take a sample. Location (Burgos) meshed with membership of the project 'Archaeology without frontiers – the international contacts of twentieth-century Spanish archaeology' to supply a heavy Iberian presence.

The second section also has a contribution on Portuguese archaeology in the 1960s (one sometimes feels that Portugal is doomed to be peripheral, first, of course, within its own empire), 'The New Archaeology and the Archaeology of Australia' (where 'recent prehistory is yesterday's ethnography', p. 190) and, of most interest, 'La préhistoire en Union Soviétique des années 1950 aux années 1960' (Lioudmila Iakovleva, from the Ukraine: the overturning of Marr-ism in 1950 under the imprimatur of Mr Steel and a new focus on excavation, publication, almost to a standard template bereft of interpretation, and excavation and scientific techniques; an honourable mention for Pavel Dolukhanov). The final section considers scientific and technological innovation, lobbying for archaeology in Italy between 1945 and the early 1990s, and 'The Australian Research Council and the Archaeology of the Modern City in Australia' (Moscow on the Molonglo meets middens in Melbourne).

Some tasty morsels but a bit of a *smorgasbord*.

Leeds, UK

James Hargrave

Ş. Dönmez, *Anadolu ve Ermeniler: Kızılırmak Havzası Demir Çağı Toplumunun Doğu Anadolu Yaylası'na Büyük Göçü / Anatolia and Armenians: Great Exodus of the Halys Basin Iron Age to the Eastern Anatolian Plateau*, English translation by B. Adisönmez, Anadolu Öntarih Yayınları, İstanbul 2016, x+219 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-605-837-180-4

1.

During the last 150 years several important contributions have been written on the origin and formation of the Armenian people.¹ Şevket Dönmez's monograph is related to some aspects of the formation of the ancient Armenians and their migration during the Late Iron Age from the Halys/Kızılırmak basin to eastern Anatolia. It is written in Turkish and English and consists of a Preface and six Parts: Introduction; 'Eastern Anatolian Plateau in the Late Iron Age'; 'Uratians and Armenians'; 'Archaeological Evidence of the Migration from West to East'; 'Formation of Process of the Archaic Armenians and Its Causes'; and Conclusion. There are indexes of locations, periods, people and written sources.

In the book, the main hypothesis is that after the collapse of Urartu, Phrygianised groups that arrived from the Kızılırmak basin migrated to the Eastern Anatolian Plateau and formed the core society of the Armenian people (p. 156). One of the main arguments is the testimony of Herodotus: that Armenians migrated from the West and that the Armenians were similar to Phrygians (p. 142). D. writes that the fall of the Urartian kingdom and the arrival in the Eastern Anatolian Plateau of the Kızılırmak basin communities would, in his opinion, have caused a cultural change on a regional scale (p. 191). In the 6th century BC, in this interpretation, Phrygianised people who lived in the countries of Tabal, Kaşku and Tuhana in the Kızılırmak basin and its surroundings, under pressure from the Lydian kingdom, started to move towards eastern Anatolia. As evidence for this D. provides pottery decorated with triangles, festoon motifs and silhouette figures, which

¹ See A. Petrosyan, 'The Problem of Identification of the Proto-Armenians: A Critical Review', *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 16 (2007), 25–66, with literature.

chronologically and on the basis of archaeological finds can be traced from the west to east (p. 180).

The book lacks in-depth discussion of previous work on this topic. Writing about the migration of Armenians from the Kızılırmak basin, D. missed many important contributions, notably the study by I.M. Diakonoff.² Diakonoff discussed the possible migration of Eastern Muški, who could have been the vanguard of the Armeno-Phrygian tribes, which moved from the Balkans to Asia Minor before the creation of the Urartian kingdom and settled down in Cappadocia (i.e. the Kızılırmak basin), thence spreading out in the region of the Armenian Highlands. Diakonoff's study is a surprising omission, since it is mentioned and well discussed in the study of A. Petrosyan cited by D.³ In his book, D. references the work of only one Armenian archaeologist (H. Hakobyan), while there are numerous publications devoted to the Bronze and Iron Age archaeology of Armenia. The compilation of research of Gevork A. Tirats'yan, published in English as *From Urartu to Armenia*⁴ would have been especially useful. The selected works of Tirats'yan are mainly devoted to archaeological research of Armenia during Urartian, post-Urartian and Hellenistic periods.

In many cases, the evidence on which D.'s arguments are based lacks references. For instance, on p. 143 he simply mentions that most Armenian archaeologists have stayed closer to the thesis that the Armenians hail from the Eastern Anatolian Plateau and that Armenian culture developed in this locality since the earliest times.

It is likewise surprising that D. is not familiar with the inscriptions of Urartian king Rusa II (685–645 BC) found in Adilcevaz (on the northern shore of Lake Van) and Ayanis (on its eastern shore). They mention the relocation of people also from Tablani (Tabal), Muški and Hatti⁵ into the Lake Van area. These are the regions that correspond mainly to the Kızılırmak basin and its surrounding areas. This is direct testimony for the relocation of people from Kızılırmak to the Van basin during the Urartian period and before the migration proposed by D. Despite the fact that Rusa II moved people from the above-mentioned lands into the Van basin, there is no evidence of festoon or triangle decoration on pottery during the Urartian period. It is also important to note that D. does not differentiate between the abundant and varied types of triangle ware pottery that have been identified archaeologically.⁶ In this context, the area of northern Iran is significant yet almost entirely left out of D.'s discussion.

D. argues that Urartian red and brown pottery, which is undoubtedly Urartian, disappears at the beginning of the 6th century BC with the collapse of the Urartian kingdom (p. 160). However, this pottery type is attested at sites of later periods.⁷

² I.M. Diakonoff, *The Prehistory of the Armenian People* (Delmar, NY 1984).

³ A. Petrosyan (as in n. 1), 36–62.

⁴ R. Vardanyan (ed.), *From Urartu to Armenia. Florilegium Gevork A. Tirats'yan in memoriam* (Neuchâtel 2003).

⁵ A. Çilingiroğlu and M. Salvini, 'The Historical Background of Ayanis'. In Çilingiroğlu and Salvini (eds.), *Ayanis I: Ten Years' Excavations at Rusahinli Eiduri-kai 1989–1998* (Rome 2001), 19–20.

⁶ See R. Dyson, 'Triangle-Festoon Ware Reconsidered'. *Iranica Antiqua* 34 (1999), 115–44.

⁷ S. Kroll, 'Archaeology between Urartu and the Achaemenids'. In M. Işıklı and B. Can (eds.), *International Symposium on East Anatolia–South Caucasus Cultures*, vol. 2 (Newcastle-upon-Tyne 2015), 111.

A recent attestation of lingering Urartian cultural elements in later periods was discovered during the latest excavations of Yervandashat, which was one of the capitals of ancient Armenia during the Hellenistic period. Here one of the square-plan structures with buttresses⁸ resembles the Urartian architectural tradition. Some pithoi found in the storage room directly resemble Urartian pithoi with triangular and rectangular decoration.⁹ The most impressive feature is the similarity in plan of a recently opened tower-like structure¹⁰ to the Urartian *susi*-temple but in smaller dimensions.

D. also neglects the existence of an Armenian kingdom during the post-Urartian period (pp. 146–47), which is attested in Xenophon's *Anabasis* and *Cyropaedia*. Xenophon, who lived in the 5th–4th centuries BC, mentions an Armenian king and his relations with the Medes and Cyrus the Great. In all probability, as David Stronach already suggested, Armenia may have been an independent kingdom conquered by Cyrus the Great in 547 BC.¹¹ D. also tends to think that the centres of the Western and Eastern satrapies were Altintepe and Van respectively (pp. 147, 168). For Altintepe this opinion must be confirmed with additional evidence. Until now there are no direct sources on the centres of Achaemenid satrapies in the territory of the Armenian Highlands. Even recent excavations of Altintepe shows that it lost its eminence after the demise of the Urartian kingdom.¹²

As already mentioned, D. believes that Armenians were the communities using festoon and triangle wares. He argues that such wares found in Melekli-Kültepe near Iğdır and a similar fragment found in Oluz Höyük mark the easternmost points of the immigration originating from the Kızılırmak basin (p. 180). But this pottery type is attested in what are now Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, dated mainly to the post-Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods.¹³ Based on existing archaeological evidence, D.'s argument that Armenians were its bearers is unlikely. If his argument is accepted, then it would mean that Armenians also migrated into the territories of Georgia, Azerbaijan and northern Iran, as this pottery is found in these regions as well. In this context, triangle and festoon ware are not a reliable marker of ethnicity. Tirats'yan's article 'On Painted Pottery in Ancient Armenia...' (see n. 13) would have been a useful reference. In this article, originally published in 1965, Tirats'yan already discussed the connection and correlation of the above-mentioned pottery type with Phrygia and Cappadocia, framing his discussions within a large body of existing

⁸ A. Gabrielyan, 'Vessel Storeroom of the Palace Complex of Ervandashat'. In *Genesis Forest, Collected Articles in Memory of Felix Ter-Martirosov* (Yerevan 2015), 127, pic. 1 (in Armenian with English and Russian summary).

⁹ Gabrielyan (as in n. 8), 129, pics. 4, 7, 8.

¹⁰ Gabrielyan (as in n. 8), 127, pic. 1.

¹¹ D. Stronach, 'The Campaign of Cyrus the Great in 547 BC: A Hitherto Unrecognized Source for the Early History of Armenia'. *Aramazd, Armenian Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 2 (2007), 162–73.

¹² M. Karaosmanoğlu and H. Korucu, 'The Apadana of Altintepe in a Light of the Second Season Excavations'. In A. Çilingiroğlu and A.G. Sagona (eds.), *Anatolian Iron Ages 7* (Leuven 2012), 136.

¹³ G. Tirats'yan, 'On Painted Pottery in Ancient Armenia (6th Century B.C.–3rd Century AD)'. In Vardanyan (as in n. 4), 104–14. G. Narimanishvili, *Keramika Kartli V–I vv. d. n.e.* (Tbilisi 1991), 69–79. G. Narimanishvili and V. Shatberashvili, 'Red-painted Pottery of the Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid Periods from Caucasus (Iberia): Stylistic Analysis and Chronology'. *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 41 (2004), 24.

archaeological literature. The studies of the Georgian archaeologist G. Narimanishvili, in which he discusses the issues of origin and correlations of triangle and festoon were discovered in Georgia, are also noteworthy.¹⁴

In the depiction of the Armenian delegation on one of the Persepolis reliefs (6th century BC) one of the Armenians holds a two-handled krater (p. 101, figs. 86, 87), but not pottery with triangle and festoon decorations. It is regrettable that the depictions of the Persepolis reliefs here are coloured without any indication that the colouring is solely the author's interpretation.

D. stresses that the ancient Armenian population created a common value on the basis of Zoroastrianism, which was brought to the region by the westward expansion of the Medes, putting Armenians on the road to becoming a nation (p. 182). There is no archaeological or historical evidence for considering Karduchians and Alarods as Zoroastrians, as D. does (p. 183). The religion of the Medians remains in question. Without additional evidence it is nearly impossible to establish which gods were worshipped by them and what was the nature of their cult.¹⁵ D. writes about the fire cult, which was one of the important features of Zoroastrian religion. He argues that it was a Zoroastrian influence on the Armenians (pp. 184–85). In this case, it is important to emphasise that the cult already existed in the Urartian kingdom and is well attested from excavations of the Ayanis temple area.¹⁶ Even Achaemenid fire-towers were influenced by Urartian *susi*-temples.¹⁷ Despite some influence of Zoroastrianism on ancient Armenian religion, there is no serious evidence to insist that the Armenians were Zoroastrian. The fact that until the collapse of the Sasanian empire Christian Armenians fought to maintain their religion and did not accept Zoroastrianism, also supports the argument that Armenians were not Zoroastrians.

It is also incorrect that D., without any references or basis, calls Adur Burzen-Mihr, Adur Gushnasp, Ađtur Farnbag, which were sacred fires for Zoroastrian religion,¹⁸ Atashgada-i Azer-Bazrin Mehr, Azer-I Gahnap and That Azer-I Farbeh (pp. 162–63).

While the title of the book suggests that it discusses the formation of the Armenians, D. often makes unnecessary and unnecessary diversions from the main theme, beyond the scope of the topic. Throughout, it seems that D. seeks to minimise and marginalise the role of ancient Armenians in the region. He also makes arguments and interpretations without citing evidence and neglects to use available publications that are relevant to the matter. (Some instances have been noted above; space limitations do not allow me to discuss these in detail or completeness.) It would be good if readers of the book accept it with caution and take into consideration previous literature related to the theme.

‘Erebuni’ Historical and Archaeological Museum-Reserve, Yerevan

Miqayel Badalyan

¹⁴ Narimanishvili (as in n. 13), 71–79.

¹⁵ M. Shenkar, ‘Temple Architecture in the Iranian World before the Macedonian Conquest’. In *Iran and the Caucasus* 11 (2007), 169–94.

¹⁶ A. Çilingiroğlu, ‘Silah, Tohum ve Ateş’. In T. Korkut (ed.), *Anadolu’da Doğdu. 60: Yaşında Fahri Işık’a Armağan* (Istanbul 2004), 257–68.

¹⁷ D. Stronach, ‘Urartian and Achaemenid Tower Temples’. *JNES* 26.4 (1967), 278–88.

¹⁸ M. Boyce, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London/New York 2001), 87.

2.

This valuable monograph by D., a leading specialist, is devoted to the ancient culture of Anatolia, specifically to the Eastern Anatolian Plateau and the Armenians, their place and the integration into that culture.

The Preface enumerates the main archaeological sites of North-Central Anatolia and the Halys/Kızılırmak basin and the archaeological cultures to which they relate, including the relatively new excavation at Oluz Höyük.

Part One is an Introduction containing a general description of the study, specifically an archaeological picture of the Eastern Anatolian Plateau in the Iron Age. According to Assyrian sources these lands are mentioned under the name Nairi, Uruatri or Urartu. Tuşpa figured as a political centre. From the archaeological point of view there are Early Iron Age sites concentrated around the Lake Van basin and Elagiz/Malatya.

The 'Definition of the Problem' focuses on one of the oldest people of the Near East, the Armenians. D. explains the historical-geographical situation (aided by maps). He asserts that important information about migration from Phrygia (Herodotus) and Thessaly (Strabo) can be extracted from classical sources. D. considers the state of the problem, in this part the written data (toponyms) and the archaeological monuments of the Bronze Age, Early and Late Iron are correlated. He notes the first mention of the Armenians in written sources, in particular in the trilingual inscriptions of Darius on the Behistun rock not far from Kermanshah, as well as in the subsequent mention of Armenia under various variants of the name. The ethnic self-name of the Armenians of the Highlands is also found in Hittite times. The Hayash region, which is also supposedly associated with the proto-Armenian *ethnos*, is localised in Erzincan and its immediate vicinity. D. gives various names for the Armenians and Armenia in different written sources, including the self-name of the ethnic group. The 'chaotic' nature of Moses of Khoren's information and the embrace of its myths are mentioned.

In Part Two, 'Eastern Anatolian Plateau in Late Iron Age', D. raises the question of the autochthonous-ness of the Armenian *ethnos* on the territory of the Eastern Anatolian Plateau in the Iron Age. It is about the reception of cultural traditions in the Urartian and post-Urartian period. According to Western sources, the Urartian people included various ethnic groups besides the Armenians. After the collapse of Urartu political power passes into the hands of the Scythians and Medes. The political history of this region is based principally on the literary sources. In D.'s opinion, this interpretation is based on the written sources, but the archaeological data must be drawn on too. The main archaeological sites are described, and artefacts which are characteristic for the culture of Eastern Anatolia. According to D.'s investigations, the lands of Eastern Anatolia (indeed, almost throughout Anatolia) adopted urban architecture in the Achaemenid period, yet built palaces and large dwellings of their own design. In developing satrapal centres as local government units the Achaemenids inserted *paradeisoi* (including water sources or large gardens and hunting spaces). Oluz Höyük is one example, as the archaeological materials show.

Nevertheless, from the archaeological point of view, the post-Urartian period in the Eastern Anatolian Plateau is weakly evidenced, especially with regard to architecture and material culture. Underground-type housing is analysed and correlated with literary sources and ethnographic observations. The Plateau in the Late Iron Age is characterised by highland and underground settlements.

Part Three, 'Uartians and Armenians', begins with analyses of writing and language in the context of the culture of the Uartian kingdom and Armenia, the general cultural development of Eastern Anatolia, and the use of written language, particularly cuneiform and Aramaic in Urartu and in the Achaemenid periods, with an emphasis on its importance for cultural and ethnic identity. The written tradition in the south of the Kızılırmak basin and its vicinity (Phrygianised population) took the form of pictographic writing (Luwian hieroglyphic). The archaeological situation is analysed in the context of the writing tradition, based on the example of Oluz Höyük. In 'Protohistorical Evidences of Armenians' D. notes that the Armenians who were observed in the Eastern Anatolian Plateau from 6th century BC started to use their own writing by the 5th century AD. Important evidence about the (ancient) Armenians is that in Assyrian sources regarding the Eastern Anatolian Plateau there is no mention of them.

D. describes the architecture and highway system of the Eastern Anatolian Plateau, citing the main archaeological sites, and discussing pottery and metalcrafts and their main characteristics. 'Religion and Mythology' underlines the fact that there is no similarity in spiritual cultures between Urartu and Armenia. The other important peculiarity is the discontinuation of the Uartian tradition of building gate-shaped rock monuments. D. describes the distribution of Zoroastrianism and the fire cult in Eastern Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age which comes from Media.

'Historical Sources', specifically ancient Western ones describing Armenians and the historical region of Armenia, do not mention the Uartians who ruled in Iron Age Eastern Anatolia. D. explains this phenomenon by the historical situation: that in early times the lands east of the Euphrates might not have attracted the attention of ancient writers, or there were no serious security issues worthy of comment. The archaeological data, as D. indicates, testify that the material culture of the ancient Armenians, architectural planning, handcrafts, etc., which reflect the social organisation of the community that emerged in the post-Uartian Eastern Anatolian Plateau, had nothing in common with the Uartians.

At the beginning of Part Four, 'Archaeological Evidence of the Migration from West to East', D. considers one of the important issues in the history of the Armenian ethnic community, namely when and for what reason the migration of this people eastwards from Phrygia occurred. He analyses the earlier migrations of the Cimmerians and Scythians in Anatolia and subsequent conquest of these lands by the Medes and Achaemenids. According to D., the Kızılırmak basin was under Achaemenid control from after the campaigns of Cyrus the Great to the West until the Hellenistic period. He traces the penetration of the Zoroastrian religion and culture into the local community. D. draws on written sources and recent archaeological discoveries.

'Formation Process of the Archaic Armenian People and Its Causes' is Part Five. On the basis of written sources (Herodotus) as well as archaeological evidence, in particular tumuli, the localisation of the Phrygian people settled in the Kızılırmak basin is given. According to D., this type of funerary rite was typical for the Balkans and the Thracians and was not accepted by local people. The origins of eastward migrations from the western parts of Anatolia are traced, although the tumulus style of burial is not observed in Eastern Anatolia. The figurative complex of Achaemenid-period reliefs is analysed for determination of Armenian people. Iconographic analyses of representation of the peoples from the Cappadocian and Armenian delegations present a close parallelism between the Kızılırmak basin and the Eastern Anatolian Plateau.

Based on the analysis of written sources and archaeological material, D. comes to the conclusion that, under the influence of the local cultures of the Eastern Anatolian Plateau, the process of formation of the Armenians occurs among the Phrygian population. This shows ethnic integration in the culture of Eastern Anatolia and the transformation of peoples who came to this area by the 4th century BC. The general opinion of linguists is that the Armenian language, which has Indo-European roots, 'carries imprint of old Anatolian languages without Indo-European roots intensely within its structure'.

In Part Six, the Conclusion, D. sums up the migration of communities from the Kızılırmak basin to the Eastern Anatolian Plateau and the processes of formation of the Armenian *ethnos* in this territory. According to him, as a result of the migration process, which began in 590 BC and lasted until the 4th century BC, ethnic communities were formed within the Zoroastrian religion.

This is a detailed study of cultural processes in the Eastern Anatolian Plateau based on written and archaeological evidence. Particular attention is paid to the process of ethnogenesis of the Armenians and their resettlement in this territory. The book is undoubtedly of great interest for historians and archaeologists dealing with the ancient culture of Eastern Anatolia and the history of the Armenian people and is a valuable contribution to scholarship.

Istanbul University

Kazim Abdullaev

Ş. Dönmez, *Amasya – Oluz Höyük: Kuzey – Orta Anadolu'da bir Akhaimenid (Pers) Yerleşmesi. 2009–2013 Dönemi Çalışmaları: Genel Değerlendirmeler ve Sonuçlar*, Oluz Höyük Kazı Sonuçları Serisi 2, Amasya 2017, xii+409 pp., colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-605-149-916-1

The seven excavation seasons revealed nine architectonic levels, of which level 9 belongs to the local Early Bronze Age, levels 8–7 to the Hittite Great Kingdom, 6–5 to Early and Middle Phrygian culture, 4 and 3 date to the Late Iron Age, i.e. Late Phrygian culture; architectonic layers 2 and 2A are Achaemenid and level 1 is Hellenistic. The Phrygian Kubaba, related to the female deity of Great Mother, was worshipped not only by the Phrygians but by their neighbours as well; her sanctuary and fragmentary statue are recorded. The top soil layer was much damaged by illegal excavations. The Late Hellenistic horizon was dated amongst others by coins minted by Mithradates Eupator.

Dönmez includes in his English summary polemics with Latife Sumerer, mainly concerning the extent of Greek influence in Upper Cappadocia and its importance in relation to Central Anatolian cultures and the coastal belt along the Black Sea. The situation reminds one of the frontier between the Highlands and the Aegean coast in western Anatolia.

The mediaeval cemetery with 150 graves belonged to the Turkish population. The agricultural use of the area ended in the 16th century.

The volume brings an extensive report on the site with much new information, excellent colour photographs, lists and tables with statistics, but only a brief English summary.

Charles University, Prague

Jan Bouzek

L. Donnellan, V. Nizzo and G.-J. Burgers (eds.), *Conceptualising Early Colonisation, Contextualising Early Colonisation 2*, Institut Historique Belge de Rome/Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome, Artes 6, Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome/Institut Historique Belge de Rome/Istituto Storico Belga di Roma, Brussels/Rome 2016, 246 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-90-74461-82-5

The expansion of Greek settlement throughout the Mediterranean and Black Sea basins between *ca.* 750 BC and 500 BC is one of the central events of Greek history. Not surprisingly, some of the premier Greek historians and archaeologists have devoted their careers to its study. Equally unsurprising, the reconsideration of the historiography of Greek history during the late 20th and early 21st centuries also has included Greek colonisation. The result, however, has not been a new consensus about the history of Archaic Greek expansion, but growing division between Anglo-American and continental scholars about the nature of Greek colonisation or even the legitimacy of discussing Greek colonisation at all.

To bridge this divide a conference entitled 'Contextualising early Colonisation: Archaeology, Sources, and Interpretative Models between Italy and the Mediterranean' was held in Rome between June 21st and 23rd 2012. *Conceptualising Early Colonisation* is the second volume of its proceedings, and it contains the theoretical papers delivered at the conference. The 19 papers in the volume are divided into three groups: papers on theory and methodology, case studies treating Italian and Sicilian sites, and final conclusions.

Lieve Donnellan and Valentino Nizzo open the volume with an extensive introduction outlining the history of the controversy and highlighting the influence of identity, post-colonial and network studies on contemporary scholarship. Robin Osborne and Irad Malkin define the issues at stake in their papers. In the former, Osborne restates his well-known view that use of the term 'colonisation' for Greek overseas expansion is inappropriate both because of its misleading associations with modern imperialism and its implication that Greek settlements, like modern colonies, were state organised projects at a time when the *polis* was still in the early stages of formation and incapable of undertaking such projects. Malkin offers a vigorous defence of the traditional view in his paper, maintaining the validity of the use of the term and the close connection of colonisation and the development of the Archaic *polis*, noting particularly the stability of traditions concerning the relationships of colonies and their purported *metropoleis*, the significance of the use of the word *oikos* in Greek colonial terminology, and the Archaic character of the right of return that is attested in inscriptions concerning the foundation of Greek colonies.

The next three papers explore how theory can illuminate issues concerning relations between Greeks and non-Greeks. Jonathan Hall reconsiders the view that Greek identity was formed in colonial areas during the Archaic period as a result of contact with non-Greeks, arguing instead that a sense of common Greek identity first emerged in the Aegean homeland in the 6th century BC simultaneously with the rise of panhellenic sanctuaries such as Olympia and Delphi. Ariana Esposito and Airon Pollini survey scholarship on post-colonial approaches to Greek colonisation, highlighting the application of theories based on the colonial experience of Native Americans to South Italian and Sicilian phenomena and the resistance of French and Italian scholars to such approaches, a prime example of the divide between Anglo-American and continental scholarship that was a

central theme of the conference. In the final paper of this group, Giulia Saltini Semerari demonstrates how gender theory can illuminate issues concerning intermarriage between Greeks and non-Greeks by offering scholars a range of useful frameworks within which to analyse the circumstances in which intermarriage could take place.

The final three papers in this group treat the historical contexts in which Greek colonisation took place. Roland Étienne discusses the contributions made by two books – Horden and Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea* and *The Cambridge Economic History of the Graeco-Roman World*¹ – to a better understanding of the geographical and economic background of Greek colonisation, the former making it clear that Greek colonisation has to be viewed as part of the mobility and connectivity that has characterised the Mediterranean basin throughout its history, and the latter that the Archaic period in which it occurred was marked by strong economic growth instead of the stagnation as postulated by Moses Finley and his followers. Franco De Angelis proposes in his paper that frontier studies would provide the best framework for studying Greek colonisation. In the final paper of this group Nizzo emphasises the need to resolve the long standing conflict between two scholarly traditions concerning Iron Age Italy, namely, European pre- and proto-history with its reliance on radiocarbon dating systems and classical archaeology based on ceramic chronologies anchored by Greek and Near Eastern textual evidence.

The second group of papers consists of eight case studies, six of which deal with central and southern Italian sites, one with a Sicilian foundation, Megara Hyblaea, and one compares Italian and Sicilian sites. In the first paper Mariassunta Cuozzo and Carmine Pellegrino examine the theoretical issues involved in studying cultural mixing and ethnic identity in Iron Age Campania. The next two papers use network analysis to reconsider the character of Pithekoussai and its overseas relations. In the first Owain Morris convincingly argues that the archaeological evidence does not support the theory that the Greek character of Cumae was the result of military action launched from Pithekoussai, while Donnellan contends that the earliest known graves indicate that Pithekoussai originated as an indigenous settlement whose closest overseas ties were with the Italian mainland on the one hand and Phoenicia on the other (instead of Aegean Greece). The focus shifts to Sicily in the fourth paper, in which Henri Tréziny surveys the results of recent excavations at Megara Hyblaea, most importantly the discovery that as early as the late 8th century BC the settlement was a planned urban space in which settlers had received approximately equal house plots that were aligned with the street network.

The final four case studies are more miscellaneous in character. In the first paper of the group Flavia Frisone argues for an ongoing involvement of Chalcis in the affairs of its colonies in South Italy and eastern Sicily, particularly in decisions concerning the foundation of new settlements by its original colonies. Emanuele Greco offers a similar comparative analysis of Achaean colonies in South Italy, noting that they shared two common features during the period of their expansion in the Archaic period: large agoras and extra-urban sanctuaries of Hera. In the third paper Douwe Yntema offers an interesting new interpretation of the nature and development of the Greek presence in south-eastern

¹ P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford 2000); W. Scheidel, I. Morris, and R. Saller (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge 2007).

Italy in the 8th and 7th centuries BC. According to this reconstruction, after an initial period of trading and opportunistic raiding, Greek settlement in the region took two forms, either the formation of small enclaves in native settlements which had little effect on the local cultures, as was the case at Otranto, or growing populations of Greeks living in native communities that gradually took on a Greek character, ultimately becoming *poleis*, as happened, for example, at Sybaris. In the final paper of this group, Gert-Jan Burgers and Jan Paul Crielaard use the site of L'Amastuola near Taranto to question the tendency to treat colonisation as a single event in which archaeology can identify the participants, suggesting instead that it is better viewed as a long-term process in which, as the heterogeneous material culture of L'Amastuola indicates, identity was constantly renegotiated as circumstances changed. Two brief papers by Pier Giovanni Guzzo and Michel Gras containing reflections on the general themes of the conference close the volume.

Conceptualising Early Colonisation is eloquent testimony to the changes the study of Greek colonisation has undergone in recent decades. Three stand out. Most obvious is the increasing emphasis on archaeological instead of textual evidence. Closely related are the growth in scholarly interest in relations between Greeks and non-Greeks in colonial situations and in topics related to culture contact such as identity formation and hybridisation. Not all has been gain, however. The title itself of the volume leaves no doubt that the divide between revisionist Anglo-American scholars and continental scholars has not been bridged. Equally important, once familiar topics such as the emergence in colonial regions of *poleis* and the development of their institutional and political organisation have been downgraded. Still, *Conceptualising Early Colonisation* is a valuable contribution to the literature on Greek colonisation and will be essential reading for scholars interested on the history of Iron Age Italy and Sicily.

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N.T. Elkins, *Monuments in Miniature: Architecture on Roman Coinage*, Numismatic Studies 29, The American Numismatic Society, New York 2015, ix+230 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-89722-344-7/ISSN 0517-404X

This book represents a revised version of the doctoral dissertation defended by the author in 2010. The subject is not new and has been discussed in the literature from time immemorial, starting from the Renaissance, when vivid interest in classical antiquity arose among European humanists. Study of coins with depictions of various architectural structures or so-called *architectura numismatica*, as well as the use of coin portraits to identify marble busts and sculptures freshly recovered from the soil, marked the first steps of numismatics as a scientific discipline. Architectural representations on the coins have quite naturally been considered by scholars of the past and by most modern students, first of all, as a source of knowledge on how ancient monuments, today partly preserved or completely demolished, looked. As Nathan Elkins clearly states in the Introduction, his main task was different. He is interested in analysis of the historical, artistic, social and cultural contexts of the appearance of architectural iconography on Roman coins. For Imperial times there is the necessity to consider such coins in the context of the whole visual programme of a particular emperor along with other simultaneous coin types in order to understand their

ideological meaning and importance. E. argues that such an understanding would be facilitated by defining the audiences at which the Roman state targeted specific coin designs and this task in turn could be completed by analysis of the coin-find evidences. The book covers the period from the last third of the 2nd century BC, when the first architectural types appeared on Roman Republican coins, to the reign of Valentinian III (AD 425–455), which marks the end of using architectural types on the coins of antiquity.

The book is divided in four chapters, which in general follow the same scheme of narration. Chapter 1, 'The Emergence of Architectural Designs on the Coinage of the Roman Republic' (pp. 15–52), starts with brief characteristics of the architectural structures or their parts found on Greek and Persian coins. E. fairly concludes that the emergence of such images on the coins in question was rare and incidental and did not reflect any sort of ideological programme or politics of the minting authorities. As against these coins, Roman issues with architectural types were quite numerous and from the very beginning turned out to have been intimately connected with the personality of the moneyer in charge of coin production. E. offers an exhaustive survey of the architectural representations on Roman Republican coins, whose history begins from the issuing of silver denarii by C. Minucius Augurinus in 135/4 BC with a depiction of the Columna Minucia on the reverse. This survey clearly demonstrates that architectural coin types in the Roman Republic either advertised the prestige of the moneyer's ancestors, some of whom built monuments of various sort for the public weal or were honoured by public monuments, or referred to contemporary politics and historical events. Answering the question of where the inspiration to depict the built environment on coins might have come from, E. turns his attention to the stylistic development of Roman wall-painting and makes parallels between this process and rendering of the architectural types on the coinage of the 1st century BC. Another important factor contributing to this was gradual transformation of Rome into a world metropolis in late 2nd and 1st centuries BC, accompanied by a considerable increase in city's population and intensification of the urban building activity. As E. argues, the initial impetus to the appearance of architectural monuments on Republican coins could have been given by the Lex Gabinia, passed in 139 BC, which introduced the practice of secret ballots in elections. A consequence of this was that young people, starting their career, now became less dependent on noble patronage and had a sudden need to campaign to the broader electorate (p. 45). The post of *monetalis*, one of the minor magistracies, placed in their hands a powerful medium of self-advertising in the way of reminding people of the deeds and benefactions of their families to the city and people for their own political advantage. I should say, however, that this interesting suggestion does not exactly conform to the figures collected by C.D. Hamilton regarding the number of *tresviri monetales* whose subsequent careers could be considered as successful. For the period 150–125 BC he listed only five such persons out of 46 *monetales* (11%), and for 124–79 BC between 20 and 25%. Only after 78 BC can one note a considerable change in the process and gradual increase in the number of persons who reached high ranks after starting their *cursus honorum* with the post of moneyer.¹

¹ C.D. Hamilton, 'The Tresviri Monetales and Republican Cursus Honorum'. *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 100 (1969), 192. This important work, unfortunately, is unknown to E., judging by its absence from the bibliography at the end of the book.

Chapter 2, 'Architectural Coin Types in the Early Roman Empire (Augustus through Severus Alexander)' (pp. 53–118), thoroughly analyses the set of architectural images on Imperial coinage and those changes that took place in this field after the formation of the Principate. These changes concerned alike the outer appearance and inner meaning of the architectural types used. The former was defined by the introduction of the large bronze coins, sestertii, under Augustus, whose size allowed more artistic and natural rendering of architectural monuments, which fitted better the tastes of viewer; the latter was connected with Imperial ideology and presenting the emperor as the only person whose activity secured the safety and prosperity of the people and state. E. concludes that the heyday of Imperial architectural types was from Nero to Trajan. He underlines as well that on the part of issuing authorities there was a clear understanding of the importance of the semantic value of the coin designs and a deliberate aspiration to target different denominations to the most suitable strata of the population. His case studies of Flavian and the Trajanic bronzes proves this suggestion.

Chapter 3, 'Late Roman Architectural Coin Types (the "Soldier Emperors" through Valentinian III)' (pp. 119–40), starts with a brief review of mint organisation in the later Roman empire, the main feature of which was the decentralisation of Imperial minting authority. Analysis of the architectural types of the Roman coinage in this period allows E. to conclude that application of the concept of audience-targeting on Roman Imperial coinage became inapplicable in this period as one and the same types were found simultaneously in the production of various Imperial mints, which issued highly debased coins which had only face value. By the end of the 3rd–beginning of the 4th century, architectural representations on Roman coins acquired mostly symbolical meaning, embodying rather religious concepts and ideas than reproducing specific architectural monuments. This was facilitated to some extent by the breakdown of public building activity and changes in the attitude of Late Roman society to demonstrations of personal wealth and benefaction.

The final chapter, 'Architectural Coin Types from the Roman Provinces: Characteristics, Derivation, and Influence' (pp. 141–66), investigates the origin of architectural representations on coins of the Greek East and in its turn the impact of provincial coinage on architectural types on late Imperial issues. E. distinguishes four main categories of architectural structures used as coin types on the Roman provincial issues: monuments of the city of Rome herself, those of local cult centres, local public buildings, and symbolical representations of the provincial cities through images of the city gates or walls. E. concludes that Republican and Imperial Roman coinage introduced *architectura numismatica* to the Greek cities of the Roman East, but there were local traditions in north-western Asia Minor and the Balkans that became a source of depicting city-gates in particular on Late Roman Imperial coins. Architectural reverses on provincial coin issues played an important role in expressing local identity and civic pride.

In the Conclusion to the book (pp. 167–70) E. summarises the main observations and results. Four appendices (pp. 171–202) present in tabular form lists of architectural types studied in the book, divided by chronological periods as in the text. At the end one can find an exhaustive bibliography (pp. 203–24) and an index (pp. 225–30).

To sum up, E.'s book is a good example of a thoroughly thought through and carried out scholarly work, which undoubtedly can be highly recommended to all students of ancient coinage, classical archaeologists and historians.

S. Elliott, *Empire State: How the Roman Military Built an Empire*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2017, xiv+169 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78570-658-5

'Note that this work features both a re-examination of existing appreciations of the Roman military carrying out various civilian activities, though uniquely bringing together the various strands and themes in this regard into a single volume for the first time, together with some new cutting edge research found here in print, also for the first time.' What sounds like a quotation from a review on a book's back cover or a publisher's web-site for marketing purposes, is actually a statement from the author's Introduction (p. xi). Unfortunately, throughout the book self-laudation of this kind is one of the pervasive motifs. Hence, readers of *AWE* might wonder, how is Simon Elliott going to accomplish his task, which is to examine the role of the Roman military in non-combat contexts for the entire Roman empire in fewer than 200 pages?

Soon it becomes obvious that, for E., Roman Britain is 'an example' by which central features of the Roman empire can be explained. The opening chapter is meant to provide a 'Background', containing rough sketches of 'The Principate Empire' and 'Transport in the Roman World', as well as a somewhat deeper discussion of 'The Roman Economy', which gives an overview of current debates on the nature of Roman economy. At the end of the chapter E. convincingly points to the problem of identifying Imperial estates when there is no written record, suggesting a template in this respect. The second chapter, on 'The Roman military machine', traces the structure and organisation of the Roman army under the Principate, a good and readable summary. Chapter 3, on 'Command, Control and Administration', starts with 'levers of imperial control' as introduced by Augustus. E. moves on to 'Provincial Rule', i.e. the provincial offices including the *cursus honorum*. Eventually we get three pages on 'The Roman Military as Administrators', alluding to the fact that especially in the provinces many administrative functions were exercised by military staff. Furthermore, 'Policing the Empire' is stated to be one of the main tasks of the Roman military in peace time; we may add: of course it was. Seemingly for reason of completeness, in this chapter we finally get one page on 'The Roman Military as Firefighters' and 'The Military and the Games'. The fourth chapter deals with 'The Roman Military as Engineers'. First, military engineers are presented mostly in combat contexts, as the construction of marching camps by the soldiers themselves is described, primarily from British examples. A brief survey of engineering specialists in the Roman army is followed by a long digression on technical matters, on construction techniques and materials such as stone, mortar, wood, etc. The connection to the Roman army here often is not clear. For example, in the context of construction techniques, the Basilica of Maxentius, the Pantheon and the baths of Caracalla in Rome are touched upon, impressive buildings indeed; but what do these tell us about the Roman military? Also, in the sub-chapter on 'Tiles and Bricks' E. treats the Romano-Celtic entrepreneur Cabriabanus, active in fabricating tiles in the region of Kent – an interesting person, yes;¹ but where are the relations to the Roman army? Following up, Chapter 5 describes 'The Great Construction Projects', namely roads, canals, bridges and water conduits. Most of the chapter, though, is devoted to fortification building, mainly regarding the origin and transport of building material in Roman Britain.

¹ On Cabriabanus, see also M. Davis, 'Cabriabanus – A Romano-British Tile Craftsman in Kent'. *Archaeologia Cantiana* 124 (2004), 163–82.

Up to now, even for those not particularly acquainted with the issue as specialists like myself, the book hardly tells us anything really new. To do so, E. in the last two chapters on 'The Roman Military and Industry' and 'The Roman Military and Agriculture' narrows down his narrative to Roman-period Kent. Here he renews his view, developed elsewhere, that Roman Britain experienced 'a first industrial revolution' (p. 91). Historians of the modern period in particular may question the appropriateness of this term for pre-industrial society, particularly when E. states that 'the output of the quarries' in the Weald was 'clearly industrial (in the modern sense of the word)' (p. 113). Anyway, the analysis of iron industries in the Weald as well as in the upper Medway valley is supposed to provide 'a template for others ... going forward' (p. 91) with regard to the Roman army's active role in the Roman economy. E. here suggests that these 'industries' were run by the *Classis Britannica*; at this point he is cautious enough to emphasise that there is no direct evidence. The last chapter on agriculture traces less the military as running agriculture than its function in demanding agricultural products.

As might have become apparent, this book may partly be characterised as a *collage*, not always presenting a comprehensive picture. The main problem of the book is its own claim. While regional and local studies are indubitably essential, it is a matter of debate whether the functioning of the Roman empire as a whole can be explained by using the example of one region. Thus, it may be asked, to what extent the insights gained from Kent in particular and Roman Britain in general can be considered a model for other regions of the empire, especially the eastern Mediterranean. Regrettably, in *Empire State* we hardly find extensive discussion of current views or deeper analysis of evidence. On the contrary: occasionally papyri from the East and inscriptions are mentioned, but primarily when they suit the author's thoughts and mostly without any references. Besides, E. often quotes modern authors, chiefly to underscore his own views; however, an argument by authority is no argument. A further shortcoming is the lack of indexes. Finally, in the bibliography we find only two titles in languages other than English. Although it often seems to be rather pretentious when reviewers indicate works not quoted in a volume, here too many titles are absent, also in English, which could have sharpened the author's ideas.² After all, in his conclusion E. suggests that in the Roman empire the military should not be interpreted as the 'other'. This aspect could serve as an analytically useful starting point for further research and a discussion on the role of the military in the Roman worlds.

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² To name just a very few: B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire* (Oxford 1992), quoting also Talmudic literature; A. Gebhardt, *Imperiale Politik und provinzielle Entwicklung. Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von Kaiser, Heer und Städten im Syrien der vorseverischen Zeit* (Berlin 2002); the works of Y. Le Bohec, *Histoire de l'Afrique romaine* (Paris 2005), *Le armée romaine en Afrique et en Gaule* (Stuttgart 2007) and *L'armée romaine sous le Bas-Empire* (Paris 2006), all with interesting chapters on the Roman army in non-combat contexts. Furthermore the relevant papers in A. Eich (ed.), *Die Verwaltung der kaiserzeitlichen römischen Armee* (Stuttgart 2010) and especially L. de Blois and E. Lo Cascio (eds.), *The Impact of the Roman Army (200 BC–AD 476)* (Leiden/Boston 2007). Also A. Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im Römischen Reich* (Berlin 2000).

K.G. Evers, *Worlds Apart Trading Together: The Organisation of Long-Distance Trade between Rome and India in Antiquity*, Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 32, Archaeopress, Oxford 2017, vii+213 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-742-5

Kasper Evers's *Worlds Apart Trading Together* offers a useful addition to the growing corpus of scholarship on commercial links between the Mediterranean world and polities connected by the Indian Ocean in the early centuries of the 1st millennium AD. The steadily expanding body of epigraphic, papyrological and archaeological evidence has necessitated that new studies be undertaken to understand the operation of these long-distance trade networks and how the movement of goods, peoples and ideas consequently impacted on various societies (like the Roman empire and the polities of Early Historic India) in socio-economic and intellectual terms. With some exceptions, most scholars currently working on the subject of ancient Indian Ocean trade, E. included (p. 176), do not subscribe to a Finley-esque 'primitivist' view which marginalises the significance of long-distance exchange (assuming that markets were fragmented and weak, and that most of the goods traded were merely superfluous luxuries largely confined to the elite).¹

E. rightly outlines the ways in which this long-distance exchange touched the lives of a great many people. As he declares at the beginning of the monograph, the focus of his work is not so much a general examination of 'what has traditionally been called Indo-Roman trade', but rather an analysis of the organisations that made 'exchange possible in the first place, namely networks, diaspora and associations' (p. 1). In order to do this he provides a number of specific case studies looking at the trade in its entirety – not merely distribution, but production, transport and consumption in the period between 30 BC and the end of the 6th century AD. He adopts a 'bottom-up' approach, which seeks to emphasise the experiences of the producers, merchants and craftsmen; attempting to look at, where possible, 'their own words' (as found in inscriptions, papyri and graffiti), as well as what archaeology can tell us about their activities (p. 7).

In this vein, two of the most interesting parts of this book, to my mind, are Chapters 4 and 8. The former provides a discussion of *collegia*/associations and the role played by many of their members in the processing and retailing of Eastern goods within the Roman empire (making good use of epigraphic evidence). Additionally, this chapter presents a good topographical overview of the various locations in the city of Rome where traders, retailers and craftsmen (such as the *aurifices*, *anularii*, *gemmari* and *margaritarii*) were based. Chapter 8 parallels this by considering the (primarily inscriptional and literary) evidence for Indian associations/organisations (*shreni*, *vanji*, *navika* and *nigamas*) involved in the production, acquisition or creation of various goods like carved ivories, textiles, pearls, pepper and precious stones, and their transport and exchange.

¹ For example, S.E. Sidebotham, in his work *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route* (Berkeley 2011), 249–51, has noted that spices and aromatics were utilised for a wide array of social functions in the Roman empire and reached quite far down the socio-economic scale. By contrast, R. Gurukkal, in his recent *Rethinking Classical Indo-Roman Trade: Political Economy of Eastern Mediterranean Exchange Relations* (New Delhi 2016), could be seen to marginalise the significant of 'Indo-Roman' trade links, at least for the polities of the Tamilakam (far south of Peninsular India).

This book is structured as follows: a short Introduction, two 'introductory' chapters, six main chapters, and a Conclusion. Chapter 1, the first of the introductory chapters, provides a brief historiographic review of scholarship on 'Indo-Roman' trade, including a critique of previous 'Romano-centric' biases with regards to the treatment of the evidence (p. 5). The second introductory chapter lays out the 'bottom-up' approach taken in the book and gives a qualified critique of New Institutional Economics, emphasising the point that 'specific historical conditions should take precedence over assumptions about transaction costs' (p. 10).

Chapter 3 provides a useful contextual discussion of the importance of *collegia* and *corpora* in the Roman world, as well as the development of a fashion for using imported Indian carved ivories as finishings for Roman furniture (as possibly exemplified by the Indian ivory figure found at Pompeii). Chapter 4, as already noted, develops the discussion on the importance of *collegia* and the topography of certain retailing and craft activities in the city of Rome. Chapter 5 examines the diffusion of Eastern goods both across the provinces of the Roman empire but also down the socio-economic scale, re-asserting the point, noted recently by several scholars (Young 2001; McLaughlin 2010; Sidebotham 2011; Van der Veen 2011; Purcell 2016; etc.)² that Eastern products, particularly certain spices and aromatics, could have been purchased by a fairly wide segment of the population, at least occasionally and in small quantities. The cumulative effect of these numerous small purchases having a significant economic and social impact.

The focus of discussion shifts in Chapter 6 to the role of networks and diaspora in the functioning of long-distance exchange between the Mediterranean world and the East. This includes an examination of the potential involvement of wealthy Italian families in this trade. Two important loan contracts are also reviewed: the Ptolemaic era loan contract to the Spice-Bearing Land (*SB* III, 7169) and the mid-2nd century AD 'Muziris Papyrus' (*P. Vindob* G 40822). In the case of the latter, E. (partially) criticises both Morelli's and De Romanis's recent reconstructions of the papyrus' verso.³ Furthermore, E. argues that neither of the contracts should be seen as a standard maritime loan. Chapter 7 moves the focus beyond the empire, looking at commercial networks and certain hubs like the island of Socotra and the port of Qana' (probably the Kane of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, near modern Bir 'Alī). Chapter 8, as outlined above, examines associations/organisations in India (primarily focusing on the Deccan and the Tamilakam) connected to the acquisition, crafting, transporting and trading of various products.

A few relatively trivial issues might be raised with this monograph, such as the occasional inconsistency in the placement of AD either before or after reference to a specific date. It

² G.K. Young, *Rome's Eastern Trade International Commerce and Imperial Policy, 31 BC–AD 305* (London 2001); R. McLaughlin, *Rome and the Distance East* (London 2010); Sidebotham (as in n. 1); M. Van der Veen, *Consumption, Trade and Innovation: Exploring the Botanical Remains from the Roman and Islamic Ports at Quseir al-Qadim, Egypt* (Frankfurt 2011); N. Purcell, 'Unnecessary Dependencies: Illustrating Circulation in Pre-Modern Large-Scale History'. In J. Belich *et al.* (eds.), *The Prospect of Global History* (Oxford 2016), 65–79.

³ F. Morelli, 'Dal Mar Rosso ad Alessandria: Il Verso (ma anche il recto) del 'papiro di Muziris' (*SB* XVIII 13167)'. *Tyche* 26 (2011), 199–233; F. De Romanis, 'Playing Sudoku on the Verso of the 'Muziris Papyrus': Pepper, Malabathron and Tortoise Shell in the Cargo of the *Hermapollon*'. *Journal of Ancient Indian History* 27 (2012), 75–101.

might also have been worth incorporating a topographic map of the city of Rome in Chapter 4. However, such criticisms are very minor and do not meaningfully detract from the quality of E.'s work. Seven colour maps, based on Google Earth, are provided at the end of the book, while a few useful photographs and sketches are incorporated into Chapters 3 and 8. There is no index at the end of the monograph, but the use of sub-headings (also listed in the contents page) helps the reader search the text for specific topics.

In summary, *Worlds Apart Trading Together* offers a good complement to the existing academic literature in the field of ancient Indian Ocean trade and is certainly worth reading for those interested in this subject, as well as those with a broader interest in economic history.

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M.L. Ferruzza, *Ancient Terracottas from South Italy and Sicily in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Getty Publications, Los Angeles 2016, viii+243 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-60606-486-3

This volume is the second in a series that aims to make the collection of Greek, Roman and Etruscan art at the Getty Villa accessible as both a traditional print publication and an interactive, web-based catalogue (the latter available to the public free of charge). Its particular focus is a selection of 60 figural terracottas, painstakingly studied by Maria Lucia Ferruzza, and lavishly illustrated in colour. The objects were purchased on the art market after 1970, a fact that is noted, but neither explored nor problematised in any significant manner.

The book opens with a short foreword by the director of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Timothy Potts, in which he identifies as one of the catalogue's goals the promotion of innovative approaches to the dissemination of research. The on-line version of the catalogue is certainly innovative, not least because it is a generous showcase of often-overlooked objects. High-resolution, zoomable pictures can be down-loaded, and in some cases rotated 360 degrees. The reader is further able to filter the catalogue's text by location, typology, date range and group, down-load its object data, and make use of an interactive map that shows the proposed provenance of the terracottas, and links to the Getty's Thesaurus of Geographic Names and to Pleiades. For the scholar who may not have direct contact with these objects, the thorough recording and the ease of its access are invaluable.

A second objective of the catalogue is to facilitate the interaction of readers with the works on display at the museum, and one may easily imagine it enriching the experience of a thoughtful visitor to the Getty Villa. F. offers a clear and succinct introduction where she clarifies the objectives and limits of her study. The selection of 60 terracottas span the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods, and are attributed to workshops in southern Italy and Sicily based on their clay, style and acquisition history. It is meant to represent the most significant and distinctive typologies extant in the Getty's collection of over a thousand examples, and includes large-scale sculpture, as well as smaller figurines, terracotta reliefs and altars. The unique and captivating terracottas, as F. herself acknowledges, are perhaps most valuable as they reveal the preferences of modern collectors.

A section on classification, where F. outlines the rationale behind the organisation of the catalogue, follows the Introduction. The entries are ordered first by region and site, and

then by use context, even though most attributions are, by necessity, conjectural. A short summary of the most recent scholarship concerning the techniques involved in the production of terracotta figurines and sculpture follows, which those unfamiliar with coroplastic studies should find helpful.

The catalogue proper takes up the bulk of the publication. Each of the 60 entries is prefaced with a full-page, high-resolution image – some entries include alternative angles as well – making for a very handsome volume. The illustrations are an important contribution, as they do justice to the terracottas' tangibility, and give sense to what are often murky discussions of fabric and construction technique. Beginning with the customary objective data (fabric description, dimensions, state of preservation and object bibliography), each entry also includes a note on provenance that indicates a concise acquisition history for the terracotta in question. A short discussion addressing iconography, possible dating and comparable materials follows. It should be noted that most of the cited comparanda are drawn from the conventionally understood 'major' arts, underscoring coroplastics' subordinate position in traditional scholarship. While not an entirely objectionable approach, it can minimise the fact that figural terracottas tended to follow their own traditions in manufacture and stylistic development, and that as such they need not only be approached as miniaturised or cheaper versions of works in other media.

The catalogue is at its most interesting when it follows the entries for single objects with fuller, critical examinations of groups. Such essays are offered for a group depicting a seated poet accompanied by sirens, for representative heads and busts of the Taranto region, for a group of statues of mourning women from Canosa, for a pair of seated Eros, and, last of all, for a pair of altars depicting the myth of Adonis. It is here that the care and respect that F. has for these objects comes through most clearly, and it is these sections that will likely prove most useful to visitors to the Villa, who might get more enjoyment out of the objects on display if these are given meaningful contexts.

That those contexts are mostly hypothetical might prove problematic for some. F. is transparent in her investigation, and forthright about its limitations; she justifies her approach by noting that to do less would further reduce terracotta sculpture to trivial ornament. Her careful and detailed reconstructions, however, tend to de-emphasise the very real loss of an archaeological context, one that no amount of conscientious research and shrewd analysis can rescue. That is not to say that there is no value in this type of work – for the specialist, the information that can be gleaned from the objects themselves, for example, the thorough investigation into their production techniques and materials, should prove beneficial – but that a better balance between fact and conjecture needs to be struck in its presentation. F. wished to facilitate comparisons and connections with provenanced materials, and this is something that can certainly still happen.

The catalogue is capped by an annotated, and partially illustrated, list of the full collection of South Italian and Sicilian terracottas at the J. Paul Getty Museum. Composed by Claire Lyons, the clear and useful guide is an excellent supplement to what is already a thorough and beautiful publication. One laments, however, that it is largely unprovenanced terracottas that received this careful treatment, whereas systematically excavated collections continue to have a difficult time securing funding for such state-of-the-art presentations.

D. Fishwick, *Precinct, Temple and Altar in Roman Spain: Studies on the Imperial Monuments at Mérida and Tarragona*, Ashgate, Farnham/Burlington, VT 2017, xxx+301 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-4724-1265-2

Precinct, Temple and Altar in Roman Spain is the posthumous book by Duncan Fishwick (1929–2015), arguably the worldwide authority in everything concerning the Roman Imperial cult in general but especially regarding the cult in the western part of the empire.

This book is divided into five chapters that include a large number of illustrations to guide the reader while following the intense but easy to read prose.

The introduction sets the state of the art in the archaeological research at Mérida and Tarraco, while also introducing that on the Imperial cult in the West, where, according to F., 'Rome had to create the cult of the emperor *de novo*' (p. 1).

Chapter II deals with the exploration during the last decade in the area of the modern Plaza de la Constitución and Calle Holguín in Mérida, especially the discovery of a podium of what seemed to be a large and peculiar temple. This has been interpreted, due to the size of the podium and the overall remains, including the known 'Arco de Trajano', as the provincial forum in Emerita. Such an area, located on the north-west side of the Roman town and along the *Cardo Maximo*, would have consisted of a rectangular plaza with a portico on three sides, entered through a monumental gate whose remains are the aforementioned 'Arco'. It was a surprise to find that the temple, dated in the Tiberian period (*ca.* AD 25), seemed to be a copy of the *Aedes Concordiae* in Rome and this opened a number of very interesting questions that F. tries to answer. Thus, during the Julio-Claudian period, Augusta Emerita underwent a massive monumentalisation to exalt Roman power (p. 127) by creating a provincial forum, including an exceptional temple with close ties to Roman parallels, as was the case in other capitals such as Tarraco, Narbo or Camulodunum.

Chapter III, entitled 'The Location, Date and Archaeological Context of the 'Temple of Augustus' at Tarraco' focuses mainly on presenting and contextualising the results of the geophysical survey carried out in the last decade under the cathedral and their relation with other recent archaeological results. All of this is interpreted in the light of the news from the epigraphy, coins and the Latin texts regarding the Imperial cult. The excavations in the lower colonial forum of Tarragona showed quite clearly the non-existence of any temple related to the cult there. In the upper terrace, however, excavation has revealed the existence, at least from Flavian times, of a large representative enclosure, with several civic areas, like a circus, a representation plaza, where a large number of statues might have been located and finally a *temenos* that might enclose a large temple. F. argues its Julio-Claudian concept and origin. Recent geophysical exploration has unveiled the presence of a large podium under the mediaeval cathedral. Following the excavators, F. concludes that such a podium could only be related to the disputed 'Temple of Augustus'. Based on Tacitus' account that this 'set an example to all the provinces' and numismatic iconography, F. concludes that such a temple had a provincial rather than municipal character (pp. 152–58). A number of questions still remain open, as for instance the existence of an 'Axial Hall' at the back of the temple and its possible function that would surely be answered by further archaeological explorations in the future.

Chapters IV and V deal with the controversial existence of an altar devoted to *Providentia* at Augusta Emerita. While the other chapters are based on sound proofs derived

from the archaeological excavations that have given support to several hypotheses flowing from the literary, iconographic or numismatic evidence, here matters are rather more speculative. The existence of the altar seems to be based solely on the appearance of a number of coins with the reading of PROVIDENTIA AVGVSTI with an *ara* on them and the presence of similar *ara* at other sites (such as Lugdunum). A number of fragmentary remains have been interpreted as possibly belonging to an actual altar to Providentia in Emerita. All is rather speculative and F. is explicit about this; but especially in Chapter V, it is argued that a possible location for it would be the recently proposed Forum Adiectum, perhaps as a side monument of a possible temple that could have stood there.

One interesting point of discussion through the book is the role played by the Roman authorities in promoting the Imperial cult. According to F., this was not just an imposition but a negotiation, trying to find previous institutions, local beliefs and traditional practices that might be accommodated into the cult. It is significant, however, that the particular action of high ranking individuals in promoting the cult is clearly highlighted. In Emerita, F. focuses on the role played by L. Fulcinus Trio, the governor of Lusitania for this period, as promotor of the monumentalisation and perhaps even the inception of the cult in Emerita. This seems rather a process clearly instigated from the centre than a spontaneous initiative as in the East. For Tarraco, although the role played by the provincial governor is also highlighted by comparison with what was previously maintained from Lusitania, no further proofs exist of such guidance of the embassy of the *hispani* in AD 15. In any case, according to F. this might pose a top-down movement for the promotion of the cult in the West, significantly different from that in the East, where a long standing tradition of ruler cults was present at the time of Augustus, and therefore the promotion of the cult seemed rather bottom-up. However, F. does not seem to ascribe further importance to the possible contradiction between that top-down promotion of the cult with that negotiation mentioned above to accommodate the cult to previous institutions, local beliefs or traditional practices. To achieve this, the Roman authorities had to have a degree of agreement (at least) with the local elite, something not explored in this book at all.

The idea of the three-layered representative space in the upper terrace of Tarragona would be 'the most ambitious project of its kind in the Latin west' (p. 183), according to F., and would be designed to convey the grandeur and power of Rome. The parallels in other similar spaces may tell us about a rather standardised monumentalisation, where gods and emperors were in the upper layer, the notables and administration were in the middle, and the people in the lower one. It would be highly interesting to explore to what extent this scheme extends to other areas both in the West and East.

In summary, this is a very well-edited book (a small number of important typographical mistakes should be amended in any second edition: on p. 163, fig. 78 is supposed to show a view of the *horreum* below the circus but instead the figure shows the image of fig. 84; or in the lengthy and exhaustive references that to Fernández Ochoa and Morillo Cerdan 2002 has the wrong pages). As F. states, the book will serve very well to give students and scholars a clear picture of the state of affairs regarding civic areas possibly related to the Imperial cult in Emerita and Tarraco. In this sense it will be introductory and compulsory reading for anyone wishing to become acquainted with developments in these two towns. The hypotheses presented, especially those related to the speculative altar to Providentia Augusti, will only be confirmed or disproved by further excavations, but it is a

nice example of how the mixture of historical sources (archaeological, literary, iconographic, epigraphic and numismatic) can be used to present new and enticing interpretations.

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A. César González-García

T. Fögen and R. Warren (eds.), *Graeco-Roman Antiquity and the Idea of Nationalism in the 19th Century: Case Studies*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2016, vii+305 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-047178-6

This collaborative volume is an outgrowth of an interdisciplinary conference organised by the editors at Durham University (the trading name of the University of Durham); half the chapters were presentations there, the other half specially commissioned. Overall, a dozen papers mainly contemplating England/Britain, France and Germany, but also 'Arminius in Bohemia: Two Uses of Tacitus in Czech Art' (Richard Warren) and 'Classical Translations and Strands of Irish Nationalism' (Laurie O'Higgins). Generally, one finds art and nationalism a fascinating combination, often fascinating in its awfulness. There are, however, old nations, often to be found in or off north-western Europe, and 19th-century (re)inventions, simulacra and impostures (playing with the idea in Danubia or the Balkans at the risk of burning down the house).

The editors set out their stall in the introductory chapter, admitting that nationalism is not susceptible to easy description and eschewing the attempt (so we are spared another battle in the terminology wars). They conclude with a set of 'key questions' and the remark of Gilbert Highet that 'Every age finds what it wants in the classics' (pp. 12–13). Next comes a commissioned piece from Anthony Smith, emeritus professor of Nationalism and Ethnicity at the London School of Economics (a wise inclusion amidst the classicists, historians, archaeologists, etc.), 'Classical Ideals and the Formation of Modern Nations in Europe' – the neo-classical revival and nation-building, neo-classical ideals, physical expression of them in architecture (Liverpool as much as Munich), sculpture and painting, etc.

Athena Leussi (who has broadened out from art history) contemplates the intertwined and antagonistic Hellenisms of England (or is it Britain?), France and Germany in 'Making Nations in the Image of Greece', following from the outset Hans Kohn's distinction between 'Western' (civic) and 'Eastern' (ethnic) nationalisms. Tim Rood ponders 'Napoleon and National Identity after Waterloo', Edmund Richardson turns to Napoleon III and his *History of Julius Caesar* (1865), then Rosemary Barrow investigates 'Militarism, Masculinity and National Identity in Victoria Britain', Richard Hingley 'Victorian and Edwardian Images of the Building of Roman Fortifications' and Warren (again) 'Henry Courteney Selous' Boadicea...'. Christopher Krebs and Michael Sommer tackle Germany.

If Smith had used the Clayton-Dobson-Grainger neo-classical redevelopment of the centre of Newcastle-upon-Tyne,¹ he would have had a direct link to Hingley's contribution,

¹ L. Wilkes and G. Dodds, *Tyneside Classical: The Newcastle of Grainger, Dobson and Clayton* (London 1964).

in which William Bell Scott's 'Building of the Roman Wall', commissioned by the Trevelyan of Wallington, just north of the Wall, for their central hall, has a prominent place. (Scott's 1857 series of paintings for Wallington takes us from Hadrian to George Stephenson.) John Clayton, possibly depicted as the centurion, was indeed a landowner, antiquarian, purchaser of Chesters (*sic*) and other forts, as Hingley remarks, but he was also a classically-educated prominent solicitor from the family that furnished Newcastle with a dynasty of town clerks; he held the office for 45 years, slightly longer than his father (as the old guard at the University of Durham, before it entered trade, would have known, and would have suggested the connection to Smith).

While the index entry for Lord Shaftesbury is exemplary, that for 'Lord Horatio Nelson', not decried as such in the text, is woeful; the two entries derive from the same paragraph. A few howlers: Wellington Hall (p. 173); H.M. Stationary Office (p. 197)!

The cover suggests that the 19th century was a turbulent period in European history. Rather less so than the following, when, to modify what Ernest Bevin said in another context, 'If you open up that Pandora's box, you never know what Trojan horses will jump out.'

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James Hargrave

C. Föller and F. Schulz (eds.), *Osten und Westen 400–600 n. Chr.: Kommunikation, Kooperation und Konflikt*, Roma Æterna 4, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016, 316 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-10942-0

The overall theme of this volume is the cultural disintegration of the Roman empire after the division of sovereignty in AD 395. Its 15 articles focus on four fields in which this development can be observed, fields which also determine the ordering criteria of the volume: the construction of identity through education in a time of political and cultural instability; the perceptions of the Roman East and West in a non-Roman world; the communication problems between East and West; and questions of wars and conflicts. A shorter fifth part is devoted to methodological perspectives.

In the first part, entitled 'Identitätskonstruktion. Abgrenzung vom Westen durch *paideia*?' (Identity Construction. Demarcation from the West through *paideia*?), the papers show how Greek intellectuals of the 4th century defined their place in an unstable cultural and political environment. Jan Stenger's contribution (pp. 17–36) demonstrates that Libanius, Himerius and Themistius were convinced to be representatives of the true *paideia* which, in their view, was bound to Greek language and culture. Therefore, they could not find a way to identify themselves with the concerns of the Latin West (and its political and cultural representatives) and those of the whole empire. Matthias Becker comes to similar conclusions regarding Eunapius' *Vitae philosophorum et sophistarum* (pp. 37–53): the author separates his idealised intellectual ideal from the Christians, from pagan opponents with defective education and from the, in his view, uneducated Romans of the West. Oliver Schelske, on the other hand, identifies simultaneous opposing trends (pp. 55–73): an awareness of a common political and cultural heritage existing with Western and Eastern pagan thinkers and an accompanying clear decline in the understanding of each other.

In the second part, 'Wahrnehmung des anderen. Außenperspektiven auf Ost und West' (Views of the Other. External Perspectives on [the Roman] East and West), Hans-Werner Goetz examines the sporadic references to Byzantium in the works of the Frankish historians Gregory of Tours and Fredegar (pp. 77–98). The empire in the East does not appear for its own sake, but as a model: not as a negative foil for Frankish identity, but as a model for Christian ethical narrative *exempla*. Christian Stadermann shows (pp. 99–116), on the example of the reception of the Battle of Vouillé, that a – religiously charged – all-Frankish identity was only gradually connected to it and the victor Clovis. Finally, Dimitrij Bumazhnov analyses, unfortunately at a somewhat too low historical depth, the transformation of the 'Church of the East's' views of the Christian East Roman and Byzantine West between the 4th and 8th centuries AD (pp. 117–32): from the positive opinion of Aphrahat in the 4th century to views in which the western neighbour appears, for political and religious reasons and to find one's own place in the world, as a 'breeding ground of heresies', the Sasanian king as a religious guardian.

In the third part, 'Gelingende, misslingende und fehlende Kommunikation. Päpste und Bischöfe und der Osten' (Successful, Failing and Missing Communication: Popes and Bishops and the East), ways of contact by clerics of the East and West are discussed. Fabian Schulz, with the example of the Church Fathers Augustine and Hieronymus, makes it clear that both remained clearly attached to the West, that their views of the East were too often reduced to stereotypes, and that the empire's unity was only recalled when, as in the case of the Pelagian controversy, both aimed at appealing to the bishops of the East (pp. 135–55). Sebastian Scholz also reveals the lack of communication with the example of the letters of the Roman bishop Simplicius: the papal fixation on Constantinople as a supplier of messages and an addressee clearly limited the possibilities of the pontifex (pp. 157–71). Carola Föller argues for a re-evaluation of the dispute between Gregory the Great and the Patriarch of Constantinople on the latter's adoption of the title 'ecumenical patriarch' at the end of the 6th century AD (pp. 173–90): in her view, the cause of the dispute was not a simple misinterpretation by Gregory but the fact that 'conceptions of humility' and 'the conflict culture' (p. 173) differed in East and West.

The fourth part ('Krieg und Konflikt. Ost und West im Vergleich' [War and Conflict, East and West in Comparison]) is devoted to military aspects of the overall theme. Guido Berndt examines the structural changes to which the 'community of violence' (*Gewaltgemeinschaft*) of Theodoric the Great's warriors was subjected from the 470s onwards (pp. 193–213). It was only after the expedition to Italy that the livelihood of this group was put on a firm foundation by the income from taxes and levies. It replaced the then-decisive sources of income such as booty, protection money, annual funds and ransoms, and the group of warriors was transformed into a standing army. David Jäger tries (pp. 215–37), with the help of the 'interpretation tool' (*Deutungswerkzeug*) of 'the way of life of a warrior' (*Kriegermodus*) (acquisition of goods and resources through plunder), to analyse anew the 'Hunnish' social structures and 'Hunnish' behaviour in the field on the one hand, the military operations of the Visigothic king Euric in the *civitas* Clermont on the other. The author rightly refers to the fact that older concepts (such as that of the 'Germanic continuity' [*der germanischen Kontinuität*]) had misled and that the *Kriegermodus* was not to be misunderstood as a constant of people's daily lives in the European Middle Ages. Nevertheless, Jäger's approach is still incomplete to be used as a more advanced analytical tool. Anne

Poguntke examines the influence of the *magistri militum praesentales* in East and West by the example of the *Heermeister* Stilicho and Gainas, whose scope of action was not least determined by their communication with the emperor (pp. 239–62). Finally, Katharina Enderle shows why in the short reign of the non-orthodox usurper Basiliscus in the years 475 and 476, end-time expectations were concentrated (pp. 263–77).

In the methodological fifth part, Tobias Schöttler writes about the conditions of communicative understanding (pp. 281–99), and Uwe Walter points to future fields of research within the overall theme (pp. 301–05): the question of the materiality of communication; the comparative view of the preceding phase of homogeneity (the period of the High Principate), which itself had its own preconditions; the role of the Church(es) in the process of the disintegration of the cultural and political links between the eastern and western parts of the empire; the question of the super-personal and cross-situational conditions of homogeneity and dissociation.

In summary, it should be emphasised that the book provides many valuable insights and an abundance of suggestions for future research on a period in which alienation, mistrust and prejudices increasingly determined the people of the West's and the people of the East's mutual views of each other's culture, way of living, etc. This praise holds true, even if the volume mainly contains specialised studies on the disintegration of the Roman empire, renounces a cultural and political-social differentiation of the 'East' and the 'West', and does not always make fair mention of the concrete political backgrounds to the breakdowns of communication and the actors' and authors' own experiences of conflicts and crises.

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N. Fröhlich, *Bandkeramische Hofplätze: Artefakte der Keramikchronologie ober Abbild sozialer und wirtschaftlicher Strukturen?*, Frankfurter Archäologische Schriften/Frankfurt Archaeological Studies 33, Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2017, xix+682 pp., illustrations (some in colour) + CD. Cased. ISBN 978-3-7749-4012-3

This book is a doctoral thesis successfully submitted to the University of Frankfurt am Main in December 2015. It is concerned with material from two Early Neolithic settlements in western Germany: Schwanfeld in the district of Schweinfurt, north-east of Würzburg, on higher ground above the River Main, and Langweiler in the district of Düren on higher ground to the west of the Rhine, the location of open cast mining for the lignite (brown or soft coal) which supplies the power station of Weisweiler that dominates the Autobahn from Cologne as it approaches Aachen, mining which has removed roads and villages and left a blank area on maps. The present volume is financially supported by the archaeology foundation of the Rheinische Braunkohlenrevier.

Schwanfeld was excavated in 1978–80 by Jens Lüning and Pieter Modderman and published by Lüning in 1984. Langweiler was excavated between 1971 and 1981 and Langweiler 8, the part of the settlement studied in the present volume, was published by Ulrich Boelicke *et al.* in 1988. The linear band pottery from these settlements has been studied by Maria Cladders, and gives a chronological sequence for their habitation.

The present volume presents a detailed analysis of the material found and published from these excavations. In addition to the pottery which provides the essential chronological foundation, along with radiocarbon dating, Nico Fröhlich considers flint (both finished products

and debris from their manufacture), stone tools, animal and plant remains. This study is presented by the processes of statistical analysis as a tool of archaeological investigation.

Schwanfeld is the oldest example of Early Neolithic in this area and dates from 5500 to 5300 BC. The settlement comprises a number of substantial rectangular huts, timber framed with internal supports. Langweiler 8 is later, and dates to 5300 to 5000 BC, with similar rectangular huts.

The huts are quite substantial; those at Schwanfeld considered in the present study measure up to 27 m in length. They are not simple rectangles, but have narrower prolongations at either end. The Langweiler huts are similar in size.

The material discovered comes not only from the huts but also from external pits associated with them. The first publication of them assumed that the huts would have lasted for around 25 years, a 'hut generation', and would then have been replaced. The huts studied at Schwanfeld appear to be in organised rows, with each hut as it falls into decay replaced by another erected alongside, it was originally suggested. F., however, suggests a less regular system, with the replacement huts at a distance, and with the intervening space subsequently filled with another hut. At Langweiler the placing is completely irregular, with no sign of the rows found at Schwanfeld. Instead, they appear to be arranged in groups, with a specific area for each group, and the orientation of successive huts in any one group completely unregulated.

In the present volume the different categories of finds are analysed in a developed and formal statistical procedure, which is the essential presentation of the study. The pottery is divided into decorated and undecorated categories and analysed, where possible, by types. Then the flints as tools, arrowheads etc. Flint was imported to the settlements, from some distance, and the various sources are identified. Stone, obviously, could be more economically found locally. Animal bones come from both domesticated and wild animals, a small number identified as pig, sheep or goat, but the vast majority indeterminate. Wild animals, hunted for their flesh, comprise aurochs, roebuck, red deer and wild boar, plus, hunted for their pelts, beaver and (one or two examples only) pine martens and pole cat, though again the vast number of bones were indeterminate. Evidence for cultivated plants comprised emmer wheat, lentils and barley, the remains of grain being mostly carbonised.

The great virtue of this study is the way it makes clear the groupings – through time – of the separate huts as economic and, in the widest sense, long term family units. It needs to be taken in conjunction with the more conventional elements of an archaeological report; the reader would be hard put to form an understanding of the sequences within the pottery fabric since there is not a single illustration of form and decoration and their evolution over the time studied. The non-statistician (like your reviewer) risks being bewildered by the immense sequence of lists, tables and statistical graphs – and will rely more on the concluding 'syntheses' of each locality and its section. Wider implications are shown; links with contemporary settlement forms and patterns, specifically with those to the east of the areas here presented, and the corresponding dearth of links to the west. The use of flint material imported from some distance shows that even in these earliest stages of the development of European civilisation links over some distance were not only possible but necessary. Taken in conjunction with the related excavation and material reports, this volume is a most valuable study of the root beginning of what can fairly be termed European civilisation.

L. Gallo and B. Genito (eds.), «*Grecità di frontiera*»: *Frontiere geografiche e culturali nell'evidenza storica e archeologica*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale Università degli Studi di Napoli «L'Orientale», Napoli, 5–6 giugno 2014, Studi di Storia greca e romana 14, Edizioni dell'Orso, Alessandria 2017, ix+242 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-88-6274-811-7

The diffusion of 'Greekness' through colonisation and trade has long been a subject of fascination and puzzlement for scholars, ranging as it does from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and far north and south. The papers of this conference visit most of the geographical range.

A. Avram considers the effects of the Persian invasion of Thrace, especially at the Aphrodite temple at Istros. G.R. Tsetskhladze, gives a good review of the evidence for Greek and Persian presence around the Black Sea. A.M. d'Onofrio considers the varieties of eastern and Greek textile decoration, an elusive subject dependent more on art than *realia*. M. Corsaro reviews the evidence for government in pre-Hellenistic Lycia, rather a jumble of minor states. S. Gallotta looks at Caracene on the Persian Gulf in the 2nd century BC. L. Boffo tackles a long-popular subject – the 'Greekness' of the city at Ai Khanum in ethnic and cultural terms. L. Gallo looks at Greeks and Greekness in India. B. Genito considers the nature of Scythian culture in eastern Europe and around the Black Sea: a lengthy discussion of the nature of the evidence from both literature and archaeology. R. Pirelli considers the Egyptian god Min and Greek god Pan in eastern Egypt in the light of inscriptions at Wadi Gesus. Pan's rustic and agricultural associations are particularly chosen to meet the equation. L. Ciscuolo looks at the Greeks in the Thebais including their agricultural settlement and cultural adjustments on both Greek and Egyptian sides.

Overall the subject will always fascinate classicists and others. My conversion from literature to archaeology was effected by a 1947 lecture by Charles Seltman in which he showed us the Greek mercenaries' inscriptions at Abu Simbel.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

J.D. Grainger, *Great Power Diplomacy in the Hellenistic World*, Routledge, London/ New York 2017, viii+264 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-4724-8429-1

In response to the century-old debate shaped by Wilcken, Rostovtzeff, Will and Gruen over whether there was a clear strategy and foreign policy among the Hellenistic dynasties, John Grainger has taken a somewhat different approach to the question by considering whether there was coherent set of 'accepted practices' (p. i) that governed diplomatic interaction in the period. The topic is vast, and G. sets about identifying and examining these guiding practices by considering the origins of Hellenistic diplomacy in Argead Macedon before turning to a series of more specific studies. He leads off with an examination of Antigonos Monophthalmos and a minimalist re-appraisal of royal marriage, before turning to more mechanical concerns of diplomacy between cities and kings through summits and envoys. For the rest of the monograph he analyses 'Diplomacy in Action' in the East (Syrian Wars, Greek mainland, Antiochus III) and the West (Ionian Sea, Rome and Carthage) before tracking the collision of these two spheres with the Roman War of Antiochus III and the subsequent decades of Roman incursion into the East.

G. concludes that there was indeed a Hellenistic diplomatic system that was born of the personal interaction among Alexander's successors, with specific relationships being re-negotiated after the death of a given king. This system of personal agreements, he notes, by and large worked quite effectively, and there are no instances of a Seleucid or Ptolemy breaking an oath or reneging on a peace treaty, and that the eastern Mediterranean was rather more peaceful than we may suspect – only 28 years of war took place in Syria over a 150-year period. Cities and federations gradually came to play a part in this diplomatic game as well through subtly orchestrated relationships with monarchs, and the two were not as antagonistic as classical sensibilities would have us believe. The delicate balance of power enabled by this monarchic diplomatic system was overturned and ultimately destroyed by the belligerent aggression of the Romans, whom G. describes as having risen to power in a world that 'more testing and brutal' than the Hellenistic East (p. 248). The Roman system of annual magistrates and senatorial oversight meant that diplomatic settlements could easily be overturned by another authority, and the Romans frequently broke agreements that they themselves had made. In a fairly traditional view of the period, he concludes that the fires of Roman Republican aggression destroyed the Hellenistic world, and gave rise to the Roman Empire.

Those familiar with G.'s work will find many common threads from his other monographs repeated here: the foreign policy of Antiochus III (2002), the Syrian Wars (2010), the mechanisms of the Aitolian League (1999) and the establishment of Seleucid power (1990).¹ In this background many of the chapters listed above have a certain sense of *déjà-lu*, though with fresh diplomatic insights sprinkled throughout. While on the whole the analysis presented by G. is sound and there are some interesting insights to be found in this well-written monograph, there is a great deal about the work as a whole that causes concern to the specialist for its lack of rigour. A four-page bibliography does not seem to be sufficient for a work of this scope, and the cursory, Syme-esque footnotes are far too short given the complex scholarly history of many of the topics G. covers. He seldom engages directly in this scholarly dialogue, which is worrying given the intricacy of the debate: one would have expected that this book would speak directly to Gruen, Harrison, Eckstein and many others, rather than just referring to them *en passant* in some footnotes.

There are some glaring editorial oversights that are, frankly, inexcusable for a press such as Routledge. There is not a single accent(!) in French titles cited, neither in the footnotes nor in the bibliography. There is likewise not a single reference to an Italian work throughout the entire monograph, which is stunning given some of the topics covered – the Cyrenaica, and Bactria, for instance, among many others. German, French and other names are likewise misspelt, 'Holbl' should be 'Hölbl' throughout, likewise 'Worrle' should be 'Wörrle'. Léopold Migeotte's name is misspelt as 'Migotte' throughout, 'Preaux' should be 'Préaux', and 'Morkholm' should be 'Mørkholm', 'Leveque' should be 'Lévêque'. Schmitt's *Staatsverträge* often appears as *Staatsvertrage*, *Tituli Asia Minoris* should be '*Asiae*', '*Inscriptionem*' in *OGIS* should be '*Inscriptiones*', 'für' and 'Epigraphik' are misspelt in the listing of *ZPE*, 'Griechischen' is misspelt in *FGH*, and the list could go on. In a discipline such

¹ *The Roman War of Antiochos the Great* (Leiden 2002); *The Syrian Wars* (Leiden 2010); *The League of the Aitolians* (Leiden 1999); *Seleukos Nikator: Constructing a Hellenistic Kingdom* (London 1990).

as ours that is so international at its heart and multilingual to its great benefit, these errors and oversights are profoundly disrespectful.

The style of citations is likewise inconsistent in the footnotes. 'Polybios' sometimes appears as 'Polybius' (107, 119, 161, 210, 211), and some titles that are mentioned in the footnotes are not included in the bibliography (Laronde, for instance). There are some factual errors in this as well: the woman from Cyzicus mentioned on p. 36 is Apollonis, wife of Attalus I, not Stratonice wife of Eumenes II and Attalus II, as G. has it. In the same vein, the equation of Laodice IV (p. 47) with the same Laodice who married Antiochus Neos has been tenuous at best since Dittenberger's entries in the *RE*. It was Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, not Miletus, that sent envoys throughout the Greek world after an appearance of Artemis Leucophryene in 211 BC (p. 1). On a larger plane, there are some basic assumptions made quite forcefully by G. that have been called into question by much recent work on the period. The old presumption of civic decline in Greek *poleis* that abounds in this work has been challenged since Wilhelm in 1942² and more recently by Gauthier, Mack and Deshours, and one wonders if the 'failure of source material from about 150 BC' (p. 246) described by G. really 'renders it impossible to discuss the diplomatic actions of the next century'. Here, as elsewhere, there is a great deal more with which to work than has made it into this monograph.

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Alex McAuley

H.B. Grob, *Die Gartenlandschaft von Pasargadai und ihre Wasseranlagen: Topographischer Befund, Rekonstruktion und achaimenidischer Kontext*, Oriens et Occidens 28, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2017, 270 pp., 112 pp. of plates, 2 maps in end-pocket. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-11628-2¹

While landscape architecture remains the sport of Great Kings, a far more difficult challenge is set for modern scholars: to reveal the traces of these landscapes, determine their development and their influence through time, all without sending oneself aloft in a flight of fantasy (for example, pp. 32, 147, 191–92). Upon the Royal Road trod by Herzfeld, Krefter, Schmidt and Stronach advances Helge Grob in his 2017 contribution on the *Gartenlandschaft* of Pasargadae, based on personal on-site inspection and archival research (including unpublished data) and outfitted with technologies which did not exist during the times of previous investigators. The above represent some of the problems he outlines in his introductory note (pp. 9–15). His will be a reconsideration of all data without the repetition of hypotheses as facts, as I hope to demonstrate in this short consideration.

The first section of his study concerns the garden landscape (pp. 17–154) and the mechanisms which permitted that garden. G. divides his sources in two: primary, i.e. aerial photography (1935/6), satellite (for example 2003), magnetic resonance images (1999 on); and secondary, i.e. on-site inspection and aerial photography, for example Herzfeld (1905 and 1910), Krefter (1928), Stein, Stronach, the 2008 topographic for UNESCO, the joint Iranian-Japanese survey. He emphasises that the recorded landscape be considered before

² A. Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden* V (Vienna).

¹ Contents at http://www.steiner-verlag.de/uploads/tx_crondavtitel/datei-datei/9783515118675_i.pdf.

and after intensified agricultural activities, with attention paid to the season in which the observations were made. In September 2008 G. conducted his own inspection, paying great attention to smaller water-related structures.

Larger-scale water-related objects and constructions are considered on pp. 40–106. To the south-east of Pasargadae's central sector is the Pulvar, the most dominant and deeply cut feature on the Waterfowl Plain, concerning which G. offers suggestions for further investigation (pp. 52–53). The Central Watercourse, running through the central sector (pp. 52–83), is illustrated on Beilage 1A (satellite and magnetically detected anomalies) and 2 (hypothetical reconstruction). G. proposes a minimal depth of 30 cm, permitting travel in flat-bottomed boats, and perhaps fishing (pp. 82–83). The Westerly Watercourse, west-north-west of the central sector and now difficult to trace in detail (pp. 84–96), was connected in importance with the sacral sector, containing two altars, a terrace construction and stone perimeter. Here, at the time of Cyrus, a sacrifice could be made before both fire and flowing water (p. 96: suggestions for further investigation). The sector surrounding the Cyrus Tomb (pp. 96–106) does not now display Achaemenid-era physical remains suggesting a watercourse, although based on G.'s own examination and an examination of archival images, he suggests the possibility of canal works permitting the presence of water on three sides (pp. 103–05, Taf. 41).

G. devotes pp. 108–46 to the smaller-scale, more precise structures created by the Cyrus-Engineers, with specific attention paid to whether evidence exists for a quadripartite division by canals of the open space before Palace P. Unfortunately such evidence does not at present exist (pp. 131–39): within the area surrounded by the inner canal magnetic resonance imagery indicates only a division along the short side (*cf.* Taf. 49, 50, 66 [to be considered with pp. 105–20; C-I numbering], 87 [hypothetical reconstruction; note the C-I numeration]). However, anomalies detected elsewhere on the site may point to a smaller scale quad-partite (p. 135). All this in no way diminishes the overall majesty of the accomplishment. No archaeobotanical investigations have been conducted on site (p. 147), the exact nature of the vegetation remains difficult to determine. In sum (pp. 151–54) Pasargadae is best described as a *Gartenlandschaft*, characterised by its unmistakable design concept: 'intensiv und architektonisch gestaltete "Inseln" in einem weniger intensiv gestalteten und fliessend in die umgebende Landschaft übergehenden Umfeld' (p. 154).

The possible influence of the engineering at Pasargadae on later construction (pp. 155–243) focuses on four sites. Dasht-I Gohar (pp. 154–67) and its environs – a strategic location – can be assigned to the time of Cambyses. While certain structures can be labelled imperial, the arrangement of open space and specifics about the use of water at the site remain uncertain. The layout does reflect Cambyses' taste, it is not Pasargadae in miniature. Susa's topography (pp. 167–81) was reshaped by Darius I to include the elevated Apadana and Royal Villa platforms. How open space was laid out depends upon how the river flowed in Achaemenid times. Susa appears to have been an island (Taf. 108) and there are at least five different areas for use as open space (pp. 174–75) open to investigation. For Persepolis G. offers a summary and illustrations of the various stage of construction (Taf. 113–117). Proposals for open space (pp. 191–204) are summarised; the existence of underground pipes known. But in a site thick with buildings only the region south of *Bauwerk F* might be suitable for the use of open space (Taf. 132, 134, 138). The focus on Babylon (pp. 204–11) is the *Perserbau* – open to access by a restricted group, no evidence at hand for any laid out gardens.

G. then considers Pasargadae in relation to structures on the periphery of the royal residences (pp. 211–43). At Charkhab near the Persian Gulf (pp. 218–25) is an imperial building, the Pavillon, bearing similarities with Palace P, particularly in stone working. There is the possibility of construction under Cyrus, and there remains the necessity to investigate and reconcile on-site appearance with earlier excavation records. Seven km from the central region of Pasargadae is Tang-e Bolaghi 34 (pp. 225–35) whose Pavillon parallels Palaces S and P, although not as grand in scale, and which cannot be fixed securely into either the time of Cyrus or of Darius. Dahan-I Ghulaman in Sistan (pp. 232–43, 6th to 4th[?] century) seems a more promising site, having possessed a more or less developed irrigation systems, with traces of watercourses (Taf. 163) and large scale constructions revealed by magnetic resonance imagery. G. recommends a systematic continuation of excavation.

G. has presented his data in a circumspect and thoroughly documented manner, and ends with the suggestion (pp. 248–49) that systematic investigation of water-related constructions can lead to a better understanding of how open space was utilised. Such will demand an investigation of all archaeological evidence, including hitherto ignored on-site and earlier recorded, but unpublished, data.

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Michael Weiskopf

S. Günther, T. Mattern, R. Rollinger, K. Ruffing and C. Schäfer (eds.), *Marburger Beiträge zur Antiken Handels-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* 34 [2016], Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2017, 250 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-86757-229-3/ISSN 1864-1415

This volume of the *Marburger Beiträge* contains seven articles, as well as book reviews. First, Stephan Seiler's paper is concerned with the region of Trier and its agricultural economy during and after the crises of the second part of the 3rd century AD, when it suffered from the incursions of German tribes from across the Rhine. He considers recent attitudes to this period in the history of the Roman empire, the challenges to the idea that there was in fact an imperial crisis at this time, in favour of a more nuanced 'transformation'. He looks at the literary evidence and the increasingly abundant evidence coming from the excavation of villas (of all types) in the areas surrounding the city of Trier itself. He lists those rural establishments which bear signs of severe destruction, whether they were abandoned, whether they were subsequently revived at least in part. He points to the eventual outcome of a revival of the rural economies, whether from continuity of population or the arrival of newcomers.

This is a considered account and argument for a widespread area. Much of the information is contained in excavation reports in locally-based publications which might not be readily or easily available. It would have been easier to follow if Seiler included plans and other details of these rural establishments, and a map showing the localities as well as the all-important road network which centred on Trier. Though destruction is attested for the villas what is not so clear is damage done to the countryside. Did the incursions also destroy the vineyards of the Mosel, where on visits to Nittel I have enjoyed wine made from the local Elbling variety of grape, supposedly the descendant of the vines planted there in Roman times and which might have supported the splendid villa of Nennig a short distance

further up the river? I am intrigued by the villa at Mehrling where in its phase IV Seiler states the walls were given applied decoration of white marble, green diorite and red marble, also found in the contemporary Basilica at Trier itself and which originated from Egypt. Was this acquired by the villa owners in some dubious way? In any case, it is interesting for the fact of its importation to this frontier region from far away.

One error to correct: Seiler twice gives E.M. Wightman's first name as Elisabeth instead of her actual name Edith.

Next Andreas Kakoschke, 'Zwei Agrippinenser an der Rhöne', looks at the funerary inscription *CIL* XIII 2037 found at Lyons, where the restoration of the incompletely preserved penultimate line includes an unexplained gap equivalent to two letters. He proposes an alternative restoration which convincingly fills this lacuna and identifies the names of the individuals concerned, from Cologne (Colonia Agrippinensis), one of whom died at Lyons.

Tong Wu, 'Political Manipulations and Civil Strife', discusses the events in Athens in 415 BC and the risk of religious festivals forming an opportunity for political insurgencies. He looks at this in connection with Aeneas Tacticus' warnings and references to this type of event and his suggestion of ways of avoiding them.

Patrick Reinard, 'Vom Wert der Dinge II', follows up on his previous article in volume 32 (2014) of the *Marburger Beiträge* on judgmental descriptions of articles for sale and trade in the papyrus documents surviving from Graeco-Roman Egypt, especially those contained in private letters, such as 'old' wine, 'best' honey, 'good' grain, 'fine, good' clothes and so on. He now presents, with full papyrological references, a vocabulary of (mostly) critical or highly critical descriptions.

Maria Argyrou-Brand writes on economy and society in the early part of the Late Bronze Age in the Aegean, trade in early Aegean history. She approaches this from the standpoint of the archaeological evidence. As archaeological evidence pottery and objects in stone are of critical importance. She assesses the market for pottery in the Late Helladic mainland of Greece, in Late Minoan Crete, at Akrotiri on Thera and finally in Egypt. This is followed by an analysis of stoneware. She then relates all this to the historical and economic context and the nature of the market for 'consumables'. She interprets this in the light of the establishment of markets, the search for profit and the general methodology of exchange, as something which is part of an essential continuity.

Elizabeth Günther's 'Femaleness Matters' looks at the role and status of the Imperial females during the Severan dynasty. She points out the unusual levels of power exercised by the wives and mothers of the Severan emperors, the titles that were bestowed on them even within a military context. She analyses the evidence for this in the coinage, listing the Imperial women for whom coins were struck and the symbolism of the coin types. This is followed by an analysis of the public buildings and temples constructed under the patronage of the Imperial females, again as a statement of their importance. Finally, she looks at the portrait types, in their hairstyle and general depiction. This is a very complete and thorough account.

Finally, Johannes Diethart and Werner Voight consider personal names and references to trade and professions found in Late Byzantine documents belonging to the monasteries of Mt Athos, specifically those terms which are not listed in the established lexicons of the Greek language. These come to a total of some 48 examples. They stand as a very real link between the Classical language and the evolution of Modern Greek. It is interesting to see

how many of the terms listed occur also as family names in modern Greece with the result that this article includes the first occurrence known to me of a reference to YouTube as a source of academic authority.

Birmingham, UK

Richard Tomlinson

J.W. Hanson, *An Urban Geography of the Roman World, 100 BC to AD 300*, Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 18, Archaeopress, Oxford 2016, viii+818 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-472-1

This is a bold and important book. At its heart lies a database of nearly 1400 cities, linked to a GIS. Its ambitious aim is to map the urban system of the early Roman empire, paying particular attention to the size and location of each city and the patterns that emerge when they are looked at as a group. Similar projects have been carried out for Early Modern and Mediaeval Europe, for Imperial China and to some extent, by the Copenhagen Polis Centre, for the Greek Mediterranean. This is the first attempt of its kind for Rome. It is an astonishing project to take on as a doctorate, which is how this book originated, within the general ambit of the Oxford Roman Economy Project (OXREP). The results and details of the design will be controversial, and not all its conclusions will convince every reader. But the challenge it poses can be ignored by no-one interested in Roman urbanism. For this Hanson deserves our congratulations and thanks.

H.'s work rests on a great labour of data-collection. He has used written *testimonia*, but has done so more critically than most, and he has controlled it with a vast mass of archaeological data. The analysis rests on urban geography models such as Central Place Theory and he cites many classics in that field. There is reference to the work of de Vries and other historians of European urbanism. These methods and comparanda might be supplemented of course, for example with more on palaeo-environments, or with the kind of comparative studies in urbanism associated with the work of Michael Smith and others. No doubt others will do so. What we have in H.'s work is an attempt to quantify urban populations, and to understand the distribution of Roman cities across the entire empire.

The resulting book is itself huge, more than 800 pages in more or less A4 format, the text laid out in double columns. The hard copy is very difficult to use. It is too heavy to hold easily, difficult to read when placed on a flat surface, and the tight paperback makes it difficult to hold pages open. Most of the volume (Part 2) consists of a 600-page-plus catalogue in which the names, locations, sizes and statuses (where known) of every city are listed along with notes on major monuments and cross references to standard reference works. This part has its own index and bibliography. The first part is a much more modest text in eight chapters. Chapters 1–3 describe the project and the methodology employed, Chapters 4–7 deal in turn with populations, monuments, civic status and location, chapter 8 resumes the conclusions. It is pity that Part 1 is not available separately as it would be an excellent addition to any student reading list on the ancient city.

Fortunately there is also an e-book, modestly priced at under £20, and H. has also generously made his databases freely available on the OXREP web-site at <http://oxrep.classics.ox.ac.uk/databases/cities/> as an xls file and a series of csv files. The e-book is well constructed, allowing readers to move directly to chapters and subsections and also to each

of the 145 figures, many generated by the GIS. The figures are one of the high points of the publication: they offer many ways to look at Roman urbanism, over time, space and in relation to catchment areas, transport routes and much else. The text is well organised but poorly copy-edited: there are numerous spelling mistakes, some in proper names and technical terms, and some items appear out of alphabetical order in the bibliographies, where there are also a few errors in titles and authors' names. On the positive side, the chapters in Part 1 are short, focused and lucidly argued.

H.'s great achievement is to offer a comprehensive description of the Roman urban system. Key components of this account are (a) the number of cities (1388) a total which for the first time is based on an actual list of archaeologically-identifiable sites rather than approximations, ancient or modern; (b) the population size of those cities, or rather of a subset of 885 of them, and (c) their distribution. This account engages with and draws on recent work on demography and economic growth, especially the work of Morley, Scheidel and past contributors to OXREP. Fundamental to H.'s calculations are his method of extrapolating populations from occupied areas which he does on the basis of some carefully considered formulae for population density. Largely on the basis of such calculations H. argues there were fewer cities in the Roman empire than has commonly been believed, that they were on average a little larger than is often stated, and that the strong contrasts drawn between east and west and Mediterranean and northern Europe have been exaggerated.

It is not possible in a review to engage fully with all of H.'s thoughtful arguments. I limit myself to a few observations.

First, counting cities is notoriously difficult because it is so difficult to distinguish very small cities (with populations in the low thousands) from larger villages. Criteria such as civic status, monumentality, urban area and population (when we have independent indices of it) do not always tell the same story. Using different criteria to those preferred by H., some will decide the total is nearer to the 1800–2000 total used in most recent estimates. An example of this kind of argument see the review in *AJA online* produced by two members of a parallel project run in Leiden.¹ They note some of the very small cities of Anatolia which nevertheless minted their own coinages. Cities or not? Roman Britain offers another example, with twenty odd cities in the sense of juridically independent entities but around 100 walled settlements, non-randomly spaced in a way that suggests they had come to function is just the way H. rightly expects of an urban system.

Second, our data are – as H. states – much better at the upper end of the urban hierarchies. It proved impossible to estimate occupied areas, and so populations, for more than a third of H.'s cities, but this was not a random third. It is very difficult to extrapolate from a non-random sample to the properties of the whole. Combine this with an uncertainty about the number of very small cities, and the utility of the mean is greatly reduced. Given that we are dealing with a distribution in which the highest value may be 1000 times that of the lowest (if Rome had a peak population of a million and if some cities had no more than 1000 inhabitants) what matters most is what happens in the middle. How big and how many were middle-sized cities? Where should we place the median and modal values for Roman urban populations?

¹ See <https://www.ajaonline.org/book-review/3530>.

H.'s work makes clearer than ever before how important this question is. His own methods throw up some surprises, such as having some rather large cities a long way north of the Alps. This may be an area where calculation of population sizes on the basis of occupied areas needs further refinement. Comparative studies like those of Michael Smith and Roland Fletcher have already made clear that population densities vary considerably in pre-modern cities. The Roman world has some notable examples: multi-storey *insulae* were more common in some areas than others. The price of real estate was one key variable but but seismology was probably another. Some larger cities were low-rise, low-density. There were also almost certainly some northern cities that never filled up the street grids laid out at foundation, vast but low-density, monuments to failed ambitions. Much also still remains to be done on intra-mural gardening in Roman cities: tantalising glimpses from the Nile valley to Campania suggest that significant portions of some cities were cultivated rather than inhabited. It would be easy to expand on questions H.'s study throws up.

A project conceived on this scale is bound to have weaker and stronger sections. Among the weaker are the chapter on civic statuses, where some complexities are missed, and the passing discussions of earlier periods where recent work on 'colonisation', on the relative chronology of different urban experiments, and on the nature of Archaic and Early Classical cities changes the picture a little. These sections are more than compensated for by the strongest sections of the work, the creation of an archaeologically based catalogue of cities, the multiple views he offers via maps, rank-size distributions and tabulation of the structure of the system. Other projects, as he is aware, are also trying to make sense of ancient urbanism in ways that are not impressionistic, not based on literary anecdotes or small numbers of rich sources. H.'s work sets a standard against which their attempts will be measured.

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Greg Woolf

G. Hedreen, *The Image of the Artist in Archaic and Classical Greece: Art, Poetry, and Subjectivity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2015, xv+362 pp., illustrations, 16 pp. of colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-11825-6

The exceedingly erudite book reviewed here is divided into an Introduction and seven chapters; the archaeological arguments are supported by 65 black-and-white and 25 colour illustrations. The book does not offer a comprehensive discussion of the image of the artist in the Archaic period, but consists of a small number of case studies centred on the red-figure vase-painter Smikros.

The Introduction sets the tone with a brief synopsis and by describing a symposiast labelled 'Smikros' on a stamnos in Brussels signed by the Late Archaic Pioneer of that name as the first 'selfie', following J. Beazley's description of the scene as 'the first self portrait'. The author argues in Chapter 1, 'Smikros and Euphronios: Pictorial alter Ego', that both these Pioneers are the same man and that Euphronios whimsically signed as Smikros on occasion. The study of individual vase-painters' hands became fashionable at the end of the 19th century as a means of classifying an ever growing corpus of objects and culminated in Beazley's attribution of around 34,000 vases to individual painters, potters and workshops. It is a brave man indeed who argues against Beazley, who was fully aware of the similarities between the painters, perhaps unsurprising since they worked alongside each other.

Beazley based the structure of Athenian potteries on Renaissance workshops and some of the status of the latter still clings to the former, although a view that vase-painters may have been semi-literate *banauoi* has become prevalent. Euphronios and Euthymides were fond of writing on their vases, but their colleague Phintias had difficulties spelling his own name. Almost all evidence is provided by the vases themselves, therefore the first 'selfie' may be a proud self portrait of an artist in an aristocratic setting, an in-joke, or evidence of a painter uncomfortable with writing and therefore falling back on his signature. Smikros, Tiny, may have been a nickname, but it is also found on the list of the fallen in the *demosion sema* (IG I³, 1147). Moreover, painters did not usually display a 'unique and consistent set of features' but shared many characteristics with others in subtle combinations and variations.

The rather long second chapter, 'Archilochos, the fictional Creator-Protagonist, and Odysseus', seeks parallels in the works of the 7th-century poet, who used the first person singular to let others speak. Chapter 3, 'Hipponax and his Make-Believe Artists', provides literary evidence for invented artists in the work of the 6th-century poet Hipponax of Ephesus, who is said to have driven the sculptor Bupalos, whom the author regards as fictitious, to suicide. The anecdote might be invented, but Bupalos was probably not since he was known to Pliny and Pausanias.

'Hephaistos in Epic: Analog of Odysseus' convincingly compares the status of the blacksmith with that of the poet as marginal figures in society in literature. The subject of Hephaistos is continued in Chapter 5, 'Pictorial Subjectivity and the Shield of Achilles on the François Vase', which examines the roles of the marginal gods Hephaistos, lame and Dionysos, the son of a mortal. Hedreen follows Beazley's reading of the Return of Hephaistos on the François Vase, where Dionysos and Hephaistos are 'exalted at the expense of all the others'. The reading of the wedding procession is more contentious, since Dionysos' placement, 'humble' in the eyes of Beazley, is in the centre, and Hephaistos' position at the end may have a narrative reason, as D. Williams (*Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 1 (1983)) has suggested, the god still resided with Okeanos where he had taken refuge after the rejection by his mother.¹

'Frontality, Self-Reference, and social Hierarchy' examines a range of vases, among them Nearchos' signed aryballos in New York, where the artist's signature is placed next to a frontally squatting satyr and therefore might invite the viewer to compare the posture of the creature with that of the potter at work, an Eye Cup by Psiax as a somewhat unlikely self portrait of the artist, and the name vase of the Foundry Painter, which is read as an illustration of social status. Social differences are clearly shown in the drapery, the small workmen wear loin cloths, the large onlooking gentlemen *himatiaia*, but the difference in size may have been employed to emphasise the scale of the statue.

'Writing and Invention in the Vase-Painting of Euphronios' deals with fictitious and real names. The author does not follow Immerwahr, who regarded most names on vases as those of real persons, borne out by the Pioneer's use of the names of fellow painters when required to use names, and believes that many are inventions, citing the parallels of fictitious creatures such as satyrs and maenads. The Pronomos Vase, chosen by the author as one example, illustrates this well: unique names apparently invented for the scene are

¹ D. Williams, *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 1 (Malibu, CA 1983).

combined with common names, the figures one would like most to know, the 'woman' and the 'king' remain anonymous. However, the names may not be the painter's invention, but written on the model he used.

The Epilogue is devoted to Peithinos, 'The Persuader', arguing that the name was invented and suits his cup with a courting scene and a picture of Peleus and Thetis.

The reviewer may not agree with every proposal and one might object to the fact that the approach is somewhat eclectic in its selective choice of masterpieces from a rather long timespan and drawing on literary comparanda from a distant shore, but the book is an exciting new look at vase-paintings, the way they are read, and the artists in the Kerameikos and their awareness of themselves and their position

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Thomas Mannack

A. Heinemann, *Der Gott des Gelages: Dionysos, Satyrn und Mänaden auf attischem Trinkgeschirr des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Image and Context 15, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2016, xi+787 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-022223-4/ISSN 1868-4777

The world of Dionysos has been studied extensively by, among others, Isler-Kerenyi, Carpenter, Moraw, Schöne and Lissarrague.¹ Alexander Heinemann's hefty study concentrates on images of Dionysos and his mythical followers, satyrs and maenads on Athenian symposium vases in relation to the shapes they decorate; however a few are funerary lekythoi.

The volume is lavishly illustrated, supplied with an excellent bibliography, and an English summary at the very end gives access to the main arguments to non-English speaking students. The book is subdivided into eight chapters, each preceded by a careful discussion of methods, theories and the main problems connected with the topic. The first chapter examines buyers and users of figure-decorated pottery in a highly informed and intelligent manner, using literary and archaeological evidence showing that Athenian drinking vases were only occasionally made to order, that about a third of the population of Athens could afford to buy them, and pointing out that Greek vases were not as clearly gendered as some modern archaeologists like to think. Makers and recipients were largely male. The second part, vase and image at the symposium, discusses the use of Attic pottery, shapes, images and inscriptions in the contexts of symposium and *komos*.

The second chapter discusses the appearance of Dionysos and satyrs. Dionysos is bearded at first and youthful from about 420 BC, which H. interprets as increased eroticism. Two Early Classical beardless gods probably have narrative reasons. The young Dionysos may have sculptural antecedents, the reclining Parthenon god D may be an

¹ C. Isler-Kerenyi, *Dionysos in Archaic Greece: An Understanding through Images* (Leiden 2007), *Dionysos in Classical Athens: An Understanding through Images* (Leiden/Boston 2014); T. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art* (Oxford 1986), *Dionysian Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens* (Oxford 1997); S. Moraw, *Die Mänade in der attischen Vasenmalerei des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Mainz 1998); A. Schöne, *Der Thiasos, Eine ikonographische Untersuchung über das Gefolge des Dionysos i.d. att. Vasenmalerei des 6. u. 5. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Gothenburg 1987); and F. Lissarrague, *La cité des satyres: Une anthropologie ludique, Athènes, VIe-Ve siècle avant J.-C.* (Paris 2013).

example, but could – according to Williams – be identified as Ares. The change from bearded to youthful appearance of others, Herakles and Zeus, around the same time is somewhat neglected.

Heinemann scrutinises the attributes of satyrs, snub-nose, baldness, introduced by early red-figure painters, quasi-theatrical movements and animal features one by one, pointing out that they indicate horniness and ugliness and are often seen as opposites of the aristocratic ideal, but some of these are shared by symposiasts and komasts and therefore also worryingly aspects of aristocratic behaviour. Kleitias' satyrs may have goats' legs rather than horses' legs in the manner of East Greek satyrs.

The female followers of Dionysos, the maenads, do not receive the same full treatment as the satyrs, but figure prominently in Chapter 3, dedicated to erotic relationships in the world of Dionysos. H. observes that satyrs have satisfactory sexual relationships with nymphs in literature and art in the Archaic period, wrestle maenads in the manner of Peleus and Thetis in the late 6th century, and are shown in erotic pursuit scenes in the Early Classical period. The definition of the term maenad, used by H. for purposes of convenience, is intelligent. Vase-painters did not differentiate carefully, maenadic attributes are used for all females drawn into the circle of Dionysos. In the context of symposia, the images of satyrs and maenads represent lust and untamed desire, while Ariadne and Dionysos represent 'constant and effortless access to his ... consort'.

The satyr-play is the topic of the fourth chapter in which H. points out that vase-painters did not depend on performances and also doubts the existence of an original myth suggesting that myths developed continuously and had many local variations, with the only requirement that the protagonists remained recognisable. Moreover, vase-painters were as free to change myths as authors. He also proposes that *perizomata* are not always indicative of stage performances, but can also denote acrobatic performances at symposia. The contrast between male attributes and the obviously female form of *hetairai* performing as pyrrhichists and fin phallos trunks would have created an erotic *frisson* appealing to the drinkers.

Chapter 5 discusses 'Dionysiac myth in the context of the symposium'. Using the Return of Hephaistos, Ariadne and Amymone, and Prometheus as exempla. Hephaistos, characterised as a craftsman by his tools and lame foot is, according to H., a marginal figure like the wine god himself, and illustrates the power of wine as a leveller of differences. Whether the two gods were regarded as truly marginal is however open to interpretation.

The section on Ariadne and Amymone, not entirely clear, presents the god as a danger to and in support of the *oikos*. The images of Amymone are – as always – too late to be connected with a known play and also fairly generic and may therefore show the common scene of satyrs molesting a woman. Images of the upbringing of the infant god are seen as a reinforcement of the *oikos*, although the absence of a properly regulated household makes it difficult to reconcile this idea with the myth.

Prometheus is seen by H. as another parallel to the god, the bringer of fire is juxtaposed with the giver of fiery wine. Marsyas is viewed by H. not only as a satyr punished for hybris, but also as the masterly player of an instrument featuring prominently in the symposium. In later scenes of the symposium, H. observes the presence of professional musicians, which portrays the drinkers as passive critics and connoisseurs of music. It is however possible that the hiring of professionals might be a sign of the symposium having moved downmarket and that the participants were therefore not able to play music.

Chapter 6, 'Dionysiac Role Playing' discusses satyrs in a variety of guises, dressed up as heroes, gods (Hermes) and humans (such as farmers, artisans and – in large numbers – Athenian citizens). This is seen as persiflage, parody or travesty depending on context, and drawing attention to the satiric nature immanent in humans.

Chapter 7 deals with images of and for rituals of cult, a woman on a swing, convincingly seen as Erigone, in two cases above a well, the Hieros Gamos with Ariadne and the wife of the Archon Basileus, read as the ceding of women, all women, to the god in return for the gift of wine, theoxeny, H. sensibly states that not every chair carried for the god is a reference to playing host to the god, but can serve as an indication of the luxurious life of the god, and the Anthesteria, where children figure as not yet cultured and therefore satyr-like beings.

The final chapter treats infant satyrs, often depicted in scenes of family bliss, but also taking the role of sympotic vessels and other objects in balancing acts performed at the feast.

The subject of the study is Dionysos at the feast, but it might have been rewarding to cast the net wider and examine the multi-faceted nature of the god. There is a polite nod to the fact that vase-painters would have been aware of the use of their vases not only in domestic contexts, but also in sanctuaries and tombs in Greece, Etruria and elsewhere, and many of the vases used by H. were deposited in graves. Dionysos was also connected with death and a frequent guest at mortal weddings. The book is exceptionally well written (save for a few instances of English words used where German ones would have served better), thoroughly learned and yet accessible, and the author has looked carefully and perceptively at the objects. His work should be in every archaeological library.

Beazley Archive, Oxford

Thomas Mannack

P. Herrmann, *Kleinasien im Spiegel epigraphischer Zeugnisse. Ausgewählte kleine Schriften*, edited by W. Blümel, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2016, xiv+718 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-048965-1

The reviewed volume is a collection of 59 articles by Peter Herrmann (1927–2002), internationally renowned German ancient historian and epigraphist, edited by Wolfgang Blümel. Originally published in widely scattered periodicals and other publications printed in several countries in the 46 years between 1958 and 2004, they are now conveniently republished in a single volume. During its preparation, the layout of the text and the citation format were standardised and references to the new editions of inscriptions in corpora and in the *SEG* were added in curly brackets. Moreover, new photographs of inscriptions from Sardis were supplied by Nicholas Cahill.

The first section of the book ('Inschriften aus Lydien', pp. 3–246) embraces 20 articles on Lydian history, historical geography, cults and epigraphy, all well known and regularly cited in the works pertaining to this Anatolian region. Let me mention just a few titles: 'Neue Inschriften zur historischen Landeskunde von Lydien und angrenzenden Gebieten' (1959), 'Men, Herr von Axiotta' (1978), 'Theoi Pereudenoi. Eine Gruppe von Weihungen und Sühninschriften aus der Katakekaumene' (1984), 'Sühn- und Grabinschriften aus der Katakekaumene im Archäologischen Museum von İzmir' (1985) and 'Apollon de Pleura. Un sanctuaire rural en Lydie entre les époques hellénistique et romaine' (published posthumously in 2004). It will be tremendously helpful to have at hand, in one volume, all these important studies by one of the leading scholars on ancient Lydia.

The second section of the book ('Inschriften aus Milet', pp. 249–496) contains 18 articles on Milesian history and epigraphy. H.'s work on the corpus of Miletus culminated in three volumes of *Inschriften von Milet* published in 1997, 1998 and, posthumously, 2006.¹¹ As in the case of Lydia, H.'s interest in Milesian epigraphy manifested itself at the beginning of his academic career and lasted throughout his life. Some of the republished articles are quite rich, for example: 'Neue Urkunden zur Geschichte von Milet im 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr.' (1965), 'Urkunden milesischer Temenitai' (1980) or 'Milet unter Augustus' (1994). In addition to the previously published articles, a manuscript entitled 'Zur römischen Zollstation in Milet', originally submitted for publication in the second volume of Z. Taşlıköğlu's *Festschrift*, is first published in this volume as no. 38.

The third section ('Inschriften aus verschiedenen Regionen', pp. 499–638), with its 17 contributions, displays the width and depth of H.'s epigraphic interest and understanding, since they are dedicated to various types of inscriptions of virtually all regions of Asia Minor. Most of these contributions correct, supply and explain difficult phrases or complete inscriptions published by other scholars, including H. himself (cf. 'Epigraphische Notizen' 13 from 1995).

The last section, 'Übergreifende Darstellungen' (pp. 641–702) contains the following four studies: 'Kaiserliche Garantie für private Stiftungen. Ein Beitrag zum Thema "Kaiser und städtische Finanzen"' (1980), 'Die Selbstdarstellung der hellenistischen Stadt in den Inschriften: Ideal und Wirklichkeit' (1984), 'Τέρας θανόντων. Totenruhm und Totenehrung im städtischen Leben der hellenistischen Zeit' (1995) and 'Das κοινοὶ τῶν Ἰώνων unter römischen Herrschaft' (2002).

At the end of the book, we find H.'s bibliography and indexes.

As explained in its introduction, this volume owes its existence to Eva Herrmann and Wolfgang Blümel. We owe them our gratitude for their perseverance and hard work, enabling us today to have access in a single volume to many important studies of one of the leading ancient historians and epigraphists of the 20th century.

University of Belgrade

Marijana Ricić

T. Howe, S. Müller and R. Stoneman (eds.), *Ancient Historiography on War and Empire*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2017, xv+280 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78570-299-0

Timothy Howe wrote the short foreword and together with Sabine Müller and Richard Stoneman has edited a very solid volume of proceedings of the conference held in Athens in 2013 and focused, in the main, on Greek language ancient historiography and history. As Herodotus and Thucydides (and later Xenophon, Callisthenes and others) accurately remark, history is written by intellectuals (precisely historiographers) for cultivated/well-educated but also ambitious men (more principally for contemporaries) who may be able to lead the *demos*. The book is divided into five parts: Introduction, Achaemenid Persia and Classical Greece, Macedon, Alexander and the Diadochoi, and Second Sophistic Rome; as we know, powerful leaders in the heart of those areas were prominent war-makers of that time. Thus,

¹ *Milet* VI 1–3 (Berlin/New York).

this is an interesting but rather diverse base and the editors have done their readers an excellent service by providing an index. All 17 papers are heavily footnoted and contain bibliographies. Space precludes detailed comments on more than a selection of these, but some papers are (more or less) concerned with clarifying the definition of key terms.

A long thematic introductory chapter by Mark Munn, 'Why history? On the Emergence of Historical Writing', brilliantly covers the matters dealt with and sets the tone for the whole book. Part II examines, in three papers, Persia and Greece. Readers who share its interest in the political-religious practices of Persian kings and their Greek misinterpretation will find the second article by Eran Almagor, 'The Political and the divine in Achaemenid Royal Inscriptions', worthy of particular attention. An extended bibliography guides readers to relevant publications; some drawings would have been a welcome addition, though. Next, Josef Wiesehöfer, 'Cyrus the Great and the Sacrifices for a Dead King', tackles the question of the character, continuity and historicity of the tomb cult in Persia: his results clearly show that the *Interpretatio Graeca* of sacrificial rites connected with Persian rulers should be taken with caution, as usual. Thoroughness can be attributed to Frances Pownall's article, 'The Horse and the Stag: Philistus' view of tyrants', where she analyses in great detail the turbulent career and ambitions of 'a man who was no less a friend to tyranny than to the tyrant' – a very bizarre reputation for an historian by his compatriots.

Part III deals with the Argead Macedonian dynasty. The paper by William Greenwalt, 'Alexander II of Macedon' touches upon the short reign (369–368 BC) of this lesser-known member of the Macedonian royal family. Albeit he was very possibly a direct initiator of a major social and military innovation in the Macedonian army, almost all Greek historians credit his more famous successors on the throne – Philip II and Alexander the Great. A new approach to the study of Philip II's assassination is offered by Heckel, Howe and Müller in '"The Giver of the Bride, the Bridegroom, and the Bride": a Study of the Death of Philip II and its Aftermath'. The last of the Macedon chapters is written by Franca Gattinoni, 'Royal Tombs and Cult of the Dead Kings in Early Hellenistic Macedonia'. In order to interpret every possible facet of thoroughly examined funeral ceremonies, the author successfully works with both written sources (Diodorus) and recent archaeological discoveries at Vergina (the Great Tumulus).

A series of papers in Part IV address the empires of Alexander the Great and the Diadochoi. 'The Financial Administration of Asia Minor under Alexander the Great: An Interpretation of Two Passages from Arrian's *Anabasis*', Maxim Kholod, presents some important and well-founded results of his long-term interest in character and development of financial relations between various participants of the panhellenic war against Persia. The next contribution by Hugh Bowden, 'The Eagle has Landed: Divination in the Alexander Historians', clearly demonstrates that eagle symbolism and its interpretation is a huge area of study within the different branches of Greek literature. Then Jacek Rzepka, 'The Casualty Figures of Alexander's Army', provides a clear and well-annotated exposition of the way in which ancient historiographers might employ and contextualise available battle data. From a completely different point of view, the next paper presents the military action on the battlefield, 'Alexander's battles against Persians in the art of the Successors' (Olga Palagia). An erudite specialist with a profound knowledge of Greek art and its symbolism, she provides fairly rich insights into the visual historiography. Moreover, the illustrations to this

paper are fortunate choices. In 'How the Hoopoe Got His Crest: Reflections on Megasthenes' Stories of India', Richard Stoneman leads us into a world below the horizon of a distant and colourful region. Within the context of Aleksandra Kleczar's essay, 'Creating the King: The Image of Alexander the Great in 1 Maccabees, 1–10', she discusses broadly how specifically Jewish intellectuals worked with the motif of historical Alexander, in order to protect their compatriots living in the dangerous world of the Hellenistic monarchs.

Part V centres upon the so-called Second Sophistic Rome, and the authors successfully work with an ambition of ancient historiographers to show history in its broad cultural contexts, not only to describe it from the victors' point of view. An educated audience is pushed to analyse both historical content and literary context as well. A series of essays begins with Rebecca Frank's paper, 'The Hero vs. the Tyrant: Legitimate and Illegitimate Rule in Plutarch's Alexander-Caesar'. The most important point in this study pertains to the detailed examination of Plutarch's working method by decoding his negative attitude towards the power-hungry tyrants – generally Roman emperors – and their strong tendency to the authoritative monarchical system achieved even through bloody civil war. Apparently, this is in contrast to his view of Alexander's empire, fashioned out of barbarian tribes and respecting the limits of his own authorised power. As a result, he compares not only the *lives* of hero-Alexander and tyrant-Caesar, but also their political and moral qualities. Elias Koulakiotis, in 'Plutarch's *Alexander*, Dionysos and the Metaphysics of Power', attempts to examine the importance of charisma (as an eminent attribute of royal legitimacy) in the monarchic ideology of ancient Macedonia. At the heart of the next paper by Sabine Müller, 'The Artistic King: Reflections on a *Topos* in Second Sophistic Historiography', are actors or more precisely artistic rulers who preferred acting on the public stage in an inappropriate ways instead of spending time in cultivated leisure. Frequently, moral aspects or historiographic judgments were stressed by ancient historiographers and historical realities were ostentatiously ignored. The book concludes with Sulochana Asirvathan's brilliant essay, 'Flattery, History, and the Περαιδευμένον'. Here the author examines flattery in Lucian, Arrian, Herodian and finally in Dio Chrysostom, Plutarch and Athenaeus, and identifies the status of 'learned men/intellectuals' who must negotiate the politics of the Roman empire's elite.

This is a massive, well-organised work on the historiography and history of the ancient world; as such, it makes a significant contribution to the present-day overview of historiography; the papers are erudite, well written, all of high quality and aimed at a specialist well acquainted with a wide range of written sources (both Greek and Roman) rather than a popular audience. Last but not least, it offers numerous fresh and provocative approaches to the seemingly marginal and/or somewhat neglected themes of historiography.

Charles University, Prague

Květa Smoláriková

Y. Kanjou and A. Tsuneki (eds.), *A History of Syria in One Hundred Sites*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2016, viii+451 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-381-6

This book is a welcome reaction to the Syrian civil war. Its editors, Kanjou and Tsuneki, have a declared aim of making the world aware of the richness of Syrian history and

archaeology, much of which has been damaged. There are in fact 103 entries. Each site had a strict word limit imposed, so reports are of necessity summary. This might be thought to engender superficiality but in fact the site bibliography at the end of each report extends the range of information. All sites are treated equally in this respect so that, while well-known, multi-period sites can provide only an overview (quite an art, and capably carried out by most authors), smaller sites have the opportunity to make themselves known. The editors had wished to 'describe every important archaeological site' in Syria, but obviously some important sites, such as Aïn Dara and Dura-Europus were unable to respond. This said, the overall response was comprehensive and the book fully represents the history of Syria

The approach is chronological, which must have been difficult for the editors to organise, as so many tells are multi-period. An alternative might have been to treat the sites regionally (for example, Middle Euphrates, Jazira, etc.) but the reader can amass that information for himself by consulting the excellent map provided at the beginning of the volume.

Chapter 1 covers 23 prehistoric sites, documenting the change from man as hunter/gatherer to man as herder/farmer, living in settled and increasingly complex communities. The sites range from the Palaeolithic El Kowm rock shelter, presenting the earliest traces of human presence 1.8 million years ago, to the formation of proto-urban societies in the late Ubaid and Chalcolithic periods at sites such as Tell Kosak Shamali, Tell Feres and Tell Ziyadeh. The chronological ordering enables the reader to follow the process of Neolithisation involving the development of a cereal economy, domestic housing, community buildings, improved stone tool kits, the birth of pottery and writing, and the beginnings of organised industry and trade.

Dwellings evolved from primitive rock cave to circular structures, in places replaced by rectangular multi-roomed structures, and eventually the tripartite houses of Feres and Ziyadeh, with rooms surrounding a courtyard. At the village of Halula, each house was separated by a walkway between, while at Feres there was evidence of a regular street layout. Structures identified as community buildings were found at Mureybet and Qaramel, usually circular with radiating walls forming cells around a central space for meetings. One such at Jerf al-Ahmar had a circular bench around the walls.

The artistic urge to decorate was manifested at Qaramel (decorated stones), Dja'de al Mughera (basketry design wall-painting, possibly the oldest in the world), Jerf al-Ahmar (decoration of wall slabs with humans and birds) and Halula (floor painting, possibly of dancing figures).

This chapter of course covers the birth of pottery. The village site of Halula revealed the production of the first pottery vessels and saw their development through the pre-Halafian and Halafian periods. The best preserved pottery workshop of the Ubaid period was discovered at Kosak Shamali, complete with kiln and pottery-making tools such as ceramic scrapers and stone palettes. The pottery was decorated with geometric designs using natural hematite and manganese as pigments. The site of Tell el-Abr documents the development of Ubaid pottery (from painted to plain); here kilns and workrooms suggest industry and exchange. Kilns were also found at Feres, with the appearance of potters' marks.

Over such a long period, burial methods obviously varied enormously: at Abu Hureyra, Natufian Qarassa and Qaramel skull separation was found. The most startling burial discovery consisted of the plastered (and lifelike) skulls of Tell Aswad. At el-Kerkh

a 7th-millennium cemetery was discovered, i.e. burial was no longer in houses. At Sabi Abyad there were seven successive cemeteries, carbon-dated 6400–5800 BC.

Finally, the finding of stamp seals at Tell el-Kerkh and at Tell Zeidan reflects the increasing socio-economic complexity of this prehistoric period

Chapter 2 ambitiously covers the sites that mainly focused on the Bronze and Iron Ages, 54 sites in all. Most are tells, involving in many cases prehistoric beginnings as well having later classical settlements and Late Roman-Byzantine occupation. For example, Sheikh Hamad had levels dating from Late Uruk to Late Roman, Nebi Mend from Neolithic to Byzantine, Fekheriyeh from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic to Islamic and Shiyukh Tahtani Late Chalcolithic to Byzantine. Ordering these sites chronologically must have been a nightmare for the editors. Nevertheless the reader can put together, for example, a list of early city states, some the seats of kingdoms (Mari, Mozan) others important regional centres (Hammam el-Turkman, Arbid, Sianu, Meskene, Mastuma), others perhaps satellite towns (el-'Abd, Mohammed Diyabh, Qabr Abu al-'Atiq). These have in common a fortified circular settlement, impressive town gates, radial and concentric streets as evidence of town planning (al-Rawda), and temple complexes and large palatial or administrative buildings (Beydar, Leilan). The Middle Bronze Age phase at Qatna/Mishrifeh, showed a radical change in urban layout to a rectangular plan. At Sakka, a sophisticated sewerage system was built into the floor of an orthogonal Middle Bronze Age building, decorated with geometric and figured frescoes. Other sites of importance include Hammam al-Turkman, Bazi, Afis, Qala'at Halwanji, Halawa, Shiyukh Tahtani. At the latter site, there was clear evidence of the arrival of a new ethnic group, with houses of a style and orientation different from those of the Early Bronze Age. For the Late Bronze Age, Mishrifeh, Barri and Kazel offer representative evidence; for the Iron Age, Tell Ahmar, Mastuma and Toucini, among many others. Assyrianisation was documented at Halaf, Arslan Tash, Barri, Ajaja, Bderi, with Tell Chuera evidently an administrative centre in the Middle Assyrian period. Sheikh Hamad provides the clearest example of Neo-Assyrian architecture.

In this chapter, the reader encounters, and is able to compare if followed through, palaces, temples and residential areas from the whole range of the Bronze Age, Assyrian period and Iron Age sites. Cuneiform tablets document culture (Ras Shamra), trade and administration (Taban, Fekheriye) and private dealings (Munbaqa). Inscriptions at Arslan Tash were in Aramaic, Assyrian and Hittite: a coexistence described as 'marvellous'. Illustrations, carefully selected, show primarily plans, reconstructions and trenches, but also stunning artefacts, such as cylinder seals (Afis), ivories (Mishrife, Tell Ahmar), stelae, (Tell Ahmar, Halawa, Ajaja), jewellery (Chagar Bazar), figurines (Meskene, Toucini), wall-painting fragments (Sakka, Masaikh) and, of course, pottery in great variety.

Also of great variety are the forms of burial. As a change from tells, several cemeteries are documented in this chapter: for example, the cemetery of Abu Hamad and those of Wreide, Tawi and Shamseddin on the Middle Euphrates. The different types reflect social distinctions: shaft graves, sometimes with lateral extensions, stone galleries, chamber tombs with entrance shaft, stone cists, earth pits with or without stone caps, brick graves with or without stone cover. The barrel-vaulted tomb found at Tell Ahmar was Neo-Assyrian.

Chapter 3 contains 18 site reports from the Graeco-Roman period and one short discourse on Syriac inscriptions. The sites range from Seleucid foundations (Jebel Khalid, Gindaros, Cyrrhus) to Byzantine Resafa. Gaps are noticeable here, such as Dura-Europus

for the Parthian-Roman period. The site of Palmyra is the subject of four contributions, reflecting different excavation teams. The first, by Schmidt-Colinet, the late Khaled al'As'ad and Waleed al-As'ad, manages to cover the sculpture in Tomb 36, the quarries of Palmyra, the local and imported textiles and the location of pre-Roman Palmyra. The Japanese team (Saito) reports on the hypogea tombs C, F and H, the Hellenistic pit grave G and their brilliant reconstruction of house-tomb 129b. The hinterland of Palmyra is analysed by the Syrian-Norwegian team and Gawlikowski summarises the work of the Polish mission. This concentration on Palmyra is not out of proportion in view of the recent destruction.

The so-called 'Dead Cities' are succinctly and clearly summarised. Roman influence is evident in the number of bath complexes excavated at Late Roman/Byzantine sites (Zenobia, el-Khasra, Sura, possibly Sheyzar). The survival of the Qinnasrin monastery/theological school to the 12th century AD takes us into the Islamic period, which is the subject of seven reports in the final chapter. These include castles and citadels all over Syria: Aleppo, Apamea, Shayzar (one misses a report on Damascus Citadel), the Great Mosque at Kharah Sayyar, the mansion at Madinat el-Far with its lovely stucco decoration, and the mediaeval town at Tuneinir.

This volume of reports is a must-have reference for libraries and anyone interested in either the whole of Syria's history or a particular period. The abundant illustrations, mainly in colour, are of excellent quality. Many 'reconstructions' give hope that even after site damage, the record is not lost. There are a few infelicities of editing, such as the inconsistency of the spelling of Mishrifeh and, more seriously, the apparent loss of some text from the report on Jerablus Tahtani. These are mere quibbles in the face of the achievement of producing a volume of such richness, for which all contributors must be thanked. In the Preface the editors state they plan to deliver an Arabic version, more accessible to the Syrians themselves and generating pride in their own history and the will to protect it.

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Heather Jackson

L. Khatchadourian, *Imperial Matter: Ancient Persia and the Archaeology of Empires*, University of California Press, Oakland 2016, xxxviii+288 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-0-520-29052-5

In this challenging and thought-provoking work, Lori Khatchadourian seeks to develop a new method for analysing the archaeology of empire while addressing Persian period Armenia. She casts her net wide, embracing the tools of anthropology, archaeology and Near Eastern studies on the one hand, while, on the other, looking to worldwide imperial studies from the social sciences. Full engagement with the 'material turn' works well for archaeology, but K.'s emphasis on the material goes much deeper than the familiar idea of making 'the mute stones speak'.

The book is divided into two parts: the first develops an analytical framework with a terminology that allows consideration of the material expression of empire beyond specific media or precise situations; the second engages in a range of focused studies of Iran and the Caucasus region, especially Armenia. The illustrations support well the argument; a lengthy Introduction offers general guidance.

As an important first step in 'The Satrapal Condition' (Chapter 1), K. puts the case that the Old Persian word *xšaça*, or 'satrapy' in English, refers not to an imperial province but to the concepts 'kingdom' or 'kingship' (*dabhyu* is the Old Persian word for province). K. is then free to develop the notion of the 'satrapal condition', or the quality of sovereignty, both its circumstances and limitations. Through analysis of Old Persian inscriptions, relief sculpture and Mazdaistic thought, K. comes to characterise Achaemenid political thought as one in which sovereignty and physical matter are indivisible. The question then raised is: how do things produce imperial subjects? 'Things' can be as large as a palace or as small as a seal. The well-known image type of the peoples of the empire, distinguishable by their native dress, supporting a platform on which the king sits or stands, provides a 'visual allegory' (p. 6) of the satrapal condition: it expresses the king's dependency on his subjects as well as the ideal of control and order.

The second chapter, 'Where Things Stand', frames the development of an archaeology of empire observing that most serious discussions of empire emerge from the social sciences; their focus on economic and political aspects make them an unsuitable basis for archaeological analysis. Disdaining enumeration of 'material "correlates" of empire', K. argues that we need to go beyond the idea of goods in an economic sense, or even a symbolic sense, to consider how material things shape imperial consciousness. Retention of traditional environments and media can be read as material signs of resistance. Whereas some have implicitly come to think of the way in which buildings and things can shape imperial subjects, K. directs attention to the thing as agent helping to ensure the continuity of empire. She thus seeks to establish 'a distinctly archaeological epistemic of imperialism that is dedicated to understanding the work of things in reproducing the layered sovereignties of empire' (p. 50).

In 'Imperial Matter' (Chapter 3), K. flips the role of things from object to subject, and outlines her archaeology of empire through a focus on the 'politics of matter in imperial formations' (p. 55). If agency is defined as the ability to produce effects, objects have agency (p. 57). An overview of the modern 'material turn' in the social sciences is followed by a search for a viable politics of matter. To bolster her campaign to focus on and articulate the part things play in imperial contexts, K. adopts a number of nouns typically employed to refer to people: *delegates*, *proxies*, *captives* and *affiliates*. The application of such personalities to material entities can disconcert, but it is effective: in the dissonance of their radical departure from usual understanding, the terms impose upon the reader the need to adopt different modes of thought.

In brief, 'delegates' are defined as 'things that ... provide political effects... by mediating through direct somatic encounter the practices that reproduce a sovereign's prerogative to rule...' (p. 69). In fact, delegates themselves impose on the imperial entity: it needs to adopt a course of action to ensure their existence. 'Proxies' are harder to define; their character is not so much that in some sense they imitate a delegate but that in standing for a delegate they potentially subvert it. 'Captives' are 'political things compelled to collaborate with the sovereign in reproducing the terms of authority and subjection' (p. 73). They can include appropriated ideas. Finally, 'affiliates' are described as 'the great throng of inconspicuous things that reproduce social life under empire... local habitats and habiliments ... food and furnishings that bind people under empire into distinct collectivities' (p. 74). Affiliates are that component of the material culture record that evidence continuity, 'inconspicuous' because predominant, the background noise.

The exploration in Part II of the archaeology of the Persian empire, especially its Iranian heartland and the mountainous regions to the north, provides a better explication of the value of such terms as delegates, proxies, captives and affiliates than can verbal definition. In three chapters that reveal her impressive grasp of the Achaemenid world, K. moves from wide to narrow focus: empire to region to site, with emphasis on the actions and impacts of things rather than their corporeal typology.

The important initial argument of Chapter 4 ('From Captives to Delegates') is that the Early Iron Age (Iron 3) columned halls of the region, at Godin Tepe, Tepe Nush-i Jan and Erebuni, are wrongly interpreted as seats of local authoritarian power; they functioned, rather, as meeting places. The lack of hierarchical disposition within the halls, their scale allowing the inclusion of large numbers, their limited defensibility, along with the manifest storage capacity and the lack of associated residential facilities, all argue for an architectural form designed to house an assembly of mountain peoples for whom joint feasting was an important element of assembly. Cyrus' adoption of the multi-columned hall appropriated and transformed the architectural rhetoric as a suitable expression of his new vision of kingship, a conspicuous rejection of the Assyrian and Babylonian hierarchical mode. After an excellent summary of the Persian columned hall, K. argues that the radical message of association of the original hall form was perverted in Darius' ever larger square constructions with axial focus that impose hierarchy. Moreover, their delegate buildings levied maintenance demands on their kings.

'Delegates and Proxies in the *Dahyu* of Armenia' (Chapter 5) opens with a discussion of the difficulties of governing mountain peoples; delegates by shaping social practice can help make good subjects. Two types of delegates especially feature here: drinking vessels and columned halls. The region has provided many of the known 'Silver Delegates' (drinking vessels), although many lack good provenance.¹ K. observes that the Erebuni hoard, with secure provenance, combines in its silver horse protome rhyta the Armenian tributary obligations: horses and silver. Of all Persian silver delegates, the rhyta especially imposed on their user a mode of consumption that forced compliance with the Persian social protocol, and so functioned as political agents. (Moreover, grasping characteristic zoomorphic 'amphora' handles enabled the user's participation in 'heroic encounter' embodying the action of the 'Persian Man' in maintaining imperial state.) The very medium of silver is a delegate in contrast with clay, deemed a proxy matter. As for architecture, the square 6 × 6 columned hall at Karachamirli in Azerbaijan was constructed with the same media and techniques as in Iran. It is thereby a true delegate, on the model of Susa and Persepolis; its wider central aisle oriented to a platform acts politically in creating social hierarchy. Yet in contrast with the silver and architectural delegates, K. suggests that two other local columned halls – at Erebuni, still in use in the Persian period, and a new one at Altuntepe – with their rectangular form and local building traditions, are in contrast deliberately deviant proxies. The region was not fully tamed; K. posits that Xerxes' inscription at

¹ Fig. 28 reproduces a sealing from Ur in the British Museum (ANE 1932-10-8, 226), said to be an arm holding a griffin-protome drinking horn, and the photograph seems truly to show this. Collon's drawing, however, suggests that instead of an arm the depiction gives the human lower body (legs) of the winged figure, feet bent up towards the horn, which is perhaps how she read it: D. Collon, 'A Hoard of Sealings from Ur'. In M.-E. Boussac and A. Invernizzi (eds.), *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique* (Athens 1996), 65–84, pl. 20, fig. 10g.

Tushpa near Lake Van (the former Urartian capital), unintelligible to the illiterate peoples of this region and anyhow too high up to be read, is Xerxes' prayer to Ahuramazda for assistance in controlling this difficult area.

With the narrowing of focus in Chapter 6 ('Going Underground: Affiliates, Proxies and Delegates at Tsaghkahovit'), the role of 'affiliates' in K.'s vision emerges. The Armenian upland village Tsaghkahovit, nestled on the slopes of an abandoned Bronze Age hill fort (excavated 1998–2013), exemplifies the new vernacular domestic architecture developed in the 7th century out of the need to engage in 'camouflage architecture' (p. 168) – below ground structures not readily visible to the hostile or imperial eye. Yet these houses were variable. Most, those in Precinct C, were structures with one or two multifunctional rooms. One, the larger complex in Precinct A, is associated with local leadership. The site offers a rich array of proxy vessels, many in local clay: bowls, zoomorphic handled vessels, jars with vertical fluting, one jar combining lobes and flutes, and two zoomorphic rhyta.² The chapter ends with an analysis of an extraordinary discovery: a set of seemingly ritual implements from one unusual room, including a green stone bowl from Iran,³ that might be associable with haoma production. Regardless of their precise productive function, the group articulates social distinction at Tsaghkahovit; moreover, the delegate, aided by local proxies, entangled the user and community within Achaemenid ritual performance. The case study exemplifies the complexities of empire: intrusion of imperial matter and associated practice together with the maintenance of local cultural traditions, or affiliates.

The whole book is deeply informed, showing mastery of all kinds of archaeological evidence, with richly informative endnotes. Although sometimes the contorted use of language obscures meaning, the work rarely suffers from editorial errors. The excellent plans and aerial photographs would be more helpful if consistently oriented to the north or equipped with captions that articulate orientation.

Will K.'s carefully developed analytical terminology be adopted by scholars addressing such concerns the world over? It is hard to say, yet with this book it might be said that the archaeology of the Persian empire has come of age. We have gone from suspicions that the lack of evidence for a Persian presence indicated that once they had conquered a region, the Persians simply went back home unless the region failed in its tribute obligations; to surprise and delight in finding hints of a Persian presence; to this sustained enquiry into 'the work of things in reproducing the layered sovereignties of empire'. To get to this point, as K. is well aware, we needed the past generation of re-assessment of the historical sources, the re-contextualisation of Achaemenid art within its Near Eastern milieu, and the labours of many archaeologists over 70 years in the wider region. Those of us interested in the archaeology of the region and Achaemenid studies more generally owe K. (and her colleagues at Tsaghkahovit) a deep debt of gratitude for so advancing our field.

University of Sydney

Margaret C. Miller

² Most seem to derive from Precinct A; some are from Precinct C. The possibility of precise provenance for each piece is such precious information that clearer indication in which Precinct the different rooms are would enhance discussion of these ceramic proxies.

³ It is notable, though, that K. suggests not a direct import – so not a deliberate delegate – but one that came 'through several down-the-line exchanges' (p. 188).

C.G. King and R. Lo Presti (eds.), *Werner Jaeger: Wissenschaft, Bildung, Politik*, Philologus Suppl. 9, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2017, vii+266 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-054803-7/ISSN 2199-0255¹

The *Vorwort* of this essay collection, based on the revised and expanded versions of papers presented at a 2013 conference, states as the volume's purpose the avoidance of a 'Heldengeschichte'. Instead are offered a series of studies, complemented by detailed bibliography, which highlight the wide range of Jaeger's investigations and, importantly, move him beyond the doublet Third Reich/Third Humanism. Manfred Landfester (pp. 5–50) offers a detailed examination of Jaeger's concept of knowledge and education as an expression of his time, that period following the dismantling of the *Kaiserreich*, which caused humanistic *Bildung* to lose traditional state, i.e. royal, sponsorship. Jaeger's response was an attempt to develop a new philology and new humanism, a 'Paideia-Begriff' (p. 33), a 'Menschenbildung': Hellenocentric, idealistic, 'deutsch-national und gleichermassen "übernational"' (p. 35) – but also elitist in tone. To that end, in addition to beginning his soon-to-be multi-volume *Paideia*, he founded a journal, *Die Antike*, for that new humanism. And Plato was to educate us both for state-building and a definitive construction of lifestyle (cf. pp. 44–46). Jaeger's concepts maintained influence into 1938, although Jaeger had gone west.

Nationalsozialismus taught Jaeger, as Wolfgang Rösler explains in his well-argued presentation (pp. 51–82), that one should not believe oneself able to predict or even influence the future. At fault was a short article in the semi-popular journal *Volk in Werden* (1.3, Spring 1933, 43–49): 'Die Erziehung des politischen Menschen und die Antike'. Jaeger believed he could win over National Socialist-educator Krieck as a supporter of his ideas in the days when many placed unreasonable hopes in the *Machtergreifung*. Greek culture could be a model in rebuilding Germany. By October 1933 Krieck rejected Jaeger's views. For the *Bewegung* the illusion of activity, not calm, thoughtful planning, was assigned the highest value. The similarities between Jaeger's expressions and those of the *Lingua Tertii Imperii* won for him the silent reproach of Friedlaender (pp. 71–73). Even the *Paideia* and Third Humanism, for which Jaeger had held so many hopes, played a very marginal role in the teaching of ancient languages after 1945, as Stefan Kipf (pp. 83–109) writes.

Giuseppe Cambiano (pp. 111–37) turns to a more philosophical topic, Jaeger's view of the Presocratics. Jaeger reconstructed Presocratic thought so as not to insulate it from the rest of Greek culture, connecting philosophical language and concepts with both political and legal vocabulary, and viewing the Greek thinkers in connection with the religious sphere by their use of terminology and stylistic forms. Dorothea Frede (pp. 140–69) discusses Jaeger's perception of Plato, given that Jaeger believed Aristotle a 'Platoniker', remaining connected with his teachings (for how long and to what extent uncertain), while in the *Paideia* he pays little attention to Plato's philosophy save in connection with political education. Although Frede finds that Jaeger's generalisations and judgments about Plato were common to scholarly activity of the day, they do nothing to detract from the pioneering work Jaeger did on Aristotle.

¹ Contents at <https://www.degruyter.com/viewbooktoc/product/488889?rskey=1RyAM8&result=85>.

Mirjam Korwick's treatment of the path leading to Jaeger's edition of the *Metaphysics* is of singular value. She begins by outlining Jaeger's principles for a text and how those principles changed as Jaeger changed his own concepts about the development of Aristotle's thought. These changes were based in part on Jaeger's examination of the commentary by Alexander of Aphrodisias and the assumptions he made about the texts Alexander had access to. The *Metaphysics*-text was perceived as in a constant state of flux, some versions reflecting Aristotle's teaching methods. But Alexander's commentary was not all from his own stylus. Korwick concludes that it remains doubtful how clearly an author's (Aristotle's) process of revision can be traced over a long period of time (p. 204). Her presentation not only allows us insight into a modern scholar's investigations but also should permit some reasonable assumptions about how historians or geographers in antiquity tackled data available only as summaries and scattered citations.

Jaeger's work on ancient medicine is treated by two authors. Philip van der Eijk's piece, reworked in September 2013 (pp. 209–24), discusses Jaeger's interest in the connections between medicine and philosophy, especially in Aristotle. Jaeger took over management of the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* (until 1936) and hoped to expand the project to encompass medicine and ancient scientific thought in general. Aristotle was to play a central role, and was believed by Jaeger to have influenced Diokles (with Jaeger's imaginative teacher-pupil prosopography). Jaeger relied heavily on the *Anonymus Londiniensis* medical papyrus.² Thus, there is some further work to be done. In the second portion of this study (pp. 225–43), Roberto Lo Presti demonstrates that Jaeger's own programme for educational revitalisation was shaped by Socrates' chief teaching – with their origin in medical thought – and by Plato, for whom *techne politike* was an 'Art Heilkunst' (p. 233). Also of interest is Lo Presti's observation that German medical thought at the time grappled with the same features Jaeger had identified as troubling humanistic studies. The writings of neurologist Viktor von Weizsäcker offer similar approaches to the wide-ranging problem, although direct influence can be ruled out (pp. 236–40).

The collection concludes with Christoph Markschies's discussion of Jaeger's view of ancient Christianity (pp. 245–58). Not piety, but intellectual curiosity drew him to its study, his interest in textual criticism led him to the early texts. The volume has accomplished the *Vorwort's* stated purpose.

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Michael Weiskopf

T. Klär, *Die Vasconen und das Römische Reich: Der Romanisierungsprozess im Norden der Iberischen Halbinsel*, Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 59, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2017, 290 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11739-5

Die Suche nach Identität ist auf der iberischen Halbinsel aktueller denn je und tangiert inzwischen auch große Teile Europas, das zu Positionierungen im Konflikt zwischen der spanischen Zentralregierung und der separationswilligen Provinz Katalonien gezwungen wird. Über viele Jahre war es aber nicht die Auseinandersetzung mit den Katalanen, sondern

² Now recipient of a Teubner edition (*De medicina*, ed. Daniela Manetti [Berlin 2011]) and a Budé text with commentary (*L'Anonyme de Londres*, ed. Antonio Ricciandetto [Paris 2016]).

mit den Basken, die Spanien in Atem hielt. Immer wieder kam es zu terroristisch motivierten Gewaltakten durch die ETA. Der Einfluss der gemäßigten und radikalen Separatisten machte sich auch in der Erforschung der eigenen Geschichte bemerkbar, worauf Timo Klär in seiner Dissertationsschrift nachdrücklich hinweist. Jene verzwickte Forschungsgeschichte mochte auch den Anlass zur Beschäftigung mit der im Imperium Romanum eigentlich randständigen Volksgruppe der Vasconen gegeben haben.

Die Arbeit ist chronologisch angelegt, beginnt aber zwangsläufig mit einem methodisch und theoretisch reflektierten Kapitel zur Frage der Romanisierung oder Romanisation – bereits ein Mienenfeld, das K. durch die Betonung der Lokalität in der Antike meistert.¹ Hier lehnt sich K. eng an die Untersuchungen von Greg Woolf an, wovon die Arbeit profitiert. Dabei werden gekonnt Fragen der Identitätskonstruktion mit der aktuellen Forschung zu post-kolonialen Themen verknüpft, nicht ohne sie jeweils an das Fallbeispiel Vasconen zurückzubinden. Der Rezensent empfand dieses Kapitel als ausgesprochen erhellend.

Eintritt in die römische Geschichtsschreibung nahmen die Vasconen mit dem 2. Punischen Krieg, ohne jedoch kriegsentscheidend in den Schlachtenverlauf eingegriffen zu haben. Die republikanische Epoche ist vor allem durch die Präsen zahlreicher römischer Feldherren gekennzeichnet, die sich im Gebiet der Vasconen eine Provinzklintel aufzubauen suchten; besonders hervorgehoben seien dabei der ältere Tiberius Gracchus, Pompeius Strabo und Sertorius. Damit ist auch schon ein folgenschweres methodisches Problem angedeutet, dem sich K. zu stellen hatte. Es liegen quasi keine Selbstbeschreibungen der Vasconen vor. Alles, was wir zu rekonstruieren hoffen, ist auf die Vermittlung durch griechisch-römische Hand angewiesen (bspw. Strabon), die häufig die Leistungen einzelner Akteure heraushebt. K. geht hier stets behutsam vor und weist die steilen Thesen der baskischen Lokalforschung häufig – z.B. mit Bezug auf die ungeklärte Sprachgeschichte des Baskischen – elegant zurück. Letztlich bleibt bei aller methodisch-theoretischer Reflektion aber ein Unbehagen zurück, ob man die Geschichte einer solchen Gruppe überhaupt schreiben kann. Dieses Bauchweh vermehrt sich, wird man gewahr, wie sehr das für die gesamte althistorische Forschung gelten mag.

In der antiken Historiographie finden die Vasconen oder besser das, was die griechisch-römischen Autoren dafür hielten, zumeist nur dann Erwähnung, wenn römische Expansions- oder Bürgerkriege die vasconischen Interessen im heutigen Norden Spaniens streifen. Dennoch kann K. einen Hang einzelner Mitglieder der Volksgruppe feststellen, sich die römische Sache zu eigen zu machen, indem sie Partei bezogen. Meistens versuchte man mit den Römern zu paktieren, was vor allem durch epigraphischen Zeugnisse gesichert scheint. Doch auch die Inschriften-Praxis muss als genuin römisch gelesen werden und versuchte wohlmöglich Dissens zu verschleiern, um Aufruhr im Keim zu ersticken. Dieses vermeintliche Miteinander konnte bis hin zur Aufnahme in das römische Heer oder gar zu Bürgerrechtsverleihungen ehrenhalber führen. Die Römer waren aufgrund der strategischen Lage der *Vasconia* dankbar für jede Unterstützung. Die Guerilla-Kriege in der Region galten jedenfalls als gefürchtet, sodass sich 151 die erste nachweisliche Weigerung, sich für den

¹ Hier hätte die Arbeit von der Einbeziehung der aktuellen Forschung Hand Becks profitieren können, die Verankerung der griechischen Lebenswelt analog im Lokalen verortet. Womöglich wurden die Projekte aber zu spät aufgelegt, um K. zugänglich zu sein – eine nützliche Ergänzung können sie für die Zukunft allemal bieten; vgl. <http://www.hansbeck.org/local/> (Stand: 27.03.2018).

Kriegsdienst ausheben zu lassen, gegen eine Spanien-Expedition richtete. Als Bollwerk gegen Aufstände richtete man Kolonien mit Mischbevölkerung aus Vasconen, Keltiberen und auch Römern ein. Dieser Umstand zeigt auch deutlich, dass es *die* Vasconen nicht gab. Vielmehr hat man es mit einer heterogenen Stammesgemeinschaft mit vielfältigen Partialinteressen zu tun. Das Label „Vasconen“ war eben nur eines von außen und bleibt ein Hilfsbegriff.

Dieser Befund, der vor allem auf der Untersuchung größerer Siedlungen (Graccuris, Pompaelo, Calagurris) beruht, setzt sich im Wesentlichen in der Kaiserzeit fort. Einzelne Städte erhielten im Hinblick auf ihr Naheverhältnis zu Bürgerkriegsparteien Privilegien früher oder eben erst später zugesprochen. Damit ist weder etwas über die Menschen und ihre Mentalität oder ihren Alltag noch über übrige Regionen des vasconischen Territoriums gesagt – ein Defizit, dessen sich K. wohl bewusst ist. Der materielle Zugriff auf die „vasconische Identität“ kann jedenfalls zu nötigen Schnellschlüssen führen, wie K. am Beispiel der „römischen“ (oder eben doch „vasconischen“?) Gräber in der Region warnend vorführt.

Komplexer wird die Sachlage wieder mit der Spätantike und dem Aufkommen des Christentums. Inzwischen habe man es mit einer vasconisch-römischen Mischbevölkerung zu tun, die das Christentum in einzelnen Gebieten sehr unterschiedlich annahm. Aber auch hier kann kein flächendeckender Befund geleistet werden; das gleiche gilt für die territoriale Neuordnung unter Diocletian. Hier spielt K. seine epochenübergreifende Kenntnis des (vasconischen) Altertums aus. Der Rezensent wagt nicht zu beurteilen, ob die chronologisch breit angelegte Studie ambitioniert oder gewagt ist.

Insgesamt aber macht K. aus einem dünnen Quellenbestand ein sohlankes Buch, das nicht aufgebläht daherkommt und seine Stärke aus der Vorsicht gewinnt. Die Redaktion ist insgesamt gelungen, einzelne Unreinheiten in der Bibliographie fallen nicht ins Gewicht. Aktuelle Identitätskontroversen in Spanien kommt das Buch zuvor, sodass sich der Rezensent von Zeit zu Zeit bessere Spanischkenntnisse wünschte.

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H. Klinkott and N. Kramer (eds.), *Zwischen Assur und Athen: Altorientalisches in den Historien Herodots*, Spielräume der Antike 4, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2017, 243 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11743-2

Das Interesse an erkennbaren altorientalischen Komponenten in griechischen archäologischen und schriftlichen Quellen der Bronzezeit (Stichworte: Troia, mykenische Götterwelt) sowie der (Früh-)Eisenzeit (*ca.* 1200–600 v. Chr., Stichworte: Lefkandi, Homerische bzw. Hesiodische Epen) ist in der Altertumsforschung, vor allem durch fächerübergreifende Kooperationen bzw. diachron angelegte Untersuchungen erfreulich angestiegen. Die vorliegende Publikation untersucht nun auch schlaglichtartig, durch „interdisziplinäre Stellenkommentierung“ (S. 8) – eine umfassende Bearbeitung sprengte den vorgegebenen Rahmen – Herodots Schriften daraufhin, mit dem Ziel, konstruktive Diskussionen anzuregen (S. 10).

Charakterisierten in der Bronzezeit das Hethiterreich, Mitanni, das Assyrische, das Babylonische und eingeschränkt das Ägyptische Reich sowie die vielen Kleinstaaten der

Levanteregion „Altorientalisches“, dominierten in der (Früh-)Eisenzeit vornehmlich Neuassyrien, Neubabylonien und vor allem die Levantestaaten als Herkunftsgebiete der vielfältigen altorientalischen ‚Einflüsse‘ in der materiellen und immateriellen Kultur des griechischen Kleinasien (gipfelnd in der sog. ionischen Naturphilosophie) sowie des mittleren und westlichen Mittelmeerraumes. Im 6./5. Jahrhundert hatte das in vielen Aspekten ‚nachfolgende‘ Perserreich politisch alle vorgenannten Gebiete geeint und einen nunmehr ‚persischen Alten Orient‘, eine unbedingte Klammer des gelungenen Sammelbandes (8), bestehend aus der Margarethe Häcker-Vorlesung (R. Rollinger) und darauf aufbauend acht Beiträgen (jeweils mit englischem *abstract* versehen) im Rahmen des Margarethe Häcker-Workshops, abgehalten in Heidelberg im Juni 2015, geschaffen. Im Werk des griechisch-karischen Kleinasien Herodot (im Folgenden H.) lassen sich „häufig und dicht“ und kaum je ‚zufällig‘ eingebracht solche persisch-altorientalischen Elemente nachweisen, die bisher allerdings nur bedingt im Fokus der altertumswissenschaftlichen Forschungen, namentlich der Alten Geschichte, Klassischen Philologie, aber auch Altorientalistik bzw. Vorderasiatischen bzw. Klassischen Archäologie, standen (vgl. dazu auch die umfassende Gesamtbibliographie, S. 219–43). Woher, wie und wo er seine Informationen jeweils erhielt (vor Ort durch Autopsie, mündlich [in welcher/n Sprache/n?], schriftlich, durch [nicht überlieferte] Bilder), ist komplex und kompliziert und Teil des wissenschaftlichen Diskurses, ebenso, „ob er ihre originäre Bedeutung erkannte oder wie und zu welchem Zweck er sie für sein griechisches Publikum verfremdete“ (vgl. auch S. 8 mit Anm. 7f.).

Bereits R. Rollinger (S. 13–42) stellt in seiner Vorlesung klar, dass H. nicht einfach kopierte, sondern die benutzten Elemente, die ihrerseits offensichtlich von den Persern aus allen möglichen Kulturregionen ihres Reiches (z.B. Ritual aus der Hethiterzeit, Reliefvorbild aus dem früheisenzeitlichen Urartu, mythologisches Motiv aus der ägyptisch-arabischen Grenzregion) und Zeiten übernommen worden waren bzw. in die persische Zeit hinein existierten, „zu wesentlichen Bestandteilen seiner Historien“ umformte (S. 14), um den Lesern seine bestimmte Botschaft zu übermitteln, z.B. den persischen Herrscher als Despoten zu charakterisieren.

Diese Warnung vor der großköniglichen Hybris und ihren Konsequenzen aus griechischer Sicht – dagegen aus persischer Warte als großkönigliche Legitimationsbemühungen und/oder Selbstinszenierungen nach altorientalischen Mustern im Kontext mit persischen Rebellionen und Kriegsführung zu verstehen – scheinen auch in den folgenden Beiträgen auf, je nach untersuchter Thematik, die sowohl die Kernbereiche und Zentren des Perserreiches berühren, als auch an dessen Rändern angesiedelt sind, dann mit einem eher hohen oder einem stark dem griechischen Verständnis angepassten Grad an authentischer Wiedergabe der ‚altorientalischen‘ bzw. persischen Anteile, wobei die Freude, den Text mit Exotica anzureichern, nicht ausgeschlossen wird und ebenso wenig, dass einiges Berichtete einfach H.s Phantasie entsprungen sein dürfte. Sein vielschichtiges Verhältnis zur Welt des persischen Alten Orients bildet erklärtermaßen die thematische Leitlinie des Buches (S. 8), auch wenn immer wieder auf mögliche Grenzen der Interpretationen hingewiesen wird.

In „Perser, Meder oder Barbaren?“ geht es A. Ellis um H.s Einsatz von Namen und wiedergegebenen Sitten (hier: persisches Begräbnisritual), verbunden mit der Frage nach der Rolle seines ethnographischen Wissens und basierend auf einer knappen Darstellung seiner eingebrachten ‚Gattungen‘ und erzählerischen Perspektiven (S. 45–59). Wie die Bezeichnung ‚Phryger‘ in der frühgriechischen Literatur neben den eigentlichen Phrygern

auch für Trojaner, später für Kleinasien allgemein verwendet wurde, so scheint H. wie auch seine Kollegen ‚Perser‘, ‚Meder‘, ‚Barbaren‘ alternierend spezifisch oder unspezifisch zu gebrauchen. Grundsätzlich bemüht sich H., die berichteten Episoden „in die literarische Tradition der Griechen“ einzubetten (S. 59).

H. Klinkott zeigt unter dem Titel „Xerxes und der Kopf des Leonidas. Handlungszwänge und Rollenverständnis eines persischen Großkönigs“ (S. 61–81) am Beispiel der Leichenschändung des Leonidas nach der Schlacht an den Thermopylen durch Xerxes (in der Tradition u.a. neuassyrischen Herrschergebarens) zwei Ebenen: einerseits eine (griechisch-) literarische: Großkönig = Tyrann, andererseits eine historische und eigentlich innerpersische, nämlich Xerxes‘ Kampf um seine großkönigliche Stellung und Autorität angesichts andauernder Kritik aus den eigenen Reihen. Der Fokus, den A. Schwab in seinem Text zur achaimenidischen Königsideologie in H.s Erzählung über Xerxes (S. 163–95) wählte, betont zusätzlich, dass der Autor offenbar persische Königsinschriften kannte, deren Motivik und Sprachduktus er einbrachte, um die Thematik der großköniglichen Legitimationsbemühungen darzustellen.

Ebenfalls um H.s Umgang mit Inschriften sowie die großkönigliche Selbstinszenierung geht es im Abschnitt von J. Lougovaya-Ast (S. 105–21). Sie bringt eine nützliche Zusammenstellung der 24 Inschriften, die H. in den „Historien“ anführt (S. 111–12) und verfolgt die Frage nach deren jeweiligem Zweck nach bzw. der Feststellung einer Diskrepanz zwischen der tatsächlichen Inschriftenaussage und der Erzählung, in die sie H. einbettete, zumeist unter Nennung der Inschriftenuheber, auf der Basis von drei genutzten, sich z.T. überschneidenden Untersuchungsansätzen: archäologisch, historisch und literarisch (S. 107). Sie nimmt auch direkten Bezug zu R. Rollingers Beitrag zu Dareios‘ Reiterrelief (S. 116–21).

K. Trampedach untersucht die persischen *Magoi* bei H. (S. 197–218), die er als „Priester der Despoten“ und H.s Gewährsmänner für seine antimonarchische Theologie“ ausmacht, sie also aus (kleinasiatisch-)griechischer Perspektive durch H. bewertet und für seine Aussageabsicht eingesetzt sieht. N. Kramers Beitrag „Herkunft, Transformation und Funktion orientalischer Kriegsmotive bei H.“ (S. 83–104) geht in eine vergleichbare Richtung und erwähnt zum einen die Anreicherung der Erzählungen mit exotischen Elementen – als Beispiele dienen Poliorketik, Flucht/Exodus, Deportation, großköniglicher Aufmarsch, Grausamkeit –, z.T. wird aber die Warnung vor der Hybris der Großkönige im Rahmen ihrer Kriegsführung in der vorgelegten griechischen Umdeutung fast ins Gegenteil verkehrt, wohingegen aus persischer Sicht die königliche Vorgehensweise eher gestützt würde. Dabei weist der Autor explizit darauf hin, dass der jeweilige altorientalistisch-persische Kontext in der Geschichtsforschung noch immer unterschätzt wird und – wie wohl durch alle Beiträge klar wird – nur interdisziplinär bearbeitet werden kann (vergleichbar mit den ‚altorientalistischen‘ Funden/Befunden aus dem gesamten westlichen Mittelmeerraum, die natürlich nicht im Fokus der Altorientalisten/Vorderasiatischen Archäologen stehen, aber auch reziprok nutzbringend wären), damit er für die Perserforschung zu Erkenntnissen führen kann, weshalb hier der Fokus nur auf die griechische Rezeption durch H. gelegt wurde (S. 104).

Neben der persischen Expansion innerhalb Kleinasien und nach Griechenland, hatten die Achaimeniden den Norden und Nordwesten des Persischen Reiches im Blick. Im Zusammenhang mit Kyros‘ II. Zug zu den Massageten stellt D. Möhlmann die Frage, ob

es sich bei dem bezeugten Schiffseinsatz bei der Araxes- (eigentlich Oxus-) Überquerung Kyros' II. (S. 123–44) um eine Inszenierung persischer Macht handelte. Er kommt zum einen zu dem Ergebnis, dass die in diesem Zusammenhang erwähnte Brücke wirklich eine sog. Ponton-Brücke war, und dass H. durch den Bericht dieser spektakulären Tat am Rande der Welt die in altorientalistischer Tradition zu verortende eigene Machtdarstellung des Großkönigs (authentisch) darstellte. M. Schuol befasst sich mit H.s Skythen-Bild zwischen Realität und Fiktion (S. 145–62) im sog. Skythen-Logos, dessen Informationen zum guten Teil „hohe Qualität und Authentizität“ (S. 161) u.a. zu Lebensweise und Bestattungssitten bieten, die auch immer wieder durch archäologische Funde und Befunde gestützt werden, nicht aber H. als geschickten Autor vergessen lassen.

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A. Kolb and M. Vitale (eds.), *Kaiserkult in den Provinzen des Römischen Reiches: Organisation, Kommunikation und Repräsentation*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2016, ix+512 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-041671-8

Starting from the contradictory accounts of Cassius Dio (51. 20. 6–8) and Tacitus (*Annales* 4. 37. 1), the present volume of proceedings of an international conference held at Zürich in September 2014, edited by Anne Kolb and Marco Vitale, aims at overcoming generalised interpretations of emperor worship in the Roman provinces. Instead of presenting one-dimensional relationships between the Roman centre and the periphery, the editors and contributors provide a more nuanced insight into this topic. Given the vast range of Asia Minor studies, this volume is of unquestionable value concerning (re-)evaluating the scarce material we have for the provinces. By investigating emperor worship in the hitherto under-represented areas of Achaia, Lycia, Gaul, Thessaly and even the Parthian empire, this volume highlights the local geneses of emperor worship and therefore emphasises the regional facets and idiosyncrasies that go beyond questions of political and religious relevance. This volume therefore addresses the phenomenon of emperor worship in economic, social and organisational perspectives in order to re-evaluate that widespread phenomenon as a regionally highly differentiated institution. Accordingly, this volume presents new aspects not only for the broad ancient historian community but also for the related specialist fields, most prominently numismatics and epigraphy. The spectrum of topics as well as the corresponding variety of materials and analytical methods are therefore deeply impressive.

Given that background, this review does not entirely follow the editors' thematic organisation, starting from the genesis and development of cults through local and supra-local organisational structures (*poleis*, *koine*, *provinciae*) to networks of provincial and Roman elites and, finally, to the Late Antique end of the emperor cult. This review seeks to emphasise the value of this volume in its research discourse even beyond its own recognition, i.e. in the tension between rather structure-oriented and individual-oriented approaches. Within the rather common terms of Pierre Bourdieu, one may consider this tension as a 'divergence' between 'objectivist' approaches and 'subjectivist' approaches. Starting with the latter, the most compelling contributions come from the Danish faction in the volume. Jesper Madsen's study is therefore surely best placed as first contribution. Through critically re-interpreting essential passages in Cassius Dio and Suetonius, Madsen discloses how the

entangled and ambiguous communication between Roman officials and certain constellations of local officials in the *koina* of Asia and Bithynia results in a strategical 'illusion' of emperor worship being locally elaborated 'from below'. This ambiguous communication pinpoints the importance of individual ambitions and their scope of actions rather than a determining political structure, as commonly expressed for *koina*.¹ In accordance with Madsen, Søren Sørensen illustrates how those provincial *legati* addressing the authorities in Rome do not necessarily represent officially elected or delegated provincial authorities but, as Madsen already indicates, local individuals who gather *ad hoc* entourages with which they seek to enforce their personal claims against competing individuals and their networks. Marco Vitale joins Sørensen half-way. Though his study confirms the ambitions of local individuals, as can be seen in dedicatory inscriptions of Hispania Ulterior Baetica, Lugundum and Isauria, he, however, emphasises the individual connection to the respective provincial assembly, which, as Vitale illustrates, tends to refer to itself as *provincia* in official decision-clauses. Similarly, by comparing several *cursus honorum* in Asia, Bithynia, Galatia, Lycia and Macedonia, Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen defines a common but nevertheless locally specific pattern (wealth, family, holding *koinon* or civic offices) that determines 'leading men'. Bekker-Nielsen openly opposes the still existing idea of a coherent legal system and well-ordered commonwealth that Mommsen once perpetuated, and instead illuminates the importance of 'individual networking', in line with Georg Simmel's notion of 'sociability', though not using either technical term. Concerning the Roman senatorial elite, Werner Eck refers their scopes of individual ambition to strategies of assuring loyalty and personal prestige. Eck therefore doubts the effect of emperor worship on individual practice and belief in Roman senatorial circles.

Domitilla Campanile and Filippo Battistoni focus on the 'refunctionalisation' of *amicitia*-relationships between Republican Rome and Lycia in Imperial times. Though Battistoni's new dating of two Lycian inscriptions undoubtedly represents an important insight into the genesis and development of emperor worship as it concerns regional differences, and therefore illuminates Lycia as a unique case, it remains debateable whether this *amicitia* is an expression of operating political and cultural systems rather than individual *amicitiae*, as Madsen and Sørensen suggest. Michael Speidel, who similarly keeps *amicitia* in this traditional view of state relations, provides a very interesting case study on a topic that is commonly far out of sight – namely, the use of emperor worship in the Parthian empire as an expression of *amicitia* and therefore as a means of communication that warrants trust and stability. In these concerns, after having read Peter Herz's discovery according to which especially music *agones* increase in comparison to the other *agones* at emperor worship, Denise Reitzenstein explains this 'explosion' of agonism in Lycia with the 'epigraphic habit' at place. She refers this agonistic presence in the sources to the essential role of illustrating one's euergetism, which again highlights individual ambitions in opposition to a provincial cultic system.

The local geneses of emperor worship are approached from a rather structure-oriented point of view. The certainly most compelling and thought-provoking papers in this regard

¹ See most recently Y. Löbel, *Die Poleis der bundesstaatlichen Gemeinwesen im antiken Griechenland: Untersuchungen zum Machtverhältnis zwischen Poleis und Zentralgewalten bis 167 v. Chr.* (Alessandria 2014).

are provided by Gabriele Frija and Barbara Holler. Both illuminate the homogenising influences of the provincial cults in Asia Minor, and most particularly Asia, on their respective polis-cults. Whereas Frija illustrates how the competition among *poleis* and their cults led to appropriations of elements and structures of the respective provincial cults in the broader area of Asia Minor, Holler pinpoints the ability of Roman elites to influence these appropriations. As it concerns Thessaly, as studied by Richard Bouchon, Delphi and Athens served as 'model' *koinon* and 'model' city for these locally specific appropriations. Being led by the questionable assumption that a social community is equal to ritual community, Frija employs a reductive notion of identity that does not go beyond geographical and topographical aspects. Scholars of cultural and religious history might disagree with her in that respect.²

As the studies of Francesco Camia, Lorenzo Cigaina and Hadrien Bru illustrate, local and regional appropriations that lead to standardisation also operate alongside the association of the emperor with either local and/or supra-local traditional gods. As it concerns the province of Achaia, studied by Camia, Roman emperors were integrated into the local *panthea* and thus into complex ritual and priestly systems. In accordance with French scholarship's focus on divine 'puissances', Bru discloses the reconciliation of the Dionysios cult with Hadrian's powers as expressed in representational, liturgical, mythical and structural respects. Likewise, Cigaina illustrates how the military tradition at ancient Creta was attracted by Octavian's power so that the Emperor was connected with the local Zeus Kretagenès and the goddess Artemis Diktyinna became patron of Augustus' victories.

Holger Wienholz takes the structuralist approach to its extremes with very interesting insights. Wienholz maintains an impressive, though deterministic intellectual performance that re-evaluates the Bacchus temple at Baalbek as a Severian *neocorie* temple. Going the other way round, Julie Dalaison reconstructs a *koinon* through *neocorie* evidence. Her numismatic investigation opposes recent debates on numerous *koina* of Pontus and argues in favour of one coherent *koinon* of Pontus. Babett Edelmann-Singer provides an important contribution for the study of elite women in Asia, Pontus and Bythinia, and further areas. According to her, these *archiereiae* integrate into the male dominated hierarchy in order to accumulate 'social capital' and 'prestige' to their respective families.

Alister Filippini and Christian Raschle face the long-debated dichotomy between Christian ideology and emperor worship. Though they both elaborate highly sophisticated solutions by either pointing to the administrative importance of the Imperial cult for a centralised imperial organisation, as accentuated with the denotation 'sacral-juridical fossil', or by separating a civic symbolic system from a Christian religious symbolic system, it appears clear that such a dichotomy only makes sense within a highly structuralist perception of human practice and thought, as Raschle makes clear by introducing Robert Bellah's concept of civil religion as a means to elaborate a concept of a supra-polis-religion.

² For ancient religions, see J. Rüpke, 'Religious Agency, Identity, and Communication: Reflections on History and Theory of Religion'. *Religion* 45 (2015), 344–66; É. Rebillard and J. Rüpke (eds.), *Group Identity and Religious Individuality in Late Antiquity* (Washington, DC 2015).

In sum, the present volume provides many compelling historical insights, though some methodological perspectives tend to ignore recent debates on ancient religion and culture. The individual-oriented approaches in particular, as best expressed by Bekker-Nielsen's opposition to legalistic top-down approaches, make progress in paving the way for more detailed examinations of individuals and their networks as driving factors of cultural, organisational and religious rather than social and political change on the provincial, sub-provincial and local level. One may, however, wonder why no contributors were invited in order to investigate the more complex religious aspects rather than social and political. Notwithstanding the editors voicing some criticism of these approaches, it may have offered insights into the local particularities of religious thinking and practice that may have enhanced the deployed concepts of (religious) identity, 'civil religion' and female roles. Finishing with a minor complaint, a critical index would have been helpful, given the methodological and thematic complexity and variety of this volume.

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E. Kozal, *Fremdes in Anatolien: Importgüter aus dem Ostmittelmeerraum und Mesopotamien als Indikator für spätbronzezeitliche Handels- und Kulturkontakte*, Schriften zur Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 11, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2017, 261 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10811-9/ISSN 2196-7199

Die Dissertationspublikation behandelt Fremdgrüter aus dem Ostmittelmeerraum – namentlich Zypern, das besonders umfassend berücksichtigt wurde u.a. durch die direkte Auswertung kyprischer Keramik aus Kinet Höyük, Tarsus-Gözlükule und Troia (vgl. Taf. 1–11), ferner Syrien, der südlichen Levante, Ägypten, Mesopotamien sowie dem Ägäisraum, jeweils im Wesentlichen auf der Basis von Literatúrauswertung (vgl. die umfassende Bibliographie) –, die in (mittel- und) spätbronzezeitlichen (20. bis zum Ende des 13. Jh. v. Chr.) Orten Kleinasien (= Anatolien) gefunden wurden. Auf deren Grundlage untersuchte die Autorin als gegenseitig zu charakterisierende Handels- und Kulturkontakte der verschiedenen anatolischen Regionen (vgl. Karte 1, S. 18 sowie die Erläuterungen S. 19–20) bzw. historisch überlieferten (hethitischen Teil-) Länder (vgl. Karte 2, S. 51) mit den genannten Gebieten (vgl. bes. Karte 3–8 in Kap. 4), wobei sie sich für die Auswertung auf ihren umfangreichen Katalog zu 31 archäologischen Gruppen, die im Wesentlichen Gefäße, Plastik und Kleinkunst umfassen, mit 694 Einträgen stützte. Ein wichtiges Anliegen ist außer der Darstellung der Forschungsgeschichte zu den jeweiligen Beziehungen, wie z.B. zwischen Anatolien und Zypern in Kap. 2, auch eine kurze Darstellung der bekannten historischen Gegebenheiten und die Diskussion der bisher nicht vereinheitlichten bronzezeitlichen relativen und absoluten Chronologie(n) Anatoliens, deren völlig diverse Ansätze (archäologisch, historisch, naturwissenschaftlich basiert/kombiniert) mittels der Tabellen 1–18 veranschaulicht werden und die unterstreichen, welch großes Forschungsdesiderat hier immer noch vorliegt (Kap. 3).

Mit dem Terminus „Fremdgrut“ bezeichnet die Autorin jedes nicht lokal hergestellte Gut ohne Definition eines spezifischen Austausches und damit in Abgrenzung z.B. zu „Import“, was in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur üblicherweise synonym genutzt wird, mit der Bedeutung ‚bewusst eingeführte Ware‘ (S. 85), bezeichnet also eine enger gefasste, bestimmte Art

des Austauschs. Für die Definition und Identifizierung der zugrunde gelegten Fremdgüter wurden folgende Kriterien beachtet: 1) Verbreitung, Häufigkeit, frühestes Vorkommen einer Objektgattung; 2) vorhandene/nicht vorhandene Rohstoffe; 3) naturwissenschaftlich basierte Herkunftsanalysen.

Begleitet von mehreren regionalen Verbreitungskarten (3, 5–8) liegt der Fokus von Kap. 4 auf der „Rekonstruktion der Beziehungen, Austauschmechanismen und Handelsrouten“, wobei die räumliche Verbreitung und Häufigkeit einer Fundgattung mit bestimmter Herkunft in einer Zeitphase zum einen die beim Austausch beteiligten Siedlungen/Regionen, die Entwicklung der Kontakte und den Verlauf von Handelsrouten zu Lande und zu Wasser (Seewege/Flüsse) auch unter Einbeziehung der rekonstruierbaren Transportmittel, zum anderen die Intensität der Kontakte beleuchten, während Kontext bzw. Funktion der Objektklassen Hinweise auf die Art der Beziehungen lieferten.

Es ergaben sich vier anatolische Kontaktregionen: Süd-, Südost, Zentral- und Westanatolien (Kap. 5; vgl. auch Karte 1). Danach zeigen sich Beziehungen Südanatoliens – im Wesentlichen handelt es sich um die später als Ebenes bzw. Raues Kilikien bezeichneten Landschaften – mit allen ostmittelmeerischen Regionen. Aber mit Ausnahme Zyperns (vgl. Karte 3 und 4) erscheinen sie letztlich schwach und sporadisch, darunter Einzelfunde aus Ägypten, nichts Minoisches und nur wenig mykenische Keramik. Die Untersuchung bestätigt aber auch später bezeugte Routen: eine direkte Seeverbindung von Zypern zum Göksu-/Kalykadnos-Tal (Fundort Kilisetepe), wo eine wichtige Verbindung nach Zentralanatolien ihren Ausgang nahm, ebenfalls eine solche ins Ebene Kilikien (Fundort Tarsos usw.) sowie, wenn auch schwach bezeugt, den Landweg (Fundort Kinet Höyük) über das Amanosgebirge, der Nordsyrien mit den wichtigen Orten Ugarit und Alalah/Tall Atchana und Kilikien verband bzw. nach Osten zum Euphrat führte. Nicht gestützt wird durch die Auswertung (bisher) eine überregionale Seeroute entlang der kilikischen Südküste von und nach Nordsyrien, eine interessante Beobachtung ggf. mit Konsequenzen für die Rekonstruktion des Seewegs in den Ägäisraum.

In Südostanatolien treten Funde unterschiedlicher Zeitschnitte mit Ausnahme von levantinischen, ägyptischen und minoischen (und nur einem mykenischen) auf, wobei der Kontakt in den schwer zu differenzierenden syrisch-mesopotamischen Raum (inkl. Mitanni, Assyrien, Babylonien) am intensivsten und andauerndsten u.a. durch zahlreiche mitannische, assyrische, babylonische (Bullae- und Siegelfunde repräsentiert wird. Dass der Euphrat als Verkehrsweg genutzt wurde, scheint wahrscheinlich.

Relativ gute Schriftquellen liegen für Zentralanatolien vor (Zeit der Altassyrischen Handelskolonien sowie des Hethitischen Großreichs). Aufgrund der jeweiligen historischen Situation verwundert es demnach nicht, dass Funde (Fertigprodukte und Rohmaterial wie z.B. Kupfer aus Zypern oder Elfenbein) fast allen ostmittelmeerischen Regionen zugeordnet werden können, wenn auch in unterschiedlicher Intensität, mit unterschiedlichen Zentren (südlich bzw. nördlich des Halysbogens) und zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten. Wieder fallen assyrische und babylonische Siegel und Bullae besonders ins Auge, ergänzt durch Gefäße und plastische Erzeugnisse. Die schriftlich bezeugten spätbronzezeitlichen Kontakte zwischen Ägypten und dem Hethiterreich werden durch (Einzel-) Funde, bes. Skarabäen, v.a. aus dem hethitischen Kernland unterstützt, doch sind sie kaum als Handelsgüter zu klassifizieren. Auch die Objekte aus dem Ägäisraum sind zu spärlich, um von Handel zu sprechen und Routen zu rekonstruieren, wobei aufgrund der Geophysis die Überlandwege von Westen

(z.B. Maiandros-Tal), aber auch aus Südanatolien (Göksu-Tal; Kilikische Pforte via Tarsos und Fraktin) nach Zentralkleinasien bekannt sind. Die Nutzung des Seewegs an der südlichen Schwarzmeerküste entlang ist dagegen bisher für den behandelten Zeitraum kaum nachweisbar.

Nicht überraschen kann der Befund, dass Westanatolien die stärksten Kontakte im Ägäisraum ab der minoischen Zeit aufweist, mit Milet, wo wohl von einer minoischen und später mykenischen Niederlassung mit lokaler Produktion gesprochen werden kann, während sowohl im nordwestlichen Bereich mit dem Fundort Troia als auch im südwestlichen Gebiet mit Milet (vgl. Karte 1) die Kontakte mit Zypern, Syrien und der südlichen Levante, dem syrisch-mesopotamischen Raum und Ägypten sehr schwach, z.T. schlecht datierbar oder gar nicht nachgewiesen werden können und somit auch keine Aussagen zu Verbindungswegen gemacht werden.

Die Veröffentlichung präsentiert in sich konsistent eine notwendige und willkommene archäologische Grundlagenarbeit, in der systematisch die aufgenommenen Objektgruppen bearbeitet und ausgewertet wurden, die einem ambitionierten, weil nicht nur in archäologischer Hinsicht – vergleichsweise wenige Grabungen – schwierigen Zeithorizont zugeordnet werden. Anzumerken ist die etwas heterogene, aber in der archäologischen Fachliteratur durchaus übliche Terminologie: z.T. sind die Objekte archäologisch-geographisch definiert, z.B. kyprisch, syrisch-mesopotamisch, levantinisch, z.T. historisch wie z.B. mitannisch. Bedauerlich sind die relativ wenigen Abbildungen. Hervorzuheben ist besonders der Katalog, gegliedert nach Objekt, Material, Herkunft, Fundort/Region (hier auch ggf. Hinweise zur Datierung: jeweils chronologisch absteigend angeordnet), v.a. in Verbindung mit den Verbreitungskarten.

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V. Kozlovskaya (ed.), *The Northern Black Sea in Antiquity: Networks, Connectivity, and Cultural Interactions*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2017, xxvii+366 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-01951-5

Reconstruction of the history of the ancient history of the north coast of the Black Sea is one of the triumphs of classical archaeology. The relevant scholarship is correspondingly vast, but unfortunately not accessible to most Western historians for linguistic reasons. The goal of *The Northern Black Sea in Antiquity* is correspondingly ambitious: to provide a comprehensive survey of current scholarship in English.

Although *The Northern Black Sea in Antiquity* has similar goals, it differs from its predecessors such as, for example, Ellis Minns's *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge 1913) in two ways. First, as no single author could master this scholarship in the way that Minns did a century ago, *The Northern Black Sea in Antiquity* is the work of an international team of nine scholars recruited by Valeriya Kozlovskaya. Second, unlike *Scythians and Greeks*, which was primarily an encyclopaedic survey of the results of Czarist scholarship on the region, the new work is organised thematically around the three themes indicated in its subtitle: *Networks, Connectivity, and Cultural Interactions*. After an introduction dealing with 'Pontic Networks', the book treats the history of the region from the Archaic period to late antiquity in five parts: harbours, overseas trade, political culture, art and architecture, and the Sarmatians.

Ironically, in view of the prominence the question of Archaic Greek colonisation occupies in Black Sea scholarship,¹ the only contribution dealing with Greek settlement of the Black Sea, Askold Ivantchik's 'The Greeks and the Black Sea: The Earliest Ideas about the Region and the Beginning of Colonization', treats a relatively marginal issue in Black Sea historiography, the lateness of Greek colonisation of the region, arguing that the reason was religious. On the basis of a detailed analysis of Greek mythology, he argues that the Greeks initially identified the Black Sea with the Ocean and the gateway to the realm of the dead and that only after improved information in the 7th century BC disproved this view did settlement begin.

The section on harbours contains two papers. In the first, Kozlovskaya surveys the evidence for harbours in the north-west Black Sea with particular emphasis on Olbia, Odessos and the island of Leuke, identifying Olbia and Odessos as the primary harbours in micro-regions that included shifting networks of secondary harbours and anchorages while Leuke owed its importance as a port to the cult of Achilles celebrated on the island. In the second, Ilya Buynevich briefly but clearly summarises the principal geological processes that shaped the north coast of the Black Sea in antiquity, demonstrating that sea level during the Classical period was significantly lower than at present with the result that many ancient sites have been submerged and that coastal features that influenced economic activity in antiquity can no longer be considered to be the same by archaeologists.

The two papers in the section on overseas trade outline the main trends in commerce in the Black Sea from the Archaic period to the early 3rd century AD based on almost a century of amphora studies. In the first, Sergey Monakhov and Elena Kuznetsova survey site by site trade patterns from the Archaic period to the Early Hellenistic, establishing three main points: first, that Pontic trade rose beginning in late 5th century BC, peaking in the early 4th century BC, and then declined sharply after *ca.* 330 BC; second, that the volume and content of trade varied site by site; and third, that while Heraclea and Sinope were the principal Black Sea exporters in the region, the bulk of the trade was from Mediterranean sources. Sergey Vnukov picks up the story in the second article, tracing the emergence of a unified market in the Black Sea in the approximately three centuries from the reign of Augustus to the early 3rd century AD.

The third section consists of a single characteristically excellent contribution by Angelos Chaniotis analysing the political culture of the Black Sea cities during what he calls the 'long Hellenistic Period' from the late 4th century BC to the 3rd century AD on the basis of the rich epigraphy of the region. Amidst many penetrating observations concerning individual inscriptions, he demonstrates that the Black Sea Greek cities shared two characteristics with the majority of Hellenistic Greek *poleis*, that democratic forms often concealed government by elective oligarchies, and that, despite intense local pride, their primary identity rested on their sharing the Hellenic cultural *koiné* of the period.

The two articles in the section on art and architecture try to answer the same question, what is the defining characteristic of art in the northern Black Sea, and both come to essentially the same conclusion, namely that it is an eclectic form of a provincial Greek art strongly influenced by the multi-ethnic environment in which it developed. In the first of

¹ See not least the numerous writings of, and the many volumes edited by, Gocha Tsetskhladze over the past 25 years.

these articles, Maya Muratov provides a detailed analysis of examples of Bosporan art, noting the prominence of local themes on funerary stelae including representations of ancestral images and the entrance to the Underworld on monuments such as the remarkable stele from the Trëkhbratnie Kurgan and the adoption of tamgas as emblematic identifiers from the Sarmatians. Likewise, in the second article, Alla Buiskikh demonstrates through a careful analysis of the fragments of Ionic columns that the principal regional centres of the northern Black Sea – Olbia, Chersonesus and Bosporus – developed distinctive local forms of an East Mediterranean architectural *koine*.

In the final article of the volume, Valentina Mordvintseva reconsiders the question of the Sarmatian invasions. Through a survey of the archaeological evidence thought to be associated with the Sarmatian invasions, she argues convincingly that references to the Sarmatians in classical sources should not be interpreted as evidence of the replacement of the Scythians by an invading people from the east but as indicating that Greeks began dealing with a new elite group ruling over the various populations inhabiting the Pontic steppe beginning in the Late Hellenistic period.

The Northern Black Sea in Antiquity is a welcome addition to the growing number of works on the Black Sea available in English. The articles are clear and well written and constitute a valuable survey of recent scholarship. Not all aspects of them are, of course, equally convincing. Thus, while Ivantchik's discussion of the Black Sea as forming part of the Ocean in Archaic mythology is a valuable addition to our understanding of the religious history of the region, it is simplistic as the principal explanation for the relative lateness of Greek colonisation of the Pontus to the exclusion of other factors such as, for example, the harshness of its environment compared with other areas they settled. Similarly, while amphora studies are effectively used to trace gross trends in Black Sea trade, attempts to quantify the volume of the trade as in the discussion of Heracleote wine exports in the Roman Imperial period (pp. 122–24) exceeds the level of precision that our evidence can provide. Still, that does not detract from the fact that scholars and students will find in *The Northern Black Sea in Antiquity* a valuable guide to scholarship on the topics discussed in it.

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J. Lipps (ed.), *Transfer und Transformation: römischer Architektur in den Nordwestprovinzen*, Kolloquium vom. 6.–7. November 2015 in Tübingen, Tübinger Archäologische Forschungen 22, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2017, 245 pp., illustrations (several in colour). ISBN 978-3-89646-913-7/ISSN 1862-3484

In this book are presented the papers delivered at a colloquium held at Tübingen in November 2015, less five which have been or will be published elsewhere but supplemented with two extra, those by Dell'Acqua and Maligorne.

The first paper, by Johannes Lipps, sums up the aims of the colloquium, the development of stone architecture in the North West provinces of the Roman empire, seen in the light of modern research as more complex than the simple adaptation of concepts found in the architecture of the city of Rome itself. It emphasises the diverse nature of buildings and

structures which, though linked to the Mediterranean sphere, are the result of an individual transformation based on local capabilities.

The following papers are divided into two groups, Transfer – the direct influence of Roman metropolitan architectural ideas – and Transformation, subsequent local development. First, Dominik Maschek argues against J.B. Ward Perkins's idea of active Romanisation in architecture as a part of a deliberate acculturation process, from Late Republican into Early Imperial times, along with the assumption of the existence of travelling workshops and diffusionist cultural areas. He stresses that the parallel with mediaeval practice is false since the political circumstances were not the same. In place of this he proposes a method based on contemporary concepts of 'Middle Range Theory'. He looks to the Roman empire under five aspects: its physical geography, its political geography, its economic geography, its juristic geography and its social geography, considering the effects of these on the development of local architectural forms.

Next, Augusta-Boularot, Chausserie-Laprée and Nin discuss the early development of Italic architectural influence in southern Gaul in contrast to the rather more direct influence of the Greek settlements on the coast, principally Massilia, on the immediate non-Greek hinterland.

Antonio Dell'Acqua discusses the more specialised and limited influence of the depiction of a marine thiasos found in the funerary architecture of northern Italy. Finally Alfred Schäfer looks at the redevelopment of Roman Cologne under Domitian. He includes, prior to that, a fragment of relief sculpture in Carrara marble of the time of Augustus, surely a piece of metropolitan origin. He then looks at the late 1st-century AD redevelopment of the part of the city bordering the Rhine, with a sanctuary between the river and the forum and to the side of this an octostyle podium temple, the Capitolium, with a round temple between them, both these placed in their own courtyards.

The second section of the book begins with a paper by Gerhard Waldherr on building inscriptions from Raetia and north-eastern Upper Germany. He uses these to define the various categories of the buildings themselves and the individuals concerned, which means those who put up the funds for the work rather than the architects and craftsmen who actually designed and built them. An appendix gives the full texts of the inscriptions. These give the names of the individuals concerned, together with their status and place in society, whether they are local citizens paying for temples and similar buildings or (in the frontier areas) military personnel arranging for fortification works.

Monika Verzár-Bass considers the decorative schemes applied to the porticos of the Forum of Augustus at Rome, a series of caryatids standing on podia and specifically the circular shields carved on the wall sections between, decorated with heads of Jupiter Ammon and the Celtic deity Cernunnos, reflecting the early triumphs of Augustus, his successes at Actium, Alexandria and in Gaul. She shows how this decorative concept was copied and adapted elsewhere, in Spain and Gaul, with changes to details, such as different deities, the caryatids replaced by candelabra, the shields by paterae.

Thomas Hufschmid discusses architectural concepts and building decoration at Avenches/Aventicum, the capital of the Helvetii, showing how Roman architectural concepts here receive local variation. One temple, the 'Stork' (Cigonier) temple, named after the storks which until 1970 inhabited a still-standing column, followed the architectural form of the Flavian Forum of Peace. It was built from a high-quality limestone ('Neuenburger marble').

On the other hand the 'Grange des Dîmes' temple is in a developed Romano-Celtic form, a central square cella surrounded with a colonnaded passageway, all on a base with a stepped central approach to a tetrastyle porch. He also discusses the architecture of the theatre and amphitheatre, which include motifs copied from triumphal arches.

Finally in this section Yvan Maligorne writes on the reception of architectural models at the edge of the Empire, reflections on the grand civic sanctuaries of western Gaul. He cites epigraphic material for the 'municipalisation' of the local communities in Brittany, at Rennes and Nantes, but chiefly looks at the remains of actual structures; the colonnaded courtyard and temple at Joubains (Noviodunum), the courtyard sanctuary of Mars-Mullo at Allonnes, and the sanctuary of Haut-Bécherel at Corseul (which he compares in lay-out to the Stork temple at Avenches, though the temple itself consists of a porch fronting an octagonal tower with surrounding gallery, that is, a modified Romano-Celtic type). All these are enclosed colonnaded courtyards of the type found not only at Rome but which, of course, are widespread throughout the empire – Maligorne compares for the sanctuary at Joubains the sanctuary of Artemis at Jerash in Jordan. He comments on shared variations of the relationship of the temple to its courtyard, whether placed free-standing within the courtyard or integrated into the colonnade opposite the entrance, or, in the case of Allonnes, placed against the far colonnade which here is curved backwards to allow the temple to be free-standing. He also illustrates fragmentary Corinthian capitals from Joubains and Allonnes.

The book ends with two papers on 'work in progress', Birte Geissler on the Porta Nigra at Trier and Klaus Kortüm on examples of architecture in Upper Germany, the temple of Apollo-Granus at Neuenstadt-am-Kocher and the façade of a villa building at Hechingen-Stein. Birte Geissler studies the Porta Nigra not so much as an individual structure but as an integral part of the town walls of Trier. Recent investigation gives a date in the second half of the second century. It was left unfinished. Klaus Kortüm discusses the temple at Neuenstadt as a modified Romano-Celtic type. The building at Hechingen (building M) is part of a larger villa complex. Because of the lie of the land a large part of its southern wall can in principal be reconstructed, with arched window openings in its façade.

This volume provides good insights into the links between the forms of the stone buildings in the north-west provinces of the Empire and those of buildings at Rome itself. The mechanisms that lead to this, however, are much more obscure. The actual architects and stone masons responsible for the creation of buildings in the Roman empire are notoriously invisible. We have no evidence for the formal training of architects or the methods by which they were recruited for any particular building project. The assumption has to be that the usual system of training and education was a form of apprenticeship, but the character and extent of the architectural workshops remain elusive. When Yvan Maligorne shows in his proposed reconstruction of the sanctuary at Joubains an octostyle podium temple with Corinthian columns, and actual fragments of Corinthian capitals from the surrounding quadriporticus it raises the question where did the stonemason who carved these capitals learn how to make them? It cannot be by book learning or even from drawings of capitals (of whatever type), but rather by being taught by older, experienced masons. This in turn raises the question of the extent to which in any given locality of the empire there was enough building work available to provide a livelihood for the masons involved – and, of course, the architects. Then there is the question of the different levels of architecture required in any given location, whether, as in this book, in the North West provinces or elsewhere. To what

extent would practising architects and craftsmen also be employed for the more routine structures, private buildings or houses of varying levels of architectural complexity?

Importation of architectural specialists from other areas cannot be excluded. The architects and craftsmen required for Claudius' temple at Colchester, built so soon after the conquest of Britain, must have come from elsewhere. Was there also importation of architectural elements? The movement of prefabricated columns, capitals and other architectural pieces from the quarries of Attica or Proconnesos to distant parts of the Mediterranean is amply attested, in shipwrecks as well as buildings. Movement by the rivers of the western empire may have occurred, but the location of quarries of suitable stone in the North West provinces has to be considered, together with the methods of transportation. The problems of interpretation remain.

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Richard Tomlinson

M. Manoledakis (ed.), *The Black Sea in the Light of New Archaeological Data and Theoretical Approaches*, Proceedings of the 2nd International Workshop on the Black Sea in Antiquity held in Thessaloniki, 18–20 September 2015, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2016, viii+289 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-510-0

This volume contains the proceedings of an international workshop on the Black Sea in antiquity, organised in 2015 by the International Hellenic University in Thessaloniki in the context of the postgraduate programme of the University's School of Humanities, which offers an MA in Black Sea Cultural Studies. An earlier workshop, held in September 2012, was published in 2013.¹ The main focus of the first conference was on young scholars, but in 2015 it was decided to open up the workshop to senior scholars as well. The book is geographically divided into three sections, dedicated to the northern, western and southern Black Sea regions, omitting the eastern part through the fact that the authors concerned with this area did not submit their papers, and a short section (two papers) about the connections between the Black Sea and northern Greece/Macedonia. In total, the book contains 19 papers, six on the northern, seven on the western, four on the southern and the two last mentioned.

The first paper, by Dmitry Chistov, is about one of the earliest Ionian colonies in the Black Sea area at Berezan Island, and more specifically about the Archaic residential buildings, concluding that the houses at the Berezan settlement are considerably larger than those of other Archaic urban centres in the North Pontic region, but with less planning in the layout of structures. Alfred Twardecki writes about the Polish/Ukrainian excavations at Tyritake, which was terminated in 2013 due to political events, concluding that there are strong indications that Tyritake was a holy place in the Archaic period. Alexey Belousov discusses the *defixiones tabellae*, magic curses, mostly inscribed on lead from Olbia compared with those of Panticapaeum in the Bosporan kingdom. The next paper is by Gocha Tsetskhladze, who gives a brief survey of Greek settlements on the Taman Peninsula, looking at land and underwater, to end with the question of whether the Taman Peninsula was

¹ M. Manoledakis (ed.), *Exploring the Hospitable Sea* (Oxford 2013).

first colonised from the east or from the south. In case of colonisation from the east, the earlier Greek settlements at Taganrog or possibly at Alekseevskoe could have played a role. The last two papers concerning the northern Black Sea coast are by Ioannis Xydopoulos and David Braund. They treat respectively the Taurians as neither Greeks nor entirely barbarians (only so in later classical sources), concluding that Tauric Chersonesus was probably a 'middle ground' between Greeks and barbarians, and the mythical hero Deukalion, a Greek in the classical accounts, except for Lucian who calls him a Scythian in his *On the Syrian Goddess*, asking if this Scythian Prometheus fits into the tradition of metalworking: in a tradition attested by Herodotus, Deukalion was the son of a certain Prometheus who was a Scythian king.

The next group of papers concern the results of the Tundzha Regional Archaeological Project in central Thrace (Adela Sobotkova), concluding that there are no traces of nomadism in Early Iron Age Thrace; *emporion* Pistiros, also in central Thrace, the location of the Pontic city of Boryza, mentioned by Hecataeus and Stephanus of Byzantium, probably being a Thracian settlement near Thynia and later overtaken by the Persians (Jan Bouzek); and a paper about Nemesis, the Greek personification which evolved into a deity of the Graeco-Roman pantheon (Georgia Aristodemou). Three papers in this section focus on the very interesting site of Apollonia Pontica, from which an enormous amount of evidence has emerged during the last decade, ranging from adornments or amulets in child graves (Mila Chacheva) to votive pottery from the sanctuary of Demeter on the island of St Kyrik and probably one of the very few found in the Black Sea littoral (Margarit Damyanov). The paper of the Franco-Bulgarian team excavating the necropolis of Apollonia Pontica and led by Alexandre Baralis and Krastina Panayotova is particularly interesting; based on a multi-disciplinary archaeological and geological/ecological approach, this programme seeks to highlight the several stages in the formation of Apollonia's territory, as well as the internal organisation of the city's wider area. Among other things, they conclude that St Kyrik was the religious heart of the city and that the first colonists at Shamni Promontory were directly related to the copper mines at Medni Rid and fishing in the lagoons. The transition from the 6th to the 5th century BC was marked by a decline in metallurgy which was contemporary with the destruction or abandonment of Thracian fortifications in its surrounding, probably linked to mining activities. The change was possibly connected with the Ionian revolt.

The third section concerns the southern Black Sea area, where the results of recent excavations at Tios (Sümer Atasoy), Sinope (Owen Doonan), the Hacilarobası tumulus near Karabük (Şahin Yıldırım and Nimet Demirci Bal) and Komana (D. Burcu Erciyas and Mustafa N. Tatbul), both about the Roman period, have considerably enlarged our knowledge about this long-neglected part of the Black Sea littoral. Doonan's paper is especially interesting for treating the period in Sinope before Greek colonisation.

The last part of this volume is dedicated to the connections between the Black Sea area and northern Greece where Anna Argyri, Ioannis Birtsas and Manolis Manoledakis publish in detail (a catalogue of) the 57 coins from the Propontis and the Black Sea that were found during construction of the Metro in Thessaloniki in the past few years, concluding that Thessaloniki played an important role on the *Via Egnatia* to Constantinople. In the final paper Polyxeni Adam-Veleni attempts to answer several questions about the degree to which the Greek colonies of the Black Sea were influenced in terms of both society and politics by the Macedonian kings Philipp II and Alexander the Great.

With a wealth of new material from several parts of the Black Sea littoral, often straight from the pen of the excavators, this book enriches the continuing stream of information about Black Sea archaeology.

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R.W. Mathisen, *Ancient Mediterranean Civilizations: Documents, Maps, and Images*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2017, xiii+578 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-19-028091-8

This textbook is intended to act as a stand-alone volume or as a companion to Ralph Mathisen's history textbook, *Ancient Mediterranean Civilizations: from Prehistory to 640 CE*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 2014).

The Preface states that the book contains 134 primary sources, 12 maps and 118 illustrations. In reality it consists of 126 documents, 15 maps, and perhaps 118 black-and-white photographs. The selections are arranged in 15 chronological chapters, spanning 2,000,000 BC–AD 640, divided roughly along geographical considerations to form four general sections with the exception of Chapters 1 and 9.

Chapter 1 (nos. 1–12) consists of accounts of creation, human origins and flood myths. It is unclear why the dates of the chapter are placed at 2,000,000–3000 BC when the oldest documents date to *ca.* 2500 BC, and the most recent are taken from the *Qu'ran*. Chapter 9 (nos. 68–72) contains passages attributed to civilisations not found in the Near East, Greece or Rome: Parthia, Kush and Carthage, but included are two other works that are curiously about nomads – the Black Sea Scythians and Celts.

Section I, 'The Ancient Near East', is composed of Chapters 2–5 (nos. 13–44). A quandary arises when trying to understand the dates assigned to Chapters 2–3 on Mesopotamia (6000 BC) and Egypt (5000 BC) when the documents of each were composed in *ca.* 2500 BC and *ca.* 2275 BC, respectively, while the Preface sets the earliest date at 5000 BC. The content of these first three chapters, comprising 29 documents, offer little in the way of surprise as they provide selections one has come to expect in such textbooks. The following two chapters round out the concentration placed on the Near East. Chapter 4 presents nine texts devoted primarily to the Hebrews with one each from Ebla, Mycenaean Linear B and Egypt, while Chapter 5 moves inland with six selections devoted to the Assyrians (3), again the Hebrew Bible (1) and the Persians (2).

The 23 documents (nos. 45–67) in three chapters on Greek civilisation form Section II, covering a span from 1100 to 31 BC unlike the Preface that has the range beginning in 2500 BC. Chapter 6 covers the 'Dark and Archaic Ages', beginning with Homer on the Trojan War and ending with excerpts from Cicero and Apollinaris on tyranny, and in between are passages from Herodotus, Hesiod, Sappho, Porphyry and Pindar. Chapter 7 covers seven passages about Classical Athens and one on Sparta. Chapter 8 deals with 'Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic Age' with three excerpts from Plutarch and one each from Justin, Aristotle, Epictetus and 1 Maccabees.

Section III, 'The Roman Republic and Empire (753 BCE–192 CE)', consists of three chapters (nos. 73–100). Chapter 10 consists of eight readings concerning the 'Rise of Rome and the Roman Republic', beginning with Plutarch's account of the city's founding,

followed by excerpts dealing with the kings, Lucretia, the 'Twelve Tables', the Gauls in 390 BC and Cannae in 216 BC, and concludes with Livy on the worshippers of Bacchus, and Plutarch on Cato the Elder. Chapter 11 comprises seven selections 133–*ca.* 20 BC. Three pieces derive from Plutarch: T. Graachus' land law, Spartacus and Cleopatra; the rest are single selections from Cicero's first speech against Catiline, poems by Catullus, Caesar on the siege of Alesia, and a funerary inscription praising the virtuous Turia. Chapter 12 comprises 13 selections, covering such topics as the Jews (2), the Christians (2), individual emperors (3), views on Rome (2), examples of Romanisation (2) and an excerpt from Juvenal on misogyny.

Section IV, 'Late Antiquity (192–640 CE)', contains 26 readings in three chapters (nos. 101–126). Chapter 13 places the selections in the period of AD 192–337. Of the nine that compose this chapter, five concern religion: a festival in honour of Venus, another on Christian martyrs, and three dealing with state reactions to Christianity – Diocletian's persecution, the Edict of Milan and the Council of Nicaea. The remaining four consist of a miscellany of topics: the 'Antonine Constitution', Diocletian's 'Edict on Maximum Prices', and two excerpts on non-Roman states, the Sasanian Shapur I and Zenobia's Palmyra. Chapter 14 also contains nine passages. Three concern Christianity: persecution or murder of non-Christians, and monasticism; four detail battles between Romans and invaders; and two treat the Late Roman criminal legal process, and the last emperor in Rome. The book's last chapter deals with the end of antiquity (AD 476–640) in eight texts. Three treat the Visigoths, Franks and Vandals, one discusses the Byzantine rulers Justinian and Theodora, two others concern Islam, and the last illustrates the legacy of the Classical Tradition in Europe.

One feature whose significance is sorely overlooked is a detailed discussion of the text's pedagogical approach. Rather, M. highlights the merit of longer extracts, 'an average of well over four pages per document, more than any other existing sourcebook', the value of which is that students are provided with 'a self-contained venue' that better allows them to create reports and write papers, and are ideal for in-class discussion (p. xviii). While the work may in fact contain longer extracts, this quality is not reason enough to adopt the book. One expects a sourcebook to be built around the idea that the selections present historical evidence clearly and directly, counterbalanced by a viable context that enables the problems the sources address to be readily understandable. The pedagogical value of such a sourcebook is that it presents the kind of evidence in a case study format with which historians grapple and induces them to analyse that evidence to reach their own conclusions. The idea then is to teach students the craft of history by allowing them to be historians.

One asset of the book is that all of the translations are out of copyright and available in the public domain, and M. has re-edited for readability with superfluous information excised from each text. Elsewhere he has presented his own translations. The problem is that this method overlooks new material. Moreover, the lack of a thematic approach makes it difficult for the reader to understand why some sources have been selected but not others. In other words, what besides the length of the extracts makes this text special?

The final component of the book is the list of 13 leitmotifs 'that permeate the volume' (pp. xix–xx). Usually, the individual sources are listed after the theme, although in some cases the chapter title is used instead. Moreover, the sources or chapter titles listed after the

thematic heading appear in paragraph form arranged chronologically according to the order of the readings. Unfortunately, the sources are not accompanied by their source number or page number that appears in the table of contents. This makes using this section cumbersome. It would have been far easier for the student had the sources been differently arranged. For example, the 13 leitmotifs that M. identifies would have benefited had they been organised much like the Table of Contents. The sources could also have been configured differently, such as according to geographical contents, or topical content. In each case, the source could have been followed by the first page on which it is found. In doing so, the information would have been more readily available to the student and the criteria used in the selection of the sources would have been apparent. For example, the largest subject heading, no. 13: Wars and battles, contains 32 sources, even though not all necessarily fall under this classification, such as the peace treaty affected by Ramses II and Hattusilis III, or Pericles' Funeral Oration to name but a few. Additional categories for sources such as these might have served a better purpose.

As a stand-alone sourcebook, *Ancient Mediterranean Civilizations* would have benefited from a more concerted effort to make the work more accessible to students. Had there been greater attention to how each source stands alone and as part of a larger theme, the context would not have been as dependent on the history textbook as it apparently is.

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M. Melfi and O. Bobou (eds.), *Hellenistic Sanctuaries: Between Greece and Rome*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2016, xvi+326pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-965413-0

The fruits of a conference on Greek sanctuaries during the Hellenistic and Roman periods held in Oxford in September 2010 have been collected and edited by Milena Melfi and Olympia Bobou into this volume, which aims to address a long-running imbalance on scholarship in Greek religion. The social, political, and ritual dynamics of Greek sanctuaries (and religion more generally), as the editors lay out in their Preface, have been studied in great detail from the 9th to the 5th centuries BC, while the Hellenistic and Roman periods have been comparatively under-researched (p. v). The 14 contributions to this volume certainly help to tip the scales towards these later periods and the fascinating intersection of religious traditions which defines them. While this volume presents some excellent case studies, the effort as a whole is not without its drawbacks.

The first thing the reader notes is the unfortunate, though perhaps understandable, six-year gap between the conference itself and the publication of these findings. In many fields this would not necessarily be an insurmountable timeline, but given recent groundbreaking contributions to the study of Greek religion, the span certainly is a hindrance to the volume. It would have been highly beneficial to see Julia Kindt's arguments for moving beyond *polis*-religion in *Rethinking Greek Religion* (Cambridge 2012), Ian Rutherford's study of *theoria* from 2013,¹ Peter Funke and Matthias Haake's volume on federal

¹ I. Rutherford, *State Pilgrims and Sacred Observers in Ancient Greece: A Study of Theōriā and Theōroi* (Cambridge).

sanctuaries,² among many others, be the subject of detailed discussion in relation to the sanctuaries considered in this edited collection.

Milena Melfi is to be greatly commended for her remarkable three contributions to this volume, beginning with the Introduction in which she eruditely lays out the state of the debate (pp. 1–17). Melfi puts forward a brilliant overview of shifting perspectives towards the Hellenistic period, particularly recent arguments for the persistent civic and religious vitality of Greek cities and communities that have traditionally been held to be in decline. Putting forward an ambitious agenda for the volume, Melfi concludes that *polis*-religion is indeed a 'valuable category of investigation for understanding Hellenistic religion' (p. 4), asserting that sanctuaries throughout the Greek world were remodelled in response to the changing political and cultural realities of the period. But this restructuring, she notes, was often in the service of tradition: there was indeed innovation, but new elements in these sanctuaries were geared towards providing a sense of uninterrupted continuity with religious heritage. In so doing, sanctuaries reflect the response of civic communities to Hellenistic kings, federations and, ultimately, Roman magistrates and emperors.

Unfortunately, this intriguing line of argument is not fully addressed by the volume as a whole. I must stress that on the individual level the contributions to this collection are by and large stellar, and there are some fascinating case studies to be found herein. Melfi's chapter on the career of Damophon of Messene (pp. 82–105) provides a brilliant examination of the celebrated artist's career, bringing to light the fact that he was hired as much for his deep religious knowledge as for his artistic capacities, and that his works, while certainly innovative, were couched in goals of antiquarian conservation or validation of older purported ties between sanctuaries and deities. Annalisa Lo Monaco's examination (pp. 206–27) of the interaction of Roman magistrates with Greek sanctuaries likewise took a highly innovative approach to the subject by not merely considering their material benefactions, but also their epigraphical and monumental presence in the physical geography of a sanctuary through the eyes of a visitor to the site. The manner in which the Romans sought to perpetuate local cult traditions while engaging with them as active participants was also considered by the chapters of Caliò on Kameiros (pp. 63–81) and Kantirea on Lykosoura (pp. 27–39). Much of the volume is dedicated to local case studies, but there are more thematic chapters on elite benefaction or changes in artistic conventions interspersed. In keeping with the archaeological focus of the volume, there are highly technical discussions of the sanctuary of Artemis Lykoatis in Arkadia, Dodona and Tauromenion. Many of the contributions, especially those by Interdonato on Kos, Caliò on Kameiros, Lafond on the Peloponnese and Kantirea on Lykosoura quite effectively integrate epigraphic finds into their analysis of archaeological data, with illuminating insights on the context behind the renovation or modification of a given site. Throughout, the common themes of continuity *vs* change, local *vs* extra-local interaction, and reorientation of old cults towards new political circumstances are addressed in wide and varied contexts.

But the volume has an often frustrating lack of unity, and there is no clear organisation or sequence of its chapters. Detailed archaeological considerations follow broad thematic chapters on art history, and at times the abrupt shift in topics can be jarring. In the same

² P. Funke and M. Haake (eds.), *Greek Federal States and their Sanctuaries: Identity and Integration* (Stuttgart).

vein, there is no cross-referencing among the various contributions to this volume, even when this would have been eminently pertinent and helpful. The extremely thorough and interesting discussion of divine images by Mylonopoulos, for instance, overlaps with the opening discussion of Bobou's chapter. Both contributions make essentially the same point about new gods being depicted using traditional Olympian conventions (pp. 118–21 and 184–88), both using the same example of Asklepios (pp. 118 and 184), but neither mentions the conclusions of the other. Some cross-discussion of Roman magistrates stepping into the role of Hellenistic kings which features in the chapters of both Interdonato (pp. 170–81) and Lo Monaco (pp. 206–27) would likewise have been helpful. Lavish illustrations and diagrams abound, but the curiously small size of the volume itself is somewhat puzzling and hinders their utility of these images.

Even though Hellenistic religion is a vast and varied field of study, some critical subjects were only discussed *en passant*, notably the impact of royal benefactions and ruler cults on the sanctuaries under consideration, as well as the robust connections established among these sanctuaries by *theoria* and *proxenia*. But the volume's contributions bring to light the sheer diversity of the period, and the wide spectrum of concerns which guided its religious practices. By and large the collection brings forward fascinating case studies of that will inspire debate and further consideration, but as with the Hellenistic period as a whole, it is often hard to see the wood for the trees.

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J.M. Miksic and G.Y. Goh, *Ancient Southeast Asia*, Routledge World Archaeology, Routledge, London/New York 2017, xxii+631 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-415-73554-4

In *Ancient Southeast Asia*, John Miksic and Geok Yian Goh successfully accomplish three remarkable feats: delivering a highly accessible and sophisticated account of how Southeast Asia evolved as a world region from prehistoric times to AD 1600; providing a comprehensive research guide to the field of pre-modern Southeast Asian history and historical archaeology; and contributing important original insights to the theorisation of Southeast Asian and world history.

As M. and G. observe, Southeast Asia, or rather 'Seasia', as it appears throughout this book, is 'a region in search of a name and an identity' (p. 3). Straddling the Indian Ocean and the Pacific, this area exhibits tremendous diversity and complexity. It encompasses 11 modern sovereign states of different historical memories, topographies and cultural landscapes, and is home to some 1000 out of the world's 6000 living languages. The local inhabitants do not seem to have had a name for their region nor taken the region as part of their self-identities. In scholarly and public discourses on Seasian history and culture, the distinctness and integrity of Seasia as a world region are also undermined by the region's colonial legacies and the nationalistic reactions to them in the post-colonial era. When the field of Seasian studies crystalised as an academic discipline in the 1950s, its first dominant conceptual framework drew on a corpus of literature written primarily by foreign visitors to the region, especially during the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries when most of the region came under European colonial rule. This literature treated Seasia as a periphery area of no particular

significance, like a *cul-de-sac* that only accumulates and absorbs cultural influences extended to it from its more established and mobile neighbours or hegemonic world powers. Seasian history was depicted as a successive unfolding of processes that lay much beyond the control of local inhabitants – ‘Indianisation’ and ‘Sanskritisation’, ‘Sinicisation’, Islamification and, finally, Westernisation. As more scholars of Seasian origin coming of age in the post-colonial era and foreigners better trained in Seasian languages joined in the profession, this master narrative of ‘cultural transmission’ was increasingly giving way to autonomous histories intent on excavating the Seasian textual and archaeological record to document the existence of continuously evolving and distinctly Seasian cultures and traditions created by the Seasians independent of foreign intervention. But this approach is often impaired by a tendency to ignore the abundant indisputable evidence of foreign cultural elements in the region’s history and by nationalistic research agendas and scholarly claims that ‘scrambled’ rather than consolidated the identity and integrity of Seasia as a region. M. and G. represent the recent turn among Seasian scholars to address these weaknesses in post-colonial Seasian historiography. Consciously eschewing the modern nation-state as an analytical category when discussing archaeological culture, they aimed at – and successfully created – a truly Seasia-centred narrative that highlights both the agency, dynamism and creativity of the Seasian people and the meaningful roles played by external influences in shaping Seasian history.

One of the most inspiring achievements of this book is the authors’ enunciation of the notion of ‘interaction spheres’ and consistent deployment of it as an overarching analytical tool throughout the book. First introduced in the 1960s among scholars working on early America, this notion had been adapted to Seasian studies by W.G. Solheim II, among others, who reconstructed some networks of trading and communication in this region based on the wide distribution, across linguistic, cultural and geographical boundaries, of the same artefact types embodying particular complex symbolic systems. Each sphere of interaction is a network of exchange for a specific (set of) idea(s), artefact(s) or material(s); these items may travel across cultural boundaries without the necessary accompaniment of other cultural elements that often correlate with them in their home environments. Thus, the concept of ‘interaction spheres’ offers a most viable model for cross-cultural exchanges that take place at the atomic rather than systemic levels, but it can also explain more profound, systemic transformations within a culture that may result from the accumulated effects of wide-ranging high-frequency atomic exchanges it has had with other cultures. M. and G. elected to adopt this notion, rather than other world historical models, such as that of World-System proposed by Immanuel Wallerstein and others, for the fluidity and flexibility it affords. Previous scholars such as Ruth McVey have pointed out how the study of different densities of human interactions in Seasia over the centuries and at different locations may reveal ‘multiple Seasias’ across time and space (p. 6). M. and G. took this insight one step further by stressing how this may also help uncover dissonances and variations across different realms of human activity even within the same society at the same time, for these realms of activities may be connected to different interaction spheres. In their own words, it is ‘theoretically possible to distinguish various types of interaction spheres in overlapping areas, including economic, prestige goods, political exchange, and information flow’ (p. 11). Indeed, a hallmark of this volume, and one of its many valuable contributions to the theorisation of world history, is M. and G.’s insistence on taking each major variable measuring human progress in pre-modern times – art, technology, settlement patterns, long distance trade, social

hierarchy, political governance, monumental structure and symbolic expressions, among others – as relatively autonomous, rather than dependent, subsystems flourishing within separate, *albeit* overlapping spheres of interaction (p. 24). They pointed out, for example, that the development and spread of bronze and iron-working in Seasia were not accompanied with elaborate settlement patterns and social hierarchy. Thus the Seasian case presents an exception, and challenge, to the established typology of human cultural developments that classifies and ranks them along a linear, teleological scheme consisting of multiple, increasingly more advanced stages using technology as the sole criteria and correlating a certain technology with a particular bundle of cultural developmental traits, such as pottery with sedentary agricultural life and population growth characteristic of the Neolithic age, and the invention of metalworking with stratified societies, etc. (p. 83 and p. 126).

Ancient Southeast Asia carefully documents the rise and fall of various interaction spheres that crisscrossed different sub-regions of Seasia and connected this region with East Asia and the Indian Ocean world, spanning economic, political, religious and other realms of life. These networks of exchange gave rise to a core of shared cultural traits and symbiotic relationship among Seasian sub-regions of different ecological environments, contributing to the formation of a distinct regional identity and unity. At the same time, they also served as the infrastructures for Seasian people to import, circulate and localise goods and ideas originated from other world regions. O.W. Wolters started a conversation among Seasian scholars about what features can be used to identify and unify Seasia as a unit of historical and cultural analysis. M. and G. synthesised the ensuing debate literature and highlighted several such features, including, among others, the persistence of the mandala, instead of centralised state, as the model of politics, where multiple rulers with overlapping territorial claims contended to attract the loyalty of their common subjects and to become the overlord above the others; the complex patterns of urbanisation, where cities formed around palaces, forts, temples, markets and workshops (p. 231) and tended *not* to correlate with high-level of population density. To this list the authors added one of their own: an interdependent regional economy based on the exchange of vitally important products that are only available in certain ecological niches in Seasia. M. and G. noted the exchange networks linking highlanders, lowlanders and those living by gathering sea products in Seasia that had been evolving since prehistoric times, some of which extended beyond Seasia to foreign lands. In South Sumatra, for example, the rulers of a lowland polity were linked to the people living in the highlands by a personal relationship whereby they provided the latter with iron, salt and cloth, and obtained from the latter luxury items such as ivory, gold and resin used for incense; they then retained some of these luxury goods for their own consumption, gifted some to their loyal subjects, and exchanged the rest with foreign groups through a system of 'tribute trade' (p. 5). Particularly intriguing is M. and G.'s observation of the biodiversity of Seasia, especially the divergences between mainland and insular Seasia and between equatorial societies (those living within latitudes 5 degrees north and south) and those of tropical Seasia, which serve to unite Seasia as a region through fostering their interdependence (p. 128).

Erudite and meticulously documented, this book is a foundational text for students and scholars interested in Southeast Asian history and archaeology, world history and Silk Road studies.

N.J. Molinari and N. Sisci, *IOTAMIKON: Sineus of Acheloios. A Comprehensive Catalog of the Bronze Coinage of the Man-Faced Bull, with Essays on Origin and Identity*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2016, viii+352 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-401-1

This book is one not easy to categorise. It is not traditional numismatic research, as one can gauge by its title. A catalogue of coins occupies only Part II, whereas Part I, almost one-third of the volume, deals with socio-cultural and historical reflections on the appearance, existence and evolution of the image of the man-faced bull in human society from time immemorial until the Graeco-Roman period. In fact we have some sort of interdisciplinary study, combining widely the methods of history, archaeology, anthropology and ethnography as well as those of linguistics and numismatics.

Part I comprises two sections devoted respectively to the origin of man-faced bull iconography (pp. 1–78) and the identity of the man-faced bull (pp. 79–99). Molinari and Sisci begin with Palaeolithic and Iron Age art (Chapter I, pp. 1–16), tracing the roots of this imagery in early agrarian societies and connecting its appearance with the domestication of cattle. Such a creature was the most appropriate to personify, on the one hand, wild and unpredictable nature, which, on the other hand, supplied man with food and a means of living and thus had a human face. They demonstrate that this cultic image from the very beginning exhibited fluvial, apothropaic, chthonic and liminal characteristics and consider specific cases of its appearance and use in the ancient societies of the Near East as well as those of Egypt and India.

In Chapter II (pp. 17–30) M. and S. underline, as they do often throughout the book, that it was the ancient states of the Near East, Sumer, Akkad, Babylon, whence the image spread westwards as a result of cultural and religious influences. Analysing the specific mechanisms of this migration, the authors pay special attention to the role of so-called seer-healers and Western mercenaries in the service of Eastern kings in borrowing and further distributing such images and relevant cult practices upon their return to their homelands. It became possible because many of the qualities assigned to the man-faced bull depictions, such as protective, healing and cleansing features, were intimately connected with aspects of the everyday life of such people and were vital for the successful fulfilment of their duties.

The next two chapters (pp. 31–68) are of special interest as they represent an attempt to challenge the Hellenocentric view, traditional among specialists, of the appearance and spread of man-faced bull iconography in the western Mediterranean as being due to Greek influence. Based on thorough study of an impressive collection of archaeological and historical data, M. and S. quite convincingly show that in reality it was due to direct Eastern influences on the western Mediterranean, omitting Greece. Cyprus played a decisive role in establishing early contacts between the Near East and Italy in particular through the activity of Phoenician merchants in the West. Here, Eastern seed fell on fertile ground as ‘symbolic interplay between the worship of water, imagery of the bull (and man-faced bull) and chthonic, healing and fertility dimensions was already operative among the prehistoric natives in Italy, Sicily and Sardinia centuries before the arrival of Greek culture ...’ (p. 32). M. and S. even suggest the possible existence of a peculiar non-Greek Cypro-Sikel-Nuragic-Italic cultural *koine*. The same is true for Etruria, where cult images of the man-faced bull

were widely spread and appeared earlier than in Greece proper, where the cult of Achelois did not arrive until the Classical era.

Chapter V (pp. 69–78) offers a general overview of the distribution of the type of man-faced bull on Greek coinage from eastern Mediterranean mints westwards.

Section II, 'On the Identity of the Man-Faced Bull', consists of two chapters. Chapter VI (pp. 79–90) considers the previous suggestions regarding the identity of this type since the 18th century. There was no shortage of hypotheses, which comprise such familiar figures as Minotaur, Neptune, Jupiter, Dionysos, etc. M. and S. analyse in detail all the suggestions of previous scholars on the subject.

Chapter VII (pp. 91–99) presents M. and S.'s answer. They conclude that essentially every time it was Acheloios, the main god of water, father of all rivers and springs, which, according to the beliefs of some ancient authors, could have been considered as his sinews. However, it was not just Acheloios as such, but simultaneously a pictorial personification of an actual local river, which should be considered as a minor manifestation of the mighty and omnipresent deity. M. and S. argue that every ancient Greek community worshipped not some abstract god known under a common name, Zeus, Apollo, etc., but a quite specific deity, which was related in some way or other to the given locality and designated by some additional name or epithet. Hence that abundance of various divine epithets, which is a characteristic feature of Greek religion.

Noteworthy are the linguistic studies offered by M. and S. in the same chapter, who derive the Greek word Acheloios from Semitic roots with the meanings of 'river bank' and 'water'. Eventually, for the Greeks it became a word indicating a sacred water deity associated with ritual cleansing (p. 94).

Part II presents a catalogue of the bronze coinage with the type of man-faced bull (pp. 119–291). It comprises four uneven sections, divided geographically: Sicily, Italy, Akarnania, remaining mints. M. and S. should be given credit as they have tried to register every known bronze coin with the image in question. Coins are arranged by mint and then by denomination, and each coin is supplied with a black-and-white photograph of good quality. Descriptions of the coins of a given mint are preceded by very useful brief essays on the history, archaeology and numismatics of the relevant city. All in all, we have here a quite impressive corpus of numismatic material, which could be widely used by scholars in further research. Sometimes M. and S. suggest revised classifications of coin issues based on new finds and data (for example the coinage of Cales), which again should be given serious consideration by future researchers.

However, it must be said that the quality of editing in Part II is much weaker than in Part I. Unfortunately, misprints and misspellings are not rare. It would have been better for readers if the authors had used some unified measure of scale instead of supplying coin photographs enlarged equally to the same size with a written indication of diameter; the same is true for the plates in the Part I, where any information on the original coin size is absent. It remains unclear why Olbian coins with the symbolic image of the River Borysthenes as a bearded head with horns, quite close by its appearance to other images considered in the book, were given only a footnote (p. 284, n. 18).

Part II is followed by two appendices representing essays by Joseph Eckhel and Lloyd Taylor devoted respectively to the possible identity of the man-faced bull and the find of a coin with such image in Ai Khanum.

M. and S. demonstrate remarkable erudition (the bibliography covers more than 40 pages, pp. 304–46) and have managed to put the subject in the widest historical, cultural and social context, which undoubtedly helps to cast light on this (to some extent) traditional topic in a different manner and from a new angle. This book will be of much importance, not only for the numismatists but for everybody who is interested in the study of mankind and its past.

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J. Monerie, *L'économie de la Babylonie à l'époque hellénistique*, Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 14, Walter de Gruyter, Boston/Berlin 2018, xvii+577 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-5015-1067-0

This book was originally written as Julien Monerie's doctoral dissertation at the Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne under the supervision of Francis Joannès, which won the W. De Gruyter prize presented by the IAA in 2014 – with good reason. Its primary purpose is to present a study of the economy of Hellenistic Babylonia.¹ Not only does M. do this convincingly, but he also establishes firm ground for both more profound Assyriological research and a renewed interdisciplinary dialogue about the period in question.

M. starts with a presentation of his source material, in which he aims at integrating every source available, regardless of whether it pertains to the field of Assyriology or not. Thus he includes numismatic finds, archaeological remains and textual material, not only consisting of cuneiform tablets, but also incorporating Greek and Aramaic inscriptions, classical authors and the Old Testament. Throughout the book, he approaches each source with a refreshingly critical attitude. M.'s crossing of disciplinary boundaries adds significantly to the value of his work.

In the following three sections he draws a picture of the evolution of the Babylonian economy from the beginning of Xerxes' rule until the end of the reign of Antiochus III (ca. 486 to 187 BC). The 'Prolégomènes' introduce the reader to the ecological and agricultural landscape of Babylonia in the 5th century BC (Chapter 1) as well as to the economic and fiscal system implemented by the Achaemenids (Chapter 2). The image that emerges is that of a stable economy which owed much to its precursor of the long 6th century, despite the high fiscal pressure and tight grip of the crown on local institutions. This forms M.'s point of departure and of comparison for what follows.

In Section I M. dismisses the idea that Alexander's arrival constituted a real break in the Babylonian economic system (Chapter 3). He shows that, in fact, Alexander's actions were mostly of a pragmatic nature and strongly based on the inherited Achaemenid structures. Yet two innovations by Alexander would prove to have an impact after his death: first, his euergetism towards the traditional temples, and second, the introduction of coins as a means of payment in the region. Convincingly, M. shows how the most profound changes

¹ Two other recent works on the subject offer a different approach to the topic: J. Hackl, *Materiellen zur Urkundenlehre und Archivkunde der spätzeitlichen Texte aus Nordbabylonien* (Dissertation, University of Vienna, 2013), which focuses on archives in their social context; and R. Pirngruber, *The Economy of Late Achaemenid and Seleucid Babylonia* (Cambridge 2017), reviewed below.

which are usually ascribed to Alexander actually happened during the Crisis of the Diadochi (Chapter 4). The political turmoil in the region had a devastating effect on Babylonia's economy, as is for example shown by the extreme heights reached by the prices recorded in the Astronomical Diaries. Furthermore, a restructuring took place in the system of exchange with the intensification of coin use, employed within a mixed system of both local and imperial coinage.

An overview of the Seleucid economy in Babylonia is given in Section II, with a focus on the royal involvement in land tenure on the one hand (Chapter 5) and fiscalism and means of payment on the other (Chapter 6). The 'successful Seleucid economy' exhibits clear continuity with the Achaemenid period where it concerns exploitation of land and service – a fact which M. explains by the permanence of the natural and human landscape rather than by the implementation of a certain economic system. Nonetheless, some important changes are visible as well, such as the ever-growing importance of coins as a means of payment and the fact that the Seleucids assigned a much more prominent place to the traditional communities, giving them more local responsibilities than the Achaemenids had done. That resulted in a very positive attitude from the ruler towards the temples, in the form of donations, tax-exemption and other euergetic actions.

In Section III M. deals with the traditional temples in their Hellenistic context, more specifically with what he calls the 'economy of the cult' (Chapter 7), including a case study of the prebendary system at Uruk (Chapter 8). The impact of the Macedonians on the Babylonian temples was twofold: on the one hand, some sanctuaries did not seem to have survived the Crisis of the Diadochi (Eanna, Ebabbar, Ekišnugal), but on the other – as mentioned above – the dependence of the Seleucids on the local elite resulted in a renewed royal euergetism. This situation did not last long however, for the transformation of some cities into *poleis* at the beginning of the 2nd century BC meant that the crown had to rely less on local institutions, which was paired with decreasing royal support of those institutions. Questions must be asked as to how this influenced the cultic and scholarly functioning of the temple, which was highly dependent on (financial) royal support. Indeed, the thousands of astronomical tablets alone attest to the productive energy of the priesthood of Esagila in Babylon. What is more, recently, voices have been raised, which claim that a new corpus of Babylonian literature originated in the Hellenistic period, most significantly including historical-literary texts, but other genres as well, such as ritual texts.² In this light, it is necessary to adopt a critical view regarding those claiming that the Babylonian cult of the Hellenistic period was not different from that practised in pre-Hellenistic times. After a period of neglect by the Achaemenid kings, the traditional temples received anew attention and means from their rulers along the same line as they had in Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian times. The impact of that on the local communities cannot be ignored.

In a final section we get an overview of the evolution of the means, structures and networks of exchange throughout the period. M. highlights the continuity with the Achaemenid period (such as banking activities), but underscores the fact that the Babylonian economy

² Most recently, see M. Jursa and C. Debourse, 'A Babylonian Priestly Martyr, a King-like Priest, and the Nature of Late Babylonian Priestly Literature'. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 107 (2017), 77–98 (with references).

was fully integrated in the imperial Hellenistic economy (for example, the use of coins), the consequences of which remain hard to grasp.

M.'s contribution is of great value to Assyriologists, classical historians and economic historians alike. The book is very accessible and remarkably enjoyable to read. At the end of every chapter a 'bilan et perspectives' are given, which will prove useful to those who do not wish to follow the argument into the smallest detail. Additionally, the illustrations, tables and seven appendices add to the comprehensibility of the whole and emphasise the impressive scope of the work delivered by the author. A small criticism would be that it is unfortunate that an expensive volume such as this one contains such a high amount of typos, especially from the second half of the book onwards.

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F. Müller, *Menschen und Heroen: Ahnenkult in der Frühgeschichte Europas*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2016, viii+286 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-033626-9

Felix Müller has collated over a decade of work on the difficult field of ancestor worship into an immensely impressive monograph whose erudite insights have far-reaching consequences. The basic questions M. seeks to answer with this book are simple: first, how does ancestral cult present itself in archaeological finds; and second, is there any evidence of ancestral cult north of the Alps in the prehistoric period? Lying behind this research agenda is the apparent lack of evidence for a 'northern' ancestor cult compared with the abundant evidence of Greece and Rome, which M. wonders is perhaps more the result of contemporary methodology than a fundamental difference in ancient worldviews. The investigation, of course, is not easy given the perennial problems associated with deriving abstract cultural and religious views from material evidence, and the inherent subjectivity of its analysis. But M. approaches his material with such care and diligence that easily overcome any initial qualms among the reader. The monograph thus considers what happens when we view material remains from north of the Alps through the lens of Greek and Roman habits of hero and ancestor worship.

After introducing these methodological considerations, M. then provides a lively and vivid account of the journey of Julius Caesar to the Theatre of Pompey on the day of his assassination, as well as an overview of how Caesar's death was commemorated in the short and long term (pp. 13–22). Caesar as an 'exemplary hero' is certainly an apt choice, given that his career straddles the Roman, Hellenistic and Gallic worlds that concern the work as a whole. In his next chapter, on Greek heroes (pp. 23–49), M. establishes the common themes of ancestor worship that he argues reappear in Rome and other societies north of the Alps: Greek heroes from Homer to the Hellenistic period were lavishly buried with sumptuous offerings, their tombs were the site of later commemoration, and their membership in a very small, elite circle was preserved for subsequent generations. Ancestor worship is a fundamentally elite phenomenon, one which requires and maintains a level of prestige that is inaccessible to all members of society. By the Hellenistic period, he argues, hero cults had less to do with religion, and more to do with social concerns.

M.'s consideration of Roman traditions follow next, which he identifies as closely related to Greek and especially Hellenistic approaches to hero worship (pp. 57–93). He considers

various case studies – the Tomb of Aeneas in Lavinium, the Mausoleum of Augustus, the Fora of Augustus and Trajan, Caecilia Metella, etc. – alongside other attestations of various practices related to the commemoration of the dead (notably the *parentalia* and *lemuria*), concluding that Roman ancestor worship was an elite phenomenon here as it was in the Greek tradition. Ancestor worship was as much geared towards the living as the dead, motivated by a desire to reinforce the intergenerational chains that linked an individual in the present with their illustrious forbears – a practice which was certainly present in the Republican period among Roman *nobiles*, but then re-worked in response to the Imperial cult.

With this ideological and practical basis of Graeco-Roman ancestor worship firmly established, the rest of the monograph then turns to archaeological material from north of the Alps that has not yet been considered in relation to ancestor worship. Although perhaps disjointing at first, M.'s method of using Greece and Rome as a starting point and working backwards is quite helpful in overcoming the lack of literary sources for northern cultic practices. A thorough examination of ancestor worship in Rome's Northern provinces (pp. 106–51) examines the intersection of Gallic, British and Celtic traditions with *romanitas*. The links between these northern regions and Italy and Greece far predated the Roman empire, so the prevalence of ancestor worship is not a phenomenon that is implicitly linked to the expansion of Roman power. Rather, an examination of sites throughout the north reveals that these ancestor cults primarily served as a means of social distinction, reflecting the status of the deceased in society and, by extension, the continued status of his or her successors. While there are Roman traces in these ancestor cults in Roman provinces, they also demonstrate autochthonous traces which indicate two things: first, ancestor cult is not an imported Roman practice, and second, these autochthonous traits must have been more pronounced in the pre-Roman period.

Chapters 7 and 8 continue working backwards chronologically, considering the Celtic *nobilitas* of pre-Roman Europe, and the burial and veneration of Hallstatt-era princes and princesses. In both the La Tène and Hallstatt cultures, we find the common elements of grave offerings, monumental tombs, regular offerings to and feasting with the dead, and elaborate stores of supplies for the dead. The common thread of elite distinction runs through this vast temporal and geographical scope. Again bringing to light the inherent similarities of ancestor worship north and south of the Alps. As with the old elite, so with the new, to paraphrase the title of M.'s next chapter, in which he argues cogently that these elite practices of ancestor worship and commemoration form part of a broader aristocratic *Verhaltenskodex*, whose tenets were equally recognisable among the Hallstatt elite as Hellenistic kings and Roman *nobiles*. Rome and Greece, then, were perhaps not so dissimilar from their northern antecedents as may have been thought.

The volume is lavishly illustrated with immensely helpful photographs, sketches and site plans in both colour and black-and-white, the typesetting and editing are flawless, and the style vibrant. This is an extremely important contribution to the study of ancestor worship in a broad European context, and one which provokes the reader to reconsider the primarily east-west axis that dominates cultural studies in the Mediterranean context. M.'s foray into ancestor worship north and south of the Alps leads us to reconsider some of our basic suppositions about Europe before and during the Graeco-Roman period, and beckons further study along these latitudinal lines.

S. Müller, *Perdikkas II. – Retter Makedoniens*, *Altertumswissenschaften/Archäologie* 6, Frank & Timme, Berlin 2017, 310 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-7329-0208-8

In her 2016 book devoted to the history of the Argeadae, Sabine Müller considered Perdiccas II's rule in little more than 20 pages.¹ A year later, in *Perdikkas II. – Retter Makedoniens*, she not only elaborates the ideas presented in her previous book, but she also offers some new and original solutions to debatable questions. There is, however, one substantial difference – in *Die Argeaden* M. calls the Macedonian ruling dynasty Argeadae, whereas in *Retter Makedoniens* she prefers the name Temenidae. Her explanation (p. 29) for using Temenidae is based on its usage by Herodotus and Thucydides, Perdiccas' contemporaries. This issue is also touched upon in brief in her 2016 book (p. 104) in which, however, she sees no reasons why the ruling dynasty should not be called Argeadae.

The book is divided into ten parts. In the preface (pp. 13–29) M. mentions in brief some of the important publications dealing with the topic, and clarifies the aims of the study – to examine thematically the questions concerning the foreign, domestic and dynastic policy of the Temenid kingdom during Perdiccas' rule, a task accomplished successfully.

The second part (pp. 31–47), 'Quellen zu Perdikkas', focuses on the sources for Perdiccas. The accent is put on Thucydides' and Plato's evidence. According to M., the former, expressing both the Athenian and his personal viewpoint, considers Perdiccas as an unscrupulous person who could not be trusted and who was not particularly capable, with the exception of the moments when he deceived his allies. Plato's evidence of the events after Perdiccas' death (*Gorg.* 471a–d) is defined as a literary construction through which he seeks to demonstrate how inadequate Polos' arguments were.

Part 3 (pp. 49–83), 'Perdikkas' makedonisch-temenidischer *background*', presents some of the conclusions arrived at in her 2016 book – about the royal prerogative of the ruling Temenid, his status as *primus inter pares*, the nature of his relationships with the Macedonian nobles, the structure of the Temenid kingdom, the contacts with the Greek and the barbarian world, as well as about certain aspects of Amyntas I's and Alexander I's rule.

Part 4 (pp. 85–123), 'Perdikkas' Frühzeit', which studies the early years of Perdiccas' rule, deserves special attention. In a dozen pages (pp. 86–98) M. offers one original solution to the question of the age of Alexander I's sons. In her view, some of them received their names with propagandistic aims in regard to definite political events. Therefore, the names may indicate, at least roughly, the dates of their birth. She dates the births of Alcetas and Amyntas to *ca.* 500/early 490s, for two reasons: first, it was a custom for the Temenidae to name their eldest sons after their own grandfathers and their second sons after their own fathers, and second, the name Amyntas would not be appropriate for the time after the battle of Plataea (479 BC), since it could be associated with the subjection of Macedonia to the Persians. As to Perdiccas and Philip, M. holds the opinion that they were born after Plataea, and more precisely in the 470s. The dating is based on the assumption that Perdiccas was named after the founder of the dynasty, whose personality may be connected with the idea of a new beginning, better times, etc. She believes that the hopes for a new

¹ S. Müller, *Die Argeaden: Geschichte Makedoniens bis zum Zeitalter Alexanders des Grossen* (Paderborn 2016), at 141–63.

beginning reflected the state of affairs after Plataea, when Alexander I changed the course of the Macedonian foreign policy from pro-Persian to pro-Hellenic, since he must have strengthened anew the prestige of the dynasty after the loss of the war against the Greeks. Finally, M. relates the name of Menelaos to the settlement of the Mycenaeans in Macedonia, which allows her to place his birth in the 460s.

In commenting and supplementing M.'s conclusions, one can pose the question: could Perdiccas II not only have been named after Perdiccas I, but also, for the above-mentioned reasons and like the founder of the dynasty, could he have been the third son? Apart from this, if the name of Perdiccas was really related to the change in the course of Macedonian foreign policy, then it may be assumed that he was born after the capture of Eion by the Athenians (476 BC), which event resulted in the elimination of the local Persian garrison and made the change possible or even necessary. It should be noted, however, that M. gives no satisfactory explanation for why Philip's birth ought to be dated in the 470s and for what reason Alexander I decided to name one of his sons after Menelaos, the ruler of Sparta and the brother of Agamemnon, and not after some other epic character closely related to Mycenae. Despite this, and despite the fact that due to the lack of specific data one may define M.'s conclusions as speculative, I believe that in this particular case, she has done a fine piece of work and her arguments should not be rejected out of hand.

In Part 4 (pp. 99–103) M. also tries to find the reason why different ancient authors give a different number of years to Perdiccas' rule (Athen. 5. 217d–e). In her view, Marsyas' 23 years are because he used Thucydides, who mentions Perdiccas for the first time in regard to the events of 433 BC and for the last time in the late summer of 414 BC. M. Believes that Marsyas may have added a few years, thus reaching 437/6 BC (the foundation date of Amphipolis), since 1) before 433 BC Perdiccas was an Athenian *σύμμαχος καὶ φίλος* (Thuc. 1. 57. 2) and (2) sources are silent about any hostile reaction in regard to the foundation of Amphipolis. Therefore, Marsyas may have thought that in 437/6 BC Perdiccas was already ruling as an Athenian *σύμμαχος καὶ φίλος*. But if Marsyas had really followed Thucydides strictly, he could hardly have given 23 years, since, even if one counts each archontic year (including 414/3), this will mean that Perdiccas' rule began in 436/5, not in 437/6 BC.

Her calculations of the numbers provided by Theopompus are wrong. In fact, although in the Greek text quoted by M. 35 years is written (*πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα* = *λε'*),² the German translation says 33, the number she uses in her calculations. Thus, her view that Theopompus might have reached this number, since he considered the settlement of the Histians in Macedonia in 446/5 BC as the first act of the ruler Perdiccas (414/3 + 33 archontic years including 414/3 = 446/5 BC), appears less persuasive (two more archontic years = 448/7 BC). The same mistake is made in the case of Chieronimus: 28 years (*ὀκτώ καὶ εἴκοσι* = *κη'*) in the quoted Greek text and 38 in the German translation and in the calculations.

Part 5 (pp. 125–239), 'Perdikkas und/versus Athen', deals with the events of Perdiccas' rule. Part 6 (pp. 241–60), 'Perdikkas' Kulturförderung und "Legende"', is devoted to Perdiccas' cultural policy. Conclusions, a full bibliography (pp. 263–97), appendices and an index round out the volume.

² G. Kaibel (ed.), *Athenaei Naucraticae Dipnosophistarum libri XV 1: libri I–V* (Leipzig 1887).

There are a number of mistakes in the footnotes and the bibliography. M. often cites in the footnotes works missing in the bibliography: Heskell 1997 (n. 132), Lang 1995 (n. 141), McNeill 1992 (n. 266), Marx 2013b (n. 463), Koulakiotis 2006 (n. 889). At times, she cites page numbers and years of publication incorrectly: Rhodes 2010 (n. 107), Bosworth 1996 (n. 108), Vasilev 2014 (n. 249), Abel 1987 (n. 573). The name of Howland is misspelt: Howlandson (n. 163).

To sum up, M. discusses in detail a number of important questions and offers some original solutions which, undoubtedly, will be taken into consideration by scholars.

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Miroslav Ivanov Vasilev

S. Müller, T. Howe, H. Bowden and R. Rollinger, with the collaboration of S. Pal (eds.), *The History of the Argeads: New Perspectives*, *Classica et Orientalia* 19, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2017, vi+304 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10851-5/ISSN 2190-3638¹

It is not unreasonable that the Argead dynasty, once aligned with the Achaemenids, intermarried with their nobility, and ultimately hosts in Macedonia to members of the royal family, would make an appearance in the series *Classica et Orientalia*. It has been nearly 50 years since Dietmar Kienast published his study of Philip II and the Achaemenid empire, but that work, save for one reference, remains absent.² This volume is based on the June 2015 Innsbruck meeting, yet not all 2015 presentations are printed, new ones are added, neither course of action explained. The volume's purpose (p. 3): 'As well as presenting important new ideas about the earlier history of Macedonia, this volume seeks to a new context for understanding the activities of Philip II and Alexander III.' A dagger is required here to correct the 'manuscript tradition'; or perhaps Tyche has forced a balancing out of the patronising and inexplicable comment by Stoneman at the bottom of p. 299. I will comment on only a few of the printed 2015 presentations from each of the four divisions of the volume.

Part 1: 'Persia and Its Impact'. Since Robert Rollinger's presentation was not published (p. 297; pp. 42-43 for its ghost), Joseph Wiesehöfer's (pp. 57-64) serves an introductory purpose. Although the Achaemenid empire served as a 'yardstick' (p. 62), one cannot trace with certainty specific points of influence on institutions and customs. He suggests that Alexander's use of the diadem was a means of promoting his new highest status, one achieved by victory. The diadem had been worn in different forms by Achaemenid nobility along with others symbols of power. Finally, the procession of empires (Assyria, Media, Persia, Macedonian) was introduced in Seleucid times. Jeffrey Lerner (pp. 7-25), well known for his work on the Upper Satrapies and skilled in modern Cyrillic sources, offers a circumspect treatment of the literary and archaeological sources for Thrace, appearing as Skudra in the Achaemenid lists of peoples, reflecting the extent of the Great King's authority. Xerxes'

¹ Contents at https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/The_History_of_the_Argeads/titel_2788.shtml.

² D. Kienast: 'Philip II. von Makedonien und das Reich der Achaimeniden'. *Abhandlungen der Marburger Gelehrten Gesellschaft* 6 (1971), 243-94; revised in *Kleine Schriften* (Aalen 1994). Reference at p. 108, n. 46, and 109 in T. Howe's contribution, 'Plain Tales from the Hills: Illyrian Influences on Argead Military Development', 98-111, a quite acceptable set of suggestions.

inscription (*XPh* 22–28) would reflect his own perception of his realm, not the bare copying of his predecessor's: Skudra appears now in the nominative plural, i.e. two groups of Thracians, indicative of Xerxes' expansion of his influence. In all, an excellent and acceptable set of suggestions.

Part II: 'Political, Military, Numismatic and Economic Aspects of Argead Macedonia'. Johannes Heinrichs's detailed presentation of Alexander I's coinage (pp. 79–98) describes two weight standards, one for each area, Chalkidike and Macedon proper. The first, modelled after Poteidaia's Poseidon on horseback, came to depict a Macedonian cavalryman, Alexander, with lance and Achaemenid *akinakes*, symbol of his high status in the Far West, the latter weapon later replaced by a triangular fold as found in Achaemenid iconography. The second, based on Larisa's, was, like the first, a fractional coinage. In the east the coinage was used for military pay, to permit soldiers' use in local markets surrounding the construction sites of the Xerxes Canal. In the west the coinage was used, again for pay, during the construction of a passage from Therme to Methone (p. 93) 'through the uncultivated estuary systems of the Macedonian rivers for the Persian main column'. These coinages became a 'permanent regional phenomena' (p. 95). Thus Xerxes' campaign created not only a better infrastructure but also coinage for regional markets.

Part III: 'The Argead Dynastic Profile and Its Representation'. Elizabeth Carney (pp. 139–50) examines Argead marriage policy. 'Thus Achaemenid polygamy linked the king to the rest of the elite whereas Argead polygamy apparently distinguished the king from the elite...' (p. 139). As Macedonian power grew, marriages became focused in the direction of foreign marriages: to facilitate political alliances, accompany the end of hostilities, protect Macedon by projecting the power of the Argead king. Persia 'remained the default model for monarchy and wealth' (p. 146), leading Carney to suggest that the 'trapings of Artabazus' family may have influenced Philip's staging of the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra in 336 BC. By such displays royalty tied itself to the general populace. Olga Palagia (pp. 151–61) examines the two dated monuments surviving Argead rule. The first, the Philippeion at Olympia, proves to be an ornate display case for the marble images of Philip and his family, Philip's (p. 153) 'own version of the past, present and future of his dynasty'. Hence Philip's father, Philip, his son Alexander, his wife Olympias (mother of his existing heir, Alexander), and his younger wife of 337 BC Cleopatra/Eurydice (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 6. 5), future mother of his future heirs. Given Carney's presentation above, entirely acceptable. The second, a pavilion, perhaps commissioned by Polyperchon, for the two kings, Philip III and Alexander IV, was dedicated by the kings in the sanctuary of the Great Gods of Samothrace, whom the Argeads held in particular esteem (pp. 154–55) and which structure would shelter the kings while observing ceremonies. Sabine Müller (pp. 183–98), outlining the modifications to the Argead foundation myth, presents a seven-point list of the 'symbolic capital' of the male Argeads aiming for kingship. Although this list will prove useful in its application to other dynasties, I must wonder whether the succinct definition in the *Suda* (s.v. Basileia) is more to the point.

Part IV: 'Literary Images and Reception of the Argeads'. Joseph Roisman (pp. 233–40) presents an interesting account of Philip's physical appearance as presented in some Attic orators. That physical appearance (although Anstand prevented a mocking of partial blindness) was made to be a 'reflection of what was wrong with him' (p. 238) and the result of his behaviour. Reinhold Bichler (pp. 254–68), basing his inquiry on the sceptical approach

of Bloedow,³ proposes that the Trogus-Justin account of Philip's war with Scythian Areas was shaped by a narrative (Theopompus?) which had as its aim making Philip seem less capable than his son was when placed in parallel situations.

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K. Nawotka and A. Wojciechowska (eds.), *Alexander the Great and the East: History, Art, Tradition*, Philippika 103, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2016, vi+447 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10710-5/ISSN 1613-5628¹

This volume represents the 'final versions of papers read' at the Wrocław conference held in September 2013 on Alexander and presents a variety of themes based on a wide range of sources. An excellent summation of the studies' main points will be found at pp. 2–8, topics extending in space to China, in time to the National Socialist times. Although I consider only a few papers here, all offer valuable departure points for further investigation. If there is one problem I must highlight it is in documentation: the bibliography (pp. 363–405) fails to detail the editions of the primary sources used; some of the pieces would benefit by introducing in the body of the paper the line-by-line text of inscriptions, whether transliterated or translated. However, this is a problem common when the original was always spoken.

Ivan Ladynin (pp. 9–18) discusses a now-lost inscribed statuette of an unnamed Egyptian prince, who indicates (p. 11) '(When) I was among the foreigners she (the goddess Isis) rose my place in the heart of their ruler, she brought me (back) in Egypt.' I recommend that the reader begin by consulting the Gorre 2009 study.² Ladynin cites it, especially pp. 378–84: *Location*: Sebennytos, *Entity* 74: 'X', text in hieroglyphics, in transliteration and in French translation (clearer than the words 'rose my place'). He is correct in arguing that the translation should read as 'among foreigners'. The problem does remain in whether to identify the host of this unnamed son of Nectanebos II as Alexander and in determining the prince's attitude towards his host. I remain uncertain about the statement on p. 18 that such 'refusal to accept the Macedonian dynasts as the wholesome ritual kings of Egypt was probably a consensus of the Egyptian elite...' Here I yield to the judgment of others.

Krzysztof Nawotka and Agnieszka Wojciechowska (pp. 19–30) discuss Nectanebo II and Alexander. But a problem occurs in the statement (p. 19): 'Anonymous *Historia Alexandri Magni* better known as the *Alexander Romance*...' Which one? It is at last identified (p. 21, n. 12) as Müller's 1846 Paris edition.³ This particular version emphasises

³ E.M. Bloedow, 'The so-called "Scythian Campaign" of Philip II in 339 BC'. *PP* 322 (2002), 25–61.

¹ Contents at https://www.harrassowitzverlag.de/Alexander_the_Great_and_the_East/titel_921.abhtml.

² G. Gorre, *Les relations du clergé égyptien et des Lagides d'après les sources privées* (Leuven 2009).

³ This text may still be extant in libraries. A reprint was issued as K. Müller (ed.), *The Fragments of the Lost Historians of Alexander the Great. Fragmenta Scriptorum de Rebus Alexandri Magni, Pseudo-Callisthenes, Itinerarium Alexandri* (Chicago 1979). The 1846 pagination is maintained, however that 1846 volume had two parts, so pagination begins anew with the portion *Pseudo-Callisthenes et. al.* This

Alexander's Egyptian origin; ties with Nectanebo would enhance the Macedonian's image. Although the Egyptian dies at Alexander's hands, the Macedonian's arrival in Egypt is met with joy for he is the reincarnation of his father, the last true Pharaoh. Why the selection of Nectanebo? Alexander had resurrected the cult of the Mother of Apis, which had existed until the fall of Nectanebo, and concentrated his building projects in areas associated with Nectanebo I and II. I am uncertain whether this is the effect of Alexander and his Egyptian advisors wishing to obliterate evidence of Persian rule.

Adam Łukaszewicz (pp. 33–39) argues that construction at Pharos was conducted over a number years, and that Alexander planned to use the island to guard the area around the Nile's Canopic mouth and the regions to the west. Pharos was meant to contain a fortified watch-tower protecting Egypt from sea invasion. Sostratus, subject of an epigram by Poseidippos, was responsible primarily for the statue of Zeus Soter. As regards the fire-signal atop Pharos, Łukaszewicz might wish to examine the use of heliographs in the early 20th-century Africa.

Eduard Rung (pp. 51–58) re-examines the so-called Memnon decree (*IG* II2 356) in light of Lambert's work on the text (printing it would have been desirable). The person honoured is actually Thymondas, son of the famous Mentor, not a putative descendent of the famous Memnon. The cause for the honour in 327/6 BC may be due to Thymondas' role in aiding Athenian embassies to Darius, parallel to his father's efforts on behalf on Hellenes in Egypt at the time of the Persian conquest. One should note that Athenian contact with the Pharnacids and their staff extended back to the late 5th century.

Jeffrey Lerner (pp. 117–42), skilled in Western and Cyrillic sources, wrangles with the problem of tracing Alexander's route to Marakanda in 328, a complex problem posed for moderns not by terrain, but by clashing textual sources, an inability to record accurately the names of places unheard of and never seen, and by moderns' attempts to save the phenomena (note doublet on p. 129). Lerner's conclusion (p. 142): 'The eastern route proposed for Alexander's march northward remains unconvincing. There is no need to revise the geopolitical and cultural history of the region.' Perhaps only the soil will not lie.

Sabine Müller, noted for her recent excellent works on the Argead dynasty, discusses Poseidippos, Ptolemy and Alexander (pp. 179–91) on the basis of the Milan Papyrus (alias the 'new' Poseidippos). Here Alexander appears in the time of the early Ptolemies as one protected and favoured by the Gods, as heaven-sent to subdue the Persians. The epigrams concerning precious stones form a catalogue of Alexander's conquests and booty. A stone which bears the image of a Persian lion is made to have the lion stretch out to receive the rays of the Argead sun. Those concerning the interpretation of signs, in spite of the translation misprint (p. 188), has a swooping [Ptolemaic] eagle announce victory, while, in another, the Thracian hero Strymon has allowed his crow to predict thrice Alexander's success. The artist Lysippus is praised for his skill in depicting the leonine Alexander before whom the bovine Persians will run away.

Agnieszka Fulińska of Cracow (pp. 223–44), whose studies encompass the Alexander-like Napoleon and the larger-than-Napoleon-sized Alexander,⁴ offers a presentation whose

text is not the same as the perhaps more familiar Anonymi Byzantini *Vita Alexandri Regis Macedonum*, ed. J. Trumpf (Stuttgart 1974). It is hoped Nawotka will address all this in his Brill commentary (<https://brill.com/view/title/33854>).

⁴ <http://jagiellonian.academia.edu/AgnieszkaFulinska>.

'main objective is to draw scholarly attention to tentative evidence for the Persian influence on Macedonia before Alexander'. In spite of n. 1 on p. 224, perhaps dating the paper to the end of 2013, she has had the great fortune at that conference to meet and discuss ideas with a number of scholars who would pursue similar lines of inquiry, the results later appearing in the now incompletely published Innsbruck 2015 conference on the Argeads.⁵ The legitimacy of the Macedonian kingship was dependent on the sometimes opaquely-preserved hereditary character (p. 225).⁶ But Fulinska is correct in placing emphasis on Amyntas' (hence, Alexander's) dynastic ties with Persian nobility. And while the disposition of Persian-influenced Europa remains beyond the drawing of 'provincial' boundaries,⁷ the importance of features common to the Achaemenids and their dependencies, illustrated in a table on p. 229, should be subjects for further investigation. Concerning 'imperial' roads, one should note that Johannes Heinrichs in his discussion of Alexander I's coinage in Müller *et al.* 2017⁸ gives shape to the Persian and Macedonian constructions which required the introduction of coinage and, hence, improvements in infrastructure. As for the favourable position of Macedonian women, Fulinska will gain much support from Elizabeth Carney's⁹ and Müller's own contribution to Müller *et al.* 2017.¹⁰ The characteristics of the women in Artabazus' family were no doubt very familiar. The remainder of the presentation focuses on material remains: I recommend Fulinska examine Elspeth Dusingher's works on the Achaemenid Far West and well as Müller's Argead works. Fulinska's topic is one she should continue to pursue.

Josef Wiesehöfer, moving into more modern times, considers the attitudes of German ancient historians towards Alexander's 'unity of mankind' or *Verschmelzungspolitik* (pp. 355–62). Variety marked the views of historians in the National Socialist era: for example, Schachermeyr looked with horror upon the Alexander-introduced 'chaos of blood' (p. 358), while Berve took a more positive view of the 'far-sighted "racial breeder"' (p. 359). As for the Nazi hierarchy, the attitude was singular. Alfred Rosenberg, 'chief ideologue' and head of the Ostministerium, viewed Alexander's efforts as doomed to failure in part by the bastardisation of the Persians by the lower Semitic-Orientals. Also to be noted is the view of Rosenberg's chief rival in Eastern matters, Heinrich Himmler. If there was any magic to be found in *Verschmelzungspolitik*, it was certainly lost on Himmler, who wrote in 1942: 'Our task lies not in Germanisation in the old sense – that is teaching inhabitants there German language and laws – but instead to see to it that only persons of true German, Germanic blood reside in the East.'¹¹ Thus his Waffen-SS could never be an *Avantgarde für Europa*.

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⁵ S. Müller *et al.* (eds.), *The History of the Argeads: New Perspectives* (Wiesbaden 2017). See my immediately preceding review.

⁶ Cf. S. Müller in Müller *et al.* (as in n. 5), 193.

⁷ Cf. J. Lerner in Müller *et al.* (as in n. 5), 7–25.

⁸ Müller *et al.* (as in n. 5), 79–98.

⁹ Müller *et al.* (as in n. 5), 139–50.

¹⁰ S. Müller (as in n. 6), 193–95.

¹¹ Cited in J. Böhlér and R. Gerwath (eds.), *The Waffen-SS. A European History* (Oxford 2017), 122–23. Please note that the Marburg book (n. 17 on p. 359, etc.) has now appeared as V. Losemann, K. Ruffing *et al.* (eds.), *In solo barbarico...: Das Seminar für Alte Geschichte der Philipps-Universität Marburg von seinen Anfängen bis in die 1960er Jahre* (Münster 2017).

V. Nikolov and W. Schier (eds.), *Der Schwarzmeerraum vom Neolithikum bis in die Früh-eisenzeit (6000–600 v. Chr.): Kulturelle Interferenzen in der zirkumpontischen Zone und Kontakte mit ihren Nachbargebieten*, *Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa* 30, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2016, 536 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-89646-685-3/ISSN 0723-1725

This volume contains the proceedings of the third Humboldt College which was held in May 2012 at Varna (Bulgaria), dedicated to the prehistoric archaeology of the Black Sea area. Earlier Humboldt Colleges on the same theme were held in 2007 in Tbilisi (Georgia) and in 2010 in Chişinău (Moldavia). The volume consists of 34 papers (two-thirds of those read at the college), published in chronological order, with subjects ranging from the Neolithic period (3), the Neolithic–Chalcolithic (4), the Chalcolithic (12), the Chalcolithic–Early Bronze Age (5), the Early Bronze Age (7), the Early Iron Age (2) and a paper covering the period between the Neolithic and Late Bronze Age. Twenty papers are in the German and another 14 in English, but all have an abstract (although sometimes minimal) in both languages. As one can see from the numbers listed, the title does not cover the contents: this book is almost completely dedicated to the early prehistoric periods (with a strong emphases on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age), as can be expected from the editors who are both specialists in this field. Readers who are interested in the later period from the 1st millennium BC onwards will not find much to engage them here.

The first paper by Blagoje Govedarica is concerned with the Vinča culture in Serbia being the first metallurgical centres in Europe during the first half of the 5th millennium BC. In an excellent and very detailed paper Christian Lichter discusses the very important cultural connections between the West Pontic and Turkish Black Sea coasts during the pre-Bronze periods, concluding that the Black Sea was a cultural wall between these two areas and that cultural influences from Anatolia arrived in south-eastern Europe through the Aegean, more or less confirming Colin Renfrew's 'chronological fault line'. The next paper is by Olaf Höckmann and treats prehistoric shipping in the Black Sea. Unluckily, he uses the false information about bronze ingots found in the Black Sea near the Bulgarian town of Sozopol and he dates the stone anchors, mostly found on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast, to the Bronze Age, for which there is not a shred of evidence. Raiko Krauss's paper is about the Early Neolithic on the Lower Danube spreading to the North Pontic steps. Margarita Lyuncheva and Miroslav Klasnakov report on one of the Neolithic sites on the south-western Black Sea coast near the Bulgarian village of Chernomorets, a very interesting area for which, until recently, only Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age sites were known. The next paper, by Wolfram Schier, discusses the transition from Late Neolithic to Early Chalcolithic in the south-east Carpathians, while Johannes Müller and Arne Windler compare evidence for the earliest social inequality in the western and eastern Balkans. István Zalai-Gaál and others return to the Late Neolithic–Chalcolithic period in the south Transdanubian region.

The next seven papers (Viktoria Petrova; the editor, Vassil Nikolov; Vladimir Slavchev and others; Verena Leusch and others; Yavor Boyadzhiev; Kamen Boyadzhiev; and Thilo Rehren and others) are concerned with the Chalcolithic period on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast, mostly with aspects of the necropolis near Varna but also with salt production and copper smelting. Thomas Zimmerman turns to prehistoric metallurgy along the Turkish

Black Sea coast. Following are papers by Matthias Thomas and Valeska Becker about aspects of the excavations at Drama in south-eastern Bulgaria by the late Jan Lichardus. The late Henrietta Todorova and Elena Marinova and Mariana Filipova discuss the consequences of climate changes along the western Black Sea coast between 5000 and 2800 BC. Two papers deal with the North Pontic stepoe belt in the Chalcolithic (Agathe Reingruber; Juri Rassamakin and Nadja Kotova), while Klára Fischl and Raiko Krauss discuss the period of tell settlements in the Carpathians and the eastern Balkans. The last paper about the Chalcolithic is by Zoï Tsirtsoni, who treats the very interesting topic of the end of the Late Chalcolithic from a viewpoint of Greece, coming to the conclusion that the abandonment of Chalcolithic settlements was not caused by invasion or climate changes but was due to a long period of transformation into the Early Bronze Age, not taking in account the so-called 'hiatus' that followed almost all Chalcolithic settlements in Bulgaria and which probably covers a period of several hundred years.

The next paper, by Stefan Alexandrov and Elke Kaiser, contradicts the view of Zoï Tsirtsoni by concluding that immigrations from the north had already started at the end of the Late Chalcolithic period. Two papers (Ralf Gleser; Kathleen McSweeney and others) are concerned with the Early Bronze Age in Bulgaria; further papers by Maria Ivanova, Florin Gogâltan, Elke Kaiser and Eugen Sava, and Tanya Hristova discuss metallurgy in eastern Europe during the Early Bronze Age. Probably the best paper in this volume is that by Krassimir Leshtakov and Zoï Tsirtsoni giving for the first time a perfect and logical insight into developments in south-eastern Europe during the 2nd millennium BC. The last two papers are by Rudolf Echt and Biba Teržan, about the Early Iron Age Hallstatt period and the early Scythians.

This book is excellently produced, in hardcover and on good paper with perfect illustrations (many in colour). It is really a gold mine for those specialising in the Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age, with numerous new insights.

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L. Nováková, *Tombs and Burial Customs in the Hellenistic Karia*, Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 282, Faculty of Philosophy and Arts, Trnava University in Trnava, Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2016, 184 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-7749-4008-6

This book is based on Lucia Nováková's doctoral thesis submitted successfully at the University of Trnava in Slovakia in 2012. It is well illustrated with drawings and photographs made by the author herself (with other photographs taken by Erik Hrnčiarik and Ivan Kuzma). Her photographs demonstrate that she travelled extensively in south-western Anatolia and clearly obtained a first-hand knowledge of the tombs which she discusses in her book.

N. begins with a description of the region, the geographical boundaries of Caria and an account of ancient sources which were concerned with the Carians. She discusses the relationships between the various Carian communities and the Greek cities founded in the coastal regions of south-western Anatolia and, of course, the extension of Greek influence into the hinterland.

The next section is concerned with the development of the concept of the dead as Heroes, the changing significance of the term and, particularly in the Carian communities, its relationship with respect for the ancestors. N. considers this beyond her strict geographical limitations, and looking into the sort of cult which might evolve in this respect she takes into account evidence from other parts of the Greek world: for instance, she looks at the detailed instructions laid down in the 'will of Epikteta' for the establishment of a funerary cult for a family in the distinctly non-Carian island of Thera.

N. then looks at the different types of monumental tomb, built or rock-cut, their siting either outside or, in special circumstances, within the community. She discusses their architectural form and their relationship with both native Carian (and neighbouring Lycian) structures together with the adoption of classical Greek form, beginning before the Hellenistic period with the emergence of the Hecatomnid dynasty and, of course, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. The next section gives a full account of the different types of tomb which develop through the Hellenistic period into the time of the Roman empire, with a final section looking at the epigraphic evidence. Appended to this are two catalogues, one rather oddly called a 'catalogue of archaeological finds' which is in fact a descriptive list of tombs discussed in the relevant sections of her thesis. This is rather awkwardly arranged: the tombs are presented here in non-alphabetical sequence, though it is the location name rather than the number assigned in her list which heads each entry as its 'reg. number', while references to these tombs are given in her discussion by name rather than catalogue number, which means looking through the non-alphabetic sequence to find the relevant description. Most entries also give plans and sections of the tombs listed, all of them taken from previous publications, particularly the surveys of the rock-cut tombs of Caria by D. Roos. The second catalogue lists 'Epigraphic finds', again all with previous bibliographies.

Altogether, this book could present a useful survey of the available information on the tombs and funerary rituals and customs in Caria. But there is a problem. It is published in the series *Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie*. A short Preface by the editors explains that this is intended, principally, to publish the work of young scholars, particularly theses, financing coming from self or the publisher. It lists the editorial board, mostly, of course, from German universities. For the present volume the layout is attributed to the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts at the University of Trnava, two of whose members are named in the list of editors. This is a system which makes for rapid and relatively economical publication. However, in the case of the present volume it can have unfortunate consequences. The work is presented in an English translation, which was not made by the author herself. It is often stilted and non-idiomatic (the actual title of the book should have been corrected), which at times makes for awkward reading. There is a very large number of mistakes of spelling and grammar. There is also a problem with the layout and set-up of the book: p. 77 is left completely blank, where it should have carried a continuation of the text together with Illustration 35 which should have given plans of rock-cut tombs in south-eastern Caria. It is clear that the method of production for this series does not include copy-editing, something that this volume sorely needed and which would have improved it immensely.

J. Pearce and J. Weekes (eds.), *Death as a Process: The Archaeology of the Roman Funeral*, Studies in Funeral Archaeology 12, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2017, ix+300 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78570-323-2

Death as a Process, edited by John Pearce and Jake Weekes, is the outcome of a session organised in 2007 at the Roman Archaeology Conference in London, complemented by additional contributions, published in Oxbow's *Studies in Funerary Archaeology* series. The book consists of 11 chapters, each accompanied with its own bibliography, figures and tables. There is also a Preface that describes the aims of the publication and a short list of the contributors.

The body of knowledge concerning Roman funerary archaeology has been greatly enriched the past two decades, as the result of extensive field work, particularly through construction-related excavations and the development and application to archaeology of scientific methods, bioarchaeology for instance. The contributions examine funerary practices observed during the relevant period, with an emphasis on the archaeological record rather than written texts. The specific aim of the volume is the reconstruction of the ritual sequence of the burial, i.e. of the rituals that precede and succeed death, *viz.* 'death as a process'. The geographical span of the cases examined, which include excavations from Italy, France, Germany, Britain and Greece, provides an opportunity for researchers not only to enrich their knowledge, but also to gain from the insight provided by the different approaches that characterise distinct national traditions. The intention of the publication is to contribute in the interpretation, reconstruction and understanding of the Roman funeral as a process, which is not solely limited to the deposition – in whatever form – of the body. The papers included in the book attempt, with the use of various analytical tools such as osteological analysis, experimental archaeology and interpretative frameworks, to comprehend the formation process of the archaeological find (the burial) in order to detect the various stages of the process and interpret their meaning.

Thus, in 'Introduction: Death as a process in Roman funerary archaeology', Pearce enumerates the developments in the techniques applied in the interpretation of the archaeological record that encouraged the appreciation of funerary evidence as a dynamic body of data and underlines some of the challenges that researchers face in the study of Roman funerary archaeology. Rife and Morison ('Space, object, and process in the Koutsongila Cemetery at Roman Kenchreai, Greece') attempt to reconstruct through available archaeological evidence the ritual acts that took place outside and inside the burial chamber, such as the deposition of funerary offerings or the consumption of communal meals and infer the significance of such practices in the assertion of identity. Jacopo Ortalli ('Archaeology and Funerary Cult: The stratigraphy of soils in the cemeteries of Emilia Romagna [northern Italy]') demonstrates the advantages of the employment of microstratigraphic excavation in burial sites in detecting and reconstructing the diachronic uses of space. Jake Weekes ('Funerary archaeology at St Dunstan's Terrace, Canterbury') re-examines more thoroughly the burial evidence from the cemetery of St Dunstan's Terrace in an attempt to offer a more detailed reconstruction of the ritual process of the burial by relating specific archaeological evidence to specific ritual acts. Aarts and Heeren ('Buried Batavians: Mortuary rituals of a rural frontier community') present the burial evidence from the Batavian settlement at Tiel, with an emphasis on burial as a rite of passage. The fact that one of the settlements

that used the burial ground has also been excavated enriches the available information and provides the possibility for a more nuanced reconstruction of the funerary process and its symbolism. Rost and Wilbers-Rost ('They fought and died – but were covered with earth only years later: "Mass graves" on the ancient battlefield of Kalkriese') examine the burial evidence of the possible Teutoburg Forest battlefield uncovered at the site of Kalkriese and argue that the fragmented taphonomic picture observed could refer to the burying of the remains of dead Roman soldiers by Germanicus a few years later than the actual battle. Paul Booth ('Some recent work on Romano-British cemeteries') compares the funerary evidence from a selection of cemeteries located in England with the established reconstruction for funerary practice in Roman Britain in order to discuss tradition as reflected in the burial record and emphasise regional variation.

Catalano, Caldarini, De Angelis and Pantano ('Funerary complexes from Imperial Rome: A new approach to anthropological study using excavation and laboratory data') demonstrate how the analysis and comparison of osteological and archaeological material between sites through the application of statistical methods could offer valuable insight into the living conditions of each population. Sébastien Lepetz ('Animals in funerary practices: Sacrifices, offerings and meals at Rome and in the provinces') provides an interesting account of the presence of animals in burials, using examples from Rome and the provinces in an attempt to understand their role – sacrifice, funerary meal, companion – in the funerary rites performed for the deceased. Jacqueline McKinley's paper ("How did it go?"... putting the process back into cremation') provides a valuable perception concerning the formation process of cremations and the importance that careful excavation and recording in the field has in their interpretation. Weekes's Afterword, 'Process and polysemy: An appreciation of a cremation burial', offers an interpretative framework using the concepts of polysemy and liminality in order to analyse and understand the meaning of the funeral in the past.

This book is an important contribution to the analysis of Roman funerary rites. It demonstrates the valuable insights that application of scientific techniques can provide, as well as the implications that excavation methods can have for interpretation of the material. It is well edited.

Thessaloniki, Greece

Christina Aamodt

E. Perego and R. Scopacasa (eds.), *Burial and Social Change in First Millennium BC Italy: Approaching Social Agents. Gender, Personhood and Marginality*, Studies in Funerary Archaeology 11, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2016, xxxiv+342 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78570-184-9

Burial and Social Change in First Millennium BC Italy is the outcome of an international workshop organised by the editors (Elisa Perego and Rafael Scopacasa) in 2011. Its purpose is to re-evaluate a crucial chronological period of vibrant social and political transformations from the 'agency' perspective. In short, the contributions aim at examining the individual influence and impact of these processes by focusing on marginalised groups, such as women, children and other socially excluded individuals. In an effort to understand and interpret the archaeological evidence beyond agency, the contributors also employ various theoretical frameworks (personhood, ethnicity, habitus, *metissage* and hybridisation).

The book is divided in two sections, preceded by an Introduction outlining the transformations of 1st-millennium BC Italy. The need for a re-examination of the archaeological evidence from the point of view of agency is explained and the layout of the book described. The 'Finale' recapitulates the key points and arguments of each contributor, raises new questions and proposes new directions for future research. Each chapter has its own bibliography and figures, tables and maps.

Section 1, 'Funerary symbolism and ritual practice: from elite identities to gender, personhood and connectivity', consists of eight chapters and focuses mainly on identifying marginal social groups in funerary contexts, generally associated with prominent groups. It addresses issues such as the construction and negotiation of power and identity and the dynamics involved in these processes. Therefore, Cuzzo investigates the mechanisms that allowed prominent social groups in Etruria and Campania to distinguish themselves from their marginalised peers. Moreover, the author discusses the role of high-status women in the formation of elite ideologies. Iaia identifies different models of drinking ceremonies in Early Iron Age Central Italy, used as a means to express identity negotiation and competition among different social groups. Shipley highlights the dual system for the representation of the deceased in Tarquinia, which combines communal identity (the typical biconical urn) and personal identity (the covering of the urn and the objects accompanying the burial) and relates the shift in emphasis from communal to personal identity, (i.e. from 'dividuality' to individuality), to increasing urbanisation and socio-political inequality. A change in the funerary practices in 7th- and 6th-century BC Chiusi, manifested in the move from individual graves to chamber tombs and multiple burials, indicates, according to O'Donoghue, a change in the representation of identity from the individual male warrior to the member of a family/social group and the creation of the aristocratic family. Faustoferri emphasises the social status women were able to achieve in some communities indicated by the presence of weapons, bronze discs and other insignia in their tombs. This is conjectured to be directly associated with their active involvement in religion and politics. Di Lorenzo *et al.* examine how different levels or forms of identity attributed to children buried in cemeteries at Verucchio could be expressed by the specific position of grave-goods within the grave. They conclude that children were represented as integrated members of society. Morris proposes a more nuanced interpretation for the appearance of 'princely' tombs in Campania, emphasising the dynamics of adaptation and competition among elite and non-elite segments of the local communities and the important role of networks. Through the employment of concepts borrowed from the social sciences ('nested identities', 'mental distances', etc.), Rajalla investigates cultural connectivity and ethnicity in Orientalising and Archaic Latium.

Section 2, 'Identities on the fringe', consists of four chapters that bring forward cases of marginality, peripherality and social exclusion. Thus, in Zamboni's contribution, agency and cultural connectivity explain more sufficiently the presence or absence of particular influences in the 'frontier' region of western Emilia than interpretations emphasising ethnic groups, migration and colonisation. Scopacasa criticises the inadequacy of the strategy of Samnite elites to legitimise their faltering power in a time of rapid socio-political transformation that demanded resourceful tactics. Zanoni examines the notion of identity of sub-adults and young adults in the communities of the Alpine region and supports a possible connection between their liminal status and the inclusion of their remains in so-called 'places of fire sacrifice', located in similarly liminal places such as remote mountain areas.

Finally, Perego explores the relationship between social change, agency and violence. The author observes a hierarchical arrangement of funerary space in Iron Age Veneto, which might have been a way for individuals to understand their different social position and value within their community. Further, the practice of ritual violence and the exploitation of individuals for ritual purposes, presumably by the elite, might have been closely associated with the socio-political transformation that Iron Age Veneto was witnessing. The book is a well-edited, intriguing and thought-provoking contribution. It is clearly written and devoid of spelling mistakes. It makes a genuinely noteworthy contribution.

Thessaloniki, Greece

Christina Aamodt

L.P. Petit and D. Morandi Bonacossi (eds.), *Nineveh, The Great City: Symbol of Beauty and Power*, Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities (PALMA) 13, Sidestone Press, Leiden 2017, 357 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-90-8890-496-7

Sicher nicht häufig gelingt es Herausgebern für *ca.* 320 Seiten Text, ursprünglich als Leidener Ausstellungskatalog (19.10.2017–25.3.2018) geplant, noch 56 ausgewiesene, international tätige Fachkollegen (vgl. Liste S. 11–12) als Autoren zu gewinnen, doch das haben Lucas P. Petit und Daniele Morandi Bonacossi mit ihrer umfassenden Publikation zu Ninive(h) (akkad. Nina/u(w)a, griech. Ninos, heute in Mos(s)ul), am östlichen Tigrisufer gelegen, zeitweise im späten 8./7. Jh. v. Chr. die strategisch, für Landwirtschaft und Handel gut situierte und befestigte Hauptstadt des Neuassyrischen Reiches, geschafft. Entstanden ist ein übersichtliches Kompendium zu einer Stadt, die vergleichbar mit Troia oder Babylon einerseits noch oder wieder heute im kollektiven Gedächtnis als Erinnerungsort präsent ist, und die andererseits nunmehr seit dem 10.6.2014 das traurige Schicksal der von Krieg überzogenen Regionen des Vorderen Orients teilt und erneut Gefahr laufen könnte, trotz der Befreiung vom sog. Islamischen Staat im Januar 2017, weil zerstört, vergessen zu werden, wie z.B. nach dem Niedergang des Assyrischen Reiches 612 v. Chr.

Das Buch ist nach einer Einführung durch die Herausgeber in sechs Teile mit insgesamt 67 Kapiteln untergliedert, sorgfältig bebildert, mit einer umfassenden Literaturliste (S. 333–48 mit gut 450 Einträgen), einer Museumskonkordanz und einem Gesamtindex versehen.

In durchgängig konzisen Beiträgen erläutert Teil I das berühmte, aber verlorene Ninive (Kap. 1, D. Morandi Bonacossi), die schriftlichen Quellen in Keilschrift (Kap. 2, J. MacGinnis), die biblischen und sonstigen jüdischen und frühchristlichen (Kap. 3, J.K. Zangenberg) sowie die klassischen Zeugnisse (Kap. 4, M. Vlaardingerbroek). Spätere westeuropäische Kunstwerke, vorwiegend Gemälde ab dem 13. bis ins 20. Jh., zeigen die Stadt oder zugehörige Kontexte (Kap. 5, J. de Hond). Kap. 6 (P. Matthiae) unterstreicht die Bedeutung früher Reisender, die aufgrund hellenistischer (Beros(s)os), biblischer und frühchristlicher Überlieferungen vom Mittelalter bis ins 19. Jh. für die (Wieder-)Entdeckung/Identifizierung u.a. Ninives sorgten.

Teil II reflektiert die Ausgrabungsgeschichte zumeist der beiden Siedlungshügel, des Tell Kuyunjik und des Tell Nebi Yunus (heute z.T. überbaut), mit Palästen, öffentlichen Bauten und Tempeln. Sie wird von L.P. Petit (Kap. 7) als ‚großes Abenteuer‘ charakterisiert. Erste Grabungen erfolgten ab 1842 (zur Topographie vgl. Kap. 8, J. Ur; zu antiken und modernen, auch tückischen Begebenheiten, u.a. beim Transport von Skulpturen auf dem Tigris:

Kap. 12, L.P. Petit). Die französischen (Kap. 9, A. Thomas), britischen (Kap. 10, J. Curtis), irakischen (Kap. 16, J. MacGinnis; vgl. auch zum Nergal Tor: Kap. 17, L. Salih) und italienischen (archäologische Untersuchungen in der Ninive-Region: Kap. 18, D. Morandi Bonacossi) Expeditionen/Ausgrabungen sind mit so bekannten Namen wie u.a. C.J. Rich (erste topographische Pläne), P.-É. Botta, H. Rawlinson, A.H. Layard (vgl. auch Kap. 11, F.M. Fales), ferner Max Mallowan und Agatha Christie Mallowan (vgl. Kap. 14, D. Stornach) sowie der unvergesslichen großen Pionierin Gertrude Bell (Kap. 15, L. Cooper) verbunden. Letztere, aber auch z.B. T.E. Lawrence oder Max von Oppenheim, bestätigten die häufige Vermutung, dass Archäologen in Kriegszeiten von ihren Ländern zur Spionagetätigkeit herangezogen wurden (Kap. 13, F.M. Fales).

Die Teile III–V sind der gut 9000jährigen Geschichte gewidmet. Besiedelt war Ninive ab *ca.* 7000 v. Chr. bis ins 13. Jh. n. Chr. Einen knappen Überblick zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte bis zu den Neuassyriern bietet Teil III mit den Kap. 19 (D. Morandi Bonacossi) und Kap. 20 (M. Iamoni). Ein besonderes Augenmerk wird der bedeutsamen sog. „Ninevite 5 Culture at Nineveh“ geschenkt (Kap. 21, E. Rova), die zwischen *ca.* 3100/3000–2600/2550 im Nordirak, der Haburregion und in Nordostsyrien verbreitet war. Das 2. Jt. sah dann die Geburt der assyrischen Stadt (Kap. 22, A. Tenu), die ihre Glanzzeit in der neuassyrischen Phase (ab spätem 10. Jh.) erlebte, mit der Erhebung zur Hauptstadt unter Sanherib – es handelt sich nunmehr um die größte Stadt der antiken Welt (*ca.* 750 ha; Plan S. 126) – bis zum Untergang des Reiches/der Stadt 612 v. Chr.

Diese Periode wird in 27 Kapiteln (Kap. 23–49) im umfanglichsten Teil IV zusammengefasst, deren Aspekte u.a. zu Urbanistik, Infrastruktur, Architektur, Plastik, Sprachen, Schriften und Schriftzeugnissen, Innen- und Außenpolitik, Religions- und Mentalitätsgeschichte hier nur kurz erwähnt werden können. Dazu gehören Stadtplanung (M. Novák), Wassermanagement und Landwirtschaft in und um Ninive (mit div. Karten; D. Morandi Bonacossi); – ein historischer Abriss zu Sanherib, Asarhaddon und Assurbanipal (B.J. Parker) und zu ihren Palästen in Ninive (D. Kertai); – Überlegungen zu Organisation und Funktion neuassyrischer Reliefs (P. Matthiae), zu Steinbrüchen und Steinen des sog. Südwestpalastes Sanheribs (P.L. Bianchetti), Untersuchungen zur Farbigkeit neuassyrischer Reliefs (D. Braekmans), Darstellung Ninives auf Reliefs (D. Nadali); – schriftlich/bildlich bezeugte Handels- und Fernkontakte (D.J.W. Meijer) und königlich-außenpolitische Kontakte (G.-B. Lanfranchi), – die historische Einordnung Sanheribs (C. Lippolis) und seiner ‚Inszenierung‘ Ninives (S. Lumsden), seines Palastgartens: einem Weltwunder (S. Dalley), dem Lachisch-Alabasterrelief des Südwestpalastes (D. Ussishkin) sowie Assurbanipals Löwenjagd-Reliefs (P. Albenda); – ein Überblick über Sprachen, Schriften und Texte aus Ninive (J.G. Dercksen), Bemerkungen zu dessen ‚intellektuellen‘ Zentren (E. Frahm), darunter Assurbanipals Bibliothek (J.C. Fincke), die Bedeutung aramäischer Inschriften (F.M. Fales); – abschließend Beiträge zu Dämonen, Gottheiten, Religion (B.N. Porter), der durchgängig verehrten Stadtgöttin Ištar (J. MacGinnis) und apotropäischen Darstellungen (C. Nakamura), zu Musik (T.J.H. Krispijn) sowie zur Zerstörung Ninives am Beispiel des Halzi Tores, eines von 14 Stadttoren (M. Van De Mieroop).

In den Zeitraum nach der Zerstörung der Metropole 612 v. Chr. durch babylonische, medische sowie kimmero-skytische Kontingente und der erneuten Zerstörung 2014 n. Chr. führt in Teil V D. Morandi Bonacossi ein (Kap. 50). Der vor- und achaimenidischen Periode (*ca.* 612–539 bzw. 539–330 v. Chr.) nunmehr des lt. Xenophon (Anab. 3. 4. 10) ruinösen Ortes Mespilas (?) (Kap. 51, J. Curtis) und dem hellenistischen bzw. parthischen Ninive

(Kap. 52, R. Palermo) wird allgemein in der Forschung nicht viel Beachtung geschenkt, schriftliche und archäologische Zeugnisse sind beschränkt, daher hier sehr willkommen. Ebenso wenig im Fokus stehen die anschließenden Phasen unter sasanidischer Vorherrschaft oder der Christianisierung vor Ort ab dem 1. Jh. n. Chr., obwohl Ninive Diözesensitz wurde. Um 637–640 hielt der Islam Einzug und steigerte die Bedeutung von Mos(s)ul, das am Tigriswestufer zum Hauptort bis in die ottomanische Zeit avancierte (Kap. 53, H.B. Al-Aswad).

Die Kap. 54–57 sind der Aufnahme der Zerstörungen des kulturellen antiken (Kap. 54, A. Bianchi, S. Berlioz, S. Campana, E. Dalla Longa, D. Vicenzutti, M. Vidale) und christlichen Erbes (Kap. 55, B. Lafleur) ab 2014 sowie Projekten wie „Rekrei“ zur wenigstens virtuellen Bewahrung verlorener Kulturschätze durch die Erarbeitung z.B. der Rekonstruktion des „Mosul Cultural Museum“ (Kap. 56, M. Vincent, Ch. Coughenour) und einer 3D Reproduktion des sog. Südwestpalastes in Ninive und (Kap. 57, B. Lenseigne, N. van Apeldoorn) gewidmet.

Besonders hervorzuheben ist Teil VI, der die materielle Hinterlassenschaft Ninives (Kap. 58, L.P. Petit) in den Museen und Sammlungen Frankreichs (Kap. 59, A. Thomas), Italiens (Kap. 60, D. Morandi Bonacossi), Großbritanniens (Kap. 61, P. Collins), den Niederlanden und Belgiens (Kap. 63, L.P. Petit/B. Overlaet), den USA (Kap. 64, M. Seymour) mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Metropolitan Museums (Kap. 65) und der Türkei (Kap. 67, A.T. Ökse/Z. Kızıltan/G. Yağcı) präsentiert. Je ein Kapitel ist den Funden in den Berliner Museen vorbehalten (Kap. 62, L. Martin) sowie dem irakischen Museum in Bagdad (Kap. 66, C. Lippolis). Ergänzt wird Teil VI durch die nützliche Konkordanz der in 36 erfassten Museen verstreuten Funde (nicht nur) aus Ninive (S. 349–52).

Universität Tübingen

Anne-Maria Wittke

R. Pirngruber, *The Economy of Late Achaemenid and Seleucid Babylonia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2017, xiii+249 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-10606-2

Building upon the work of Jursa and colleagues, Reinhard Pirngruber has written a clear, well-documented examination of the Babylonian economy, making an important contribution to a field which can be described now as ‘in progress’. There is a need to re-examine and reinterpret existing documents, to await the (formal) publication of excavated archives, and to exhibit patience in the presence of the Tyche of Babylon until new tablets are unearthed. As P. indicates in the Introduction to the work (pp. 3–22), the existence of the cuneiform Babylonian Astronomical Diaries (AD), more properly the ‘Regular Observation(s)’, for the period 650–60 BC permits us to track commodity prices once entered by scribes. The majority of these records fall after 400 BC, hence the time frame of the examination (ca. 400–140 BC). He takes pains to convert silver equivalents into true prices before analysis. What is new is the use of ‘regression analysis’ (cf. pp. 223–25), i.e. the attempt to estimate relationships among variables. Fifteen values are posited: one for each month of the year, and three ‘dummy variables’ (pp. 170–75) in order ‘to account for factors that are not easily measured – such as historical events’ (p. 223), i.e. domestic warfare (foreign armies within Babylon and its immediate environs), warfare abroad (campaigns away) and rebellion/civil disorder. These should, and will, impact commodity prices. The sources for such: ‘Regular Observation(s)’, classical authors and formal archives, which

provide contexts for price data. Four such archives await a formal, complete publication (satrap Belesys' from Kasr, Babylon's Esangila, and two Borsippa), and are joined by the much-studied late 5th-century BC Murashu's.

Part II of the book, 'Structure' (pp. 24–90), discusses economic developments in 1st-millennium BC Babylon, the factors of production (land, labour, capital) and the issue of price volatility. After 484 BC and the Babylonian troubles, there was a new elite, based on ties to the crown or its agents, land being amassed by Achaemenid aristocrats. By the post-Achaemenid eras, monetisation had increased, payments in silver – not kind – were common, and record keeping was done primarily on papyrus, thereby diminishing our supply of recorded prices. Using Douglass North's approach, P. examines the ownership pattern of those factors of production and their effect on prices (pp. 47–70). 'The organisation of agriculture in the post-Xerxes period was not at all conducive to economic stability' (p. 66). The once prominent temple 'households' yield to private and institutional 'households', from which the crown could withdraw favour. The large Murashu family organisation owned land, leased out land and provided credit. The resulting widespread rural indebtedness helped provide cheap and/or coerced labour.

Babylonian data are scantier for the Seleucid era, and P.'s attempt to discuss evidence from the recently published 'Lehmann-text' is damaged by Cambridge University Press' poor grasp of mathematics. The tablet, which should be properly noted as *CTMMA IV*, texts 148A and B,¹ describes a meeting in Babylon of the *kinishtu* ('council') which is addressed by the *shatammu* (local *Hauptmann*) concerning plots of arable land and the income therefrom. The land grant was made by Antiochus II from his personal property to wife Laodice and her sons, who all in turn donated the land to local communities and specified that tithes on the land should be used in the maintenance of the cities' important temples. Thus evidence for true royal land, legal guarantees assuring ownership rights, and the ability to yield income rights to a new recipient. For P. the text corroborates the earlier assumption by van der Spek 'of a fundamental parity of Greek and non-Greek cities' (p. 68). Private property was now more significant.

In order to ameliorate price volatility one should have a policy of storing goods in expectation of shortages (pp. 71–90). A diversity in the types of goods consumed will benefit. Although Babylon's two main staples, barley and dates, had different harvest times, there was scant practice of 'inter-annual storage or carry-over' (p. 72). P. can chart the occurrence of some references to 'old' and 'new' supplies in the 'Regular Observation(s)'.

In the third portion of the work, 'Performance' (pp. 91–216), begins with a price history (pp. 93–163) of Babylon, accompanied with charts and graphs. His consideration of the Late Achaemenid period (pp. 95–106) leads to the observation that the prices for commodities were dropping, but the absence of complementary sources preclude a definitive explanation for all phenomena. As for the Early Hellenistic period (pp. 107–22), a volatile economic situation began shortly before Alexander's death, after which Babylon became a centre of fighting. Three economic factors were in play: supply (damaged by hostilities), demand

¹ R. van der Spek and R. Wallenfels, 'Copy of record of entitlement and exemptions to formerly royal lands' [i.e. land grant by Antiochus II in Babylonia; the 'Lehmann Text']. In I. Spar and M. Jursa (eds.), *The Ebabbar Temple Archive and Other Texts from the Fourth to the First Millennium B.C.* (Winona Lake 2016), 213–27.

(heightened by the presence of numerous military forces) and an increased level of monetisation (due in part to an active Seleucid mint until the 290s, when Seleukis province became the new centre of gravity). 305/4–223 BC was an era of overall lower prices, save when Babylon served as a military mustering point (270s) or suffered internal disorder (pp. 122–36). A failure to balance supply and demand also led to more general food crises. There are no price data at the present time regarding the 240s Ptolemaic occupation. The Late Seleucid period (*ca.* 225–140 BC, pp. 136–54), in spite of moderns' attention to Apamea, found prices lower for all commodities than in the first half of Seleucid control. Prices fluctuated within a narrow band of values. P. also removed the perception (pp. 143–45) of a heavy tax on dates and later royal exemptions by re-examining the Uruk evidence: it was a long-time custom in Babylonia for lessees to be encouraged to plant date palms on presently barren land. His overall conclusion to the price history: 'the prevailing approach of elucidating price movement by reference to political history has shown good results' (p. 163).

At this point he introduces the use of quantitative analysis (pp. 164–209) as a means of moving away from a simple juxtaposition of historical and price data with its common presupposition that deviations can be tied to specific historical events mentioned in extant sources. He begins a classification of different types of historical events for their use in regression analysis (see above). An 'interpretive reading of historical events' (p. 172) will be combined with mathematical probability. In addition to the monthly 'dummy variables', three are introduced: warfare in Babylon, warfare elsewhere (involving at least one royal army) and internal disorder in Babylon. A table of impact is shown on p. 197: 37% of the barley price can be assigned to political causes; 30% of the date price to the same. The underlying causes of the price increases are measured: the simultaneous occurrence of military operations and the presence of an army within Babylon produced even more of an economic shock (p. 208, Tables 6.8, 6.9). Thus commodity prices (pp. 210–16) were heavily influenced by events; the opinion that prices were based on supply is corroborated. Babylonian price stability benefited from a productive agricultural system and the use of the same measuring standards into the Parthian period. Stability was damaged by high transportation costs outside the canal region of the one dominant city.

There are a few measures P. might take in the presentation of his data and conclusions: give the 'dummy variables' as a clear labelled list rather than just leaving them scattered in the text. A more visual presentation of data would help emphasise the results of the inquiries. In addition to Tables 6.5, 6.8, 6.9, present at least the barley and date prices as pie graphs highlighting the contribution of political events. Overall, this is an excellent work which should be revised, pending the publication of new data, with only a short delay.

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Michael Weiskopf

P. Pitkänen, *A Commentary on Numbers: Narrative, Ritual and Colonialism*, Routledge Studies in the Biblical World, Routledge, London/New York 2018, xiv+253 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-1-138-70657-6

Pekka Pitkänen's new commentary on the Book of Numbers analyses the Old Testament text from a decidedly interdisciplinary perspective. P. not only combines exegetic methods with approaches from post-colonial, migration and ritual studies, but also considers results from archaeological field research in the Levant.

The text is divided into two main sections: a detailed introduction (pp. 1–52) and a commentary (pp. 53–218). In addition, the volume also features five illustrations, four tables, an extensive and current bibliography (pp. 219–30) and three indexes (pp. 231–53). The author's objective is to present a new reading that seeks to understand the Book of Numbers as a carefully designed work within the larger context of the *Hexateuch*. P. assumes an at least 'semi-historical' content of the texts pertaining to the Moses story (p. 15), and the clear writing makes the text accessible to an audience beyond specialists in the field. Parts of his book take a noticeable Christian stance on ethical and religious issues.

Historically, the author locates the events narrated in the Book of Numbers in the southern Levant of the Late Bronze Age, 13th century BC (p. i). P. posits that at that time a new (Israelite) society displaced and supplanted the existing indigenous (Canaanite) population. This development was then put into writing as a 'settler colonial document' (pp. 40–50) in relative chronological proximity during the first half of the 11th century BC (p. 37) and edited over time. P. bases his early dating of the Book's original draft on the literary depiction of the important role of Shiloh as a Yahweh sanctuary in the Book of Joshua. In this context he relies in particular on his premise of the *Hexateuch*'s unified literary nature.

This approach to historicity and dating is without question in marked contrast to the usual interpretation of the Book of Numbers in an academic context, which rarely ascribes historical value to the text as a source for reconstructing the history of ancient Israel. Instead, the Book of Numbers is commonly interpreted as an anthology of little connected legislative texts, whose creation can at the earliest be dated back to the Persian period (5th and 4th centuries BC).¹

The historical authenticity of biblical passages concerning Shiloh, such as Joshua 18:1 (the construction of the tabernacle there) or Judges 21:19 (report on annual Yahweh feasts), which seem to substantiate its considerable significance as Israel's central sanctuary in the Late Bronze Age, however, has been contested since W.M.L. de Wette (1780–1849) and the emergence of the historical-critical method. As far as archaeology is concerned, neither the Danish excavations of the 1920s and 1930s in Tell Sailun² nor the Israeli expeditions of the 1980s under the direction of I. Finkelstein³ were able to document architectonic structures in Shiloh for the Late Bronze Age. A certain number of pottery and small finds, which were identified as votive offerings (but which could only be located in Area D of the Israeli excavations), on the other hand indicate that Late Bronze Shiloh was an uninhabited, isolated place of worship, of at most local significance. A supra-regional use of any

¹ See, for example, T. Römer, 'Das Buch Numeri und das Ende des Jahwisten'. In J.C. Gertz *et al.* (eds.), *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion* (Berlin/New York 2002), 215–31; H. Seebass, *Numeri: 1. Teilband, Numeri 1,1-10,10* (Neukirchen-Vluyn 2012), 25*–38*; K. Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte des Alten Testaments: Eine Einführung*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt 2014), 173–74.

² See M.-L. Buhl and S. Holm-Nielsen, *Shiloh: The Danish Excavations at Tall Sailun, Palestine, in 1926, 1929, 1932 and 1963: The Pre-Hellenistic Remains* (Copenhagen 1969); A. Kempinski, 'Shiloh'. In E. Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem 1993), 1364–66.

³ See D.G. Schley, *Shiloh: A Biblical City in Tradition and History* (Sheffield 1989), 67–80; I. Finkelstein, 'Shiloh: Renewed Excavations'. In Stern (as in n. 2), 1366–70; I. Finkelstein *et al.* (eds.), *Shiloh: The Archaeology of a Biblical Site* (Tel Aviv 1993).

kind as a significant religious site in the mid-11th century BC, the early Iron Age I, has (so far) eluded historical and archaeological documentation.⁴ P.'s dependence on Shiloh for his chronological alignment of the Book of Numbers hence warrants scepticism.

The commentary part is structured for each passage into three recurring subdivisions: 'context', 'comment' and 'meaning'. Under 'context' P. presents a general reconstruction of each respective passage's content. The 'comment' section adds a line-by-line analysis of the content. The occasional references to ancient oriental textual traditions (in particular those from Mari and Ugarit) and to archaeological sites and finds (such as the silver amulets of Ketef Hinnom, p. 82), with which the author relates the Book of Numbers to its ancient oriental environment, are especially praiseworthy. Individual examples from a cuneiform context and from archaeology on the other hand are referenced only briefly and discussed rarely, probably due to the focus on a general readership as the target audience. A reference to readings for further study would nevertheless have made a welcome addition for such non-specialist readers. Finally, in the 'meaning' section P. draws parallels to New Testament texts and confronts the difficult task of outlining the Book of Numbers' significance for the present day from a Christian-theological perspective.

Besides having accomplished a work that is easy to read, P. attempts in his book to balance historical analysis on the one hand with an interpretation of an ancient text from a Christian perspective for the present on the other. In doing so he prefers a conservative dating of events and strives to demonstrate the Book of Numbers' textual coherence, in clear distinction to research and dating approaches preferred within academia, a potentially problematic decision.

One strength of the commentary is the author's new approach regarding the question of how to evaluate texts about war and violence in the Old Testament. P. tries to show how depictions of violence which have been interpreted as fictional by previous researchers could be reinterpreted differently based on more recent and current post-colonial and sociological approaches. His approach will likely be received well in academic circles and overall the commentary will no doubt be met with a positive response among a generally interested readership rooted in a Christian religious community.

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Felix Hagemeyer

K. Prag, with contributions from P.T. Gethin *et al.*, *Excavations by K.M. Kenyon in Jerusalem 1961–1967, Vol. VI: Sites on the Edge of the Ophel*, Levant Suppl. 18, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2017, xv+308 pp., illustrations and colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78570-653-0

Jerusalem was always an extremely difficult 'site' to excavate and not less so, to understand. This is mainly because it is a living city that tends to rebuild itself at the expense of its older phases and to destroy much of its ancient remains. Therefore, in the end we do not find

⁴ For Iron Age I several buildings have been discovered in Tell Sailun, in which were found a large number of storage containers and in particular collared-rim jars. The stratigraphic relations are unclear, however. Excavators identified one part of the structures as storehouses. Concerning the other part of the buildings only residential use could be eliminated. See nn. 2 and 3 for literature.

parts of one puzzle but rather randomly selected parts of many puzzles, shuffled quite thoroughly. But even so, it is hard for any modern excavation to interpret and understand the stratigraphy of the site, where the dig has recently been finished. The task of publishing an old excavation with many details that got lost with time, is ten-fold harder. If this site happens to be Jerusalem, then it is nothing short of a Herculean task.

The fact is that Jerusalem produces, more or less, the same archaeological finds that can be found in any other site in Israel. But everyone knows that if something was found in Jerusalem, it is by default considered to be at least twice as important as if it were found anywhere else. Why? Because this is Jerusalem. It is the hub. The centre of the story, and within it you find parts of the story, and that is very exciting for many people.

So, combining my two points: while it is an immensely difficult task to publish an old excavation of Jerusalem, it is immensely important to do so. And within these two claims lie both my gratitude for the work of Kay Prag and her team, who managed to publish yet another volume of the excavations of Dame Katherine Kenyon in Jerusalem, and the excuse for any fault that I might find in this publication.

This final report is professionally done with attention to details and coherency that is expected of modern publication. This is highly appreciated, as this is an old material that was undoubtedly hard to put together. It is relatively easy to navigate within this volume in order to find specific details. It has a clean look: the plates, plans and photographs are edited well, and generally speaking, there are many illuminating illustrations, plans, sections and photographs, all of which make it easy to understand the given stratigraphic explanations and details. I have some reservations about the pottery plates, as they represent phases and not *loci*. This causes a great difficulty in understanding which pottery represents any given specific context, in a finer resolution than that of a phase. I also think that, rather than putting it in an appendix, the *loci* list should have been incorporated into the description of each phase, in order to clarify for every reader what *loci* are included in each phase.

The book comprises three main parts: the first is represented by the opening chapter, which offers a general overview of all the phases/periods published in this volume; the second presents the final, scientific publication of areas S.II (Chapter 2) and R (Chapter 3); third includes miscellaneous subjects, such as pottery analysis of the fine ware of the Byzantine period (Chapter 4) and the South Gaulish terra sigillata (Chapter 5). Some chapters are dedicated to the publication of small finds, such as plaster fragments (Chapter 6), shells (Chapter 10), miscellaneous materials (Chapter 8) and analysis of various materials (Chapter 9). Among those is also a chapter dedicated to revisiting the Ayyubid and Mamluk occupation of area L – the Armenian Garden (Chapter 7).

In this review I will only survey the newly published areas, and will leave the other chapters to those who have a particular interest in their subjects.

The first discussed area is S.II in the Ophel of Jerusalem. This might be the most excavated part of the Ophel and maybe even of the City of David. The first to explore it was Warren, in 1867, whose tunnels went along some of the walls of this area; after him came Dame Katherine between 1965 and 1967. Later the area was excavated by B. Mazar and E. Mazar separately and together (from the late 1960s up to late 1980s). The most recent excavation was conducted by E. Mazar in 2009. This area includes finds from the early Iron Age II up to modern times. Even so, the two most prominent eras featured are the Iron Age

and the Byzantine period. From the latter there is a massive curtain wall and a tower, both are parts of the fortification of the City of David and the Ophel in the 5th century AD, usually identified as the wall of the empress Aelia Eudocia. A discussion on this fortification wall also appears in E. Mazar's first volume of her Ophel final publication.¹ From the Iron Age this area includes two architectural elements of great importance: the 'Extra Tower' (wall EE in this publication) and the southern part of the 'Straight Wall', which is also the outer side of the 'The Royal Building' discovered by E. Mazar (wall FF in this publication). The 'Extra Tower', in my opinion, is the most impressive fortification of the Iron Age in Jerusalem, with massive well-chiselled stones. At the foot of this tower, in the deposits abutting it, E. Mazar found the *bullā* of king Hezekiah.² The 'Straight Wall' was dubbed by E. Mazar 'The Solomonic Wall' and it is dated by her to the 10th century BC³ – a dating challenged in this publication.

The main reason for this challenge is that in Kenyon's excavation the pottery in the deposits abutting wall FF is dated to the end of the 8th–early 7th century BC – later than wall EE (which is dated to the 9th/8th century BC). P. is aware that E. Mazar found a basal deposit dated to the 10th century BC abutting wall FF (P. 4), but for some reason chose to ignore it. I would recommend viewing the interpretation of the stratigraphic sequence of the Iron Age architectural feature in area S.II not as a final statement, but rather as a discussion in progress. I believe that the final publication of E. Mazar's excavation in area S.II will shed some new light on this important part of the Iron Age Jerusalem.

Area R included two trenches – R.I and R.II. It is located on the upper eastern slopes of the City of David, 42 m north-east of Kenyon's area H. In this area Kenyon hoped to find the northern city walls of the Bronze and Iron Age City of David. Trench R.I includes quarried bedrock (probably dating to the Herodian period), a vaulted basement or a cistern that has been ruined in the destruction of AD 70. Above it there were series of dumps, robbing trenches and rubble walls throughout the Byzantine and early Arab periods. From the Fatimid era this area was apparently extramural. In the Ayyubid era it was cut and cleared, and included a large pit. Trench R.II was opened 10 m to the east of R.I, on the steep slopes of the City of David. The diggers have never reached the bedrock in this trench, as it became too dangerous to go any deeper. The earliest wall that was discovered is wall C1 – most likely a part of the eastern side of the city walls during the Iron Age. This wall was 3 m wide with quite a lot of breaches in it. Above wall C1 was another town wall from the Early Roman period, which was destroyed in AD 70. Above those there were no structures.

In conclusion, this is a very important publication, professionally done; it will serve well all researchers of Jerusalem, and for that we are all thankful.

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Ariel Winderbaum

¹ E. Mazar and T. Lang, 'The Byzantine Wall'. In E. Mazar (ed.), *The Ophel Excavations to the South of the Temple Mount, 2009–2013, Final Reports*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem 2015), 337–54.

² E. Mazar, 'A Seal Impression of King Hezekiah from the Ophel Excavations'. In Mazar (as in n. 1), 629–40.

³ E. Mazar, *Discovering the Solomonic Wall in Jerusalem, a Remarkable Archaeological Adventure* (Jerusalem 2011), 122.

C. Ratté and A. Commito, *The Countryside of Aphrodisias*, Kelsey Museum Publication 15, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Ann Arbor 2017, 168 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-9906623-5-8

This excellent book presents an archaeological overview of the territory surrounding the city of Aphrodisias, based on the field survey conducted as a five-year programme of interdisciplinary research between 2005 and 2009. This brought together, as the introduction states, ‘archaeologists, art historians, natural scientists and geographers in order to investigate the relationship between human habitation and the natural environment – from the prehistoric period to the present day’ – that is, from long before the foundation of Aphrodisias as a city, almost certainly after the Peace of Apamea in 188 BC – ‘with a special focus on the heyday of the city in the Hellenistic and Roman periods’.

This involved a combination of intensive and extensive survey. Intensive survey comprised a ‘detailed examination of an area extending 500 m in every direction outside the city walls and survey of a series of transects, strips 5 km long and 50 m wide’ which resulted in a reasonably complete inventory of known archaeological sites in the survey region. The extensive survey involved visits to all the towns and villages in the survey area, interviews with local shepherds, farmers and officials with detailed recording of archaeological points of interest, collection of finds, graphic and photographic recording and incorporation into a GIS system. The results of all this have been published in detail in the fifth volume of the Aphrodisias series: the present book gives an accessible and readable account of this aimed at a wider reading public and, indeed, potential visitors to a place where tourist numbers have risen to 200,000 a year.

The description begins with an account of the topography itself, the valley of the River Morsynas and with boundaries defined by the surrounding hills and mountains. It then discusses the ancient sources, particularly Livy with his description of the campaign of Gnaeus Manlius Vulso against the Gauls in 189 BC, an event which was followed swiftly by the foundation of the city of Aphrodisias itself.

The next chapter discusses the region before the foundation of the city, evidence for a prehistoric network of agricultural settlements and, after an interval of several centuries, occupation at Aphrodisias itself in or before the 6th century BC. From this settlement a number of tumulus tombs were identified containing rock cut or built burial chambers. Linked with this chronologically a loose network of fortified citadels and watch towers is described, with plans.

Chapter 3 describes the foundation of Aphrodisias itself and its impact on the surrounding region, the boundaries of the city’s territory and the roads within and leading to neighbouring cities and regions. Within this a pattern of rural settlement is revealed. These are described either as farmsteads or settlements, the difference depending on the state of preservation and material evidence rather than the nature of the habitations themselves. This in turn is influenced by the more intensive modern exploitation of the fertile valley floor in distinction to the surrounding hillsides. Some 42 are identified, the ones on the hillsides being earlier, moving down to the valley floor in Roman times. With this goes an account of the agricultural exploitation, olives particularly in Hellenistic and Roman periods, but, it is suggested, for local consumption rather than export. The survey found remains of oil presses and evidence for the production of wine at a

total of 90 separate points. Next comes an account of the exploitation of the marble quarries (which, of course, was responsible for so much of the splendid architecture of Aphrodisias itself). Then an account of the extensive aqueduct system built to supply the increasing needs of the city. Finally, the cemeteries – particularly, of course, the marble sarcophagi.

Chapter 4 is concerned with the end of antiquity, beginning with a renewal of building activity from the mid-4th to the mid-6th century, though this is marked in particular by the wholesale stripping of stone from memorials in the surrounding cemeteries for the construction of the first city walls. This period also, of course, sees the Christianising of the region and the construction of churches, especially the conversion of the all-important Temple of Aphrodite into a cathedral.

Chapter 5 deals with a revival in the Middle Byzantine period, while Chapter 6 considers the region from the Seljuk period to the present day. The book ends with a very useful guide to a tour by car of the region and the principal remains.

What emerges from this book is the obvious relationship between the urban area of the city and the economic function of the surrounding countryside. It illustrates also the reality of the *Pax Romana* in this region. The city area, with its clearly defined street grid and the development of housing within this was home to a substantial population supplied with its essentials from the economic units in the countryside and to a clear extent relying on the ready supply of water provided by the aqueduct system from springs and water sources in the area outside and at some distance. It is noteworthy, too, that the city does not feel the need to defend itself with surrounding walls until the more troubled times of the Late Empire.

Obviously, for detailed information about the finds that resulted from the intensive survey of the country area it is necessary to consult the full report in *Aphrodisias* 5.¹ The present book, however, does provide a very complete and well-illustrated understanding of the countryside and its relationship to the city. It serves as a model for considering how classical cities worked. It gives a fully rounded picture and a clear understanding of this essential relationship. I very much wish it had been available when I first visited Aphrodisias some 40 years ago.

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Richard Tomlinson

P. Reinard, *Kommunikation und Ökonomie: Untersuchungen zu den privaten Papyrusbriefen aus dem kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten*, 2 vols., Pharos – Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike 32, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2016, 1160 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-86757-260-6

These two heavy volumes are based on about 2000 private letters from Roman Egypt (30 BC–AD 284) written on papyrus and ostraca, taking into account here and there also letters of the Ptolemaic and Byzantine periods. From these letters Patrick Reinard extracts all available information concerning communication and related economic concerns, such

¹ R.R.R. Smith *et al.* (eds.), *Aphrodisias Papers 5: Excavation and Research at Aphrodisias, 2006–2012* (Portsmouth, RI 2016).

as sending goods, prices and markets, organisation of exchange by letter (with minimal postal service). About 65% of private letters deal with the sending of goods. Extracts of hundreds of texts are given in Greek and in German translation.

Chapter II (pp. 57–126) offers a definition of ‘letters’, written messages from one or more persons to his correspondents, a kind of written dialogue of which the papyri usually offer only *one* moment seen from *one* side.¹ As the receiving party is supposed to know what precedes, the contexts can at best be partially reconstructed by a modern reader. In this chapter different subgenres are discussed, sometimes in great detail even if this is of no direct importance to the subject (for instance, letters of condolence and of recommendation, pp. 78–98), though the distinction between family letters and business letters (such as from an estate holder to his manager) is not systematically maintained.

Chapter III contains a full alphabetical list of all goods that are sent according to the letters (pp. 130–330), followed by a discussion according to type (mainly foods, household items and textiles, pp. 331–55).

Chapter IV (pp. 357–482) deals with the logistics of sending letters in a period when the official postal service was limited to correspondence between officials and the military (the Roman *cursus publicus*). The letter writer had to find a reliable person who travelled in the direction of the addressee and also knew where the addressee lived: addresses [σημασίαι] are rare, but receive a section of their own. There was often great uncertainty when and if a letter would ever reach its destination. Sending letters (and goods) often depended on the presence of such an intermediary. Problems of contact between correspondents and of transport over longer distances are treated here in some detail, as are the time and costs it took to bring letters or goods to their destination.

The missing background of ancient letters, which show only one of the two parties and take for granted preceding oral and written contacts, is partly neutralised when letters are included in an archive and can be brought into relation with other documents, including letters from the same sender and/or to the same addressee. Six archives are analysed in detail: the correspondence between Ammonios and Aphrodisios (four letters, early Roman); the archive of Gemellus, a landlord and his local manager Epagathos (more than 80 papyri, *ca.* AD 100), the so-called Happy family archive, a correspondence between members of a partly latinised family (eight letters, 2nd century AD), the archive of the *strategos* Apollonios (75 letters, early 2nd century AD, during the Jewish revolt) and the bilingual Greek-Latin archive of Tiberianus (17 letters, early 2nd century AD). These receive ample treatment in Chapters V and VI, with full prosopographical details for all people involved (pp. 483–771). I am somewhat surprised that the largest 3rd-century archive of Heroninus, with many letters (315 letters according to the Trismegistos database) is not discussed here.

Chapter VII (pp. 773–945) offers numerous examples of how correspondents were aware of price differences, both local (i.e. between their own place and that of their correspondent) and chronological (i.e. market changes over time), and how these were used to

¹ Not always though, *pace* p. 68: ‘doch eine Rekonstruktion einer ganze Dialogabfolge ist immer unmöglich’. In official letters one regularly finds letters with ‘in attachment’ preceding letters by other correspondents. The book deals only with private letters, but the distinction between private and official correspondence is not discussed.

make a profit. The quality of the products sold or bought is also discussed. The individual data of the letters do not allow for a statistical approach, but often illustrate the economic mentality of ancient consumers and the role of middlemen in traffic over longer distances.

Chapter VIII (pp. 947–1002) is an excursus about letters written and/or found outside Egypt, including Dura Europos, Vindolanda and Vindonissa, but also graffiti from Pompeii. This chapter is used as evidence that conclusions drawn from Egyptian papyri are valid for other regions of the Roman empire as well.

In a short conclusion (pp. 1003–15) R. strongly reacts against the primitivist view of the ancient economy, because the letters offer numerous examples of market-oriented business over substantial distances (interdependent markets, not only for luxury goods) and an awareness of the importance of precise information about prices and availability of goods outside one's own hometown, even with some examples of speculation.

The appendices of Chapter X (pp. 1017–46) list all passages in papyrus letters where mention is made of consignments of goods and where the writer offers to provide his correspondent with anything needed from his place of residence. This is followed by an extensive bibliography and by an index of all papyrus letters quoted and discussed in the book.

The book is written at a leisurely pace: texts and situations are described in some detail, passages are quoted in Greek and in translation, situations and transactions are analysed in words and in graphs. The order of these elaborate descriptions within the chapters is not always clear and the lengthy descriptions are sometimes a bit repetitive and wearisome for the reader. More than 1000 pages (and 3500 footnotes) for about 2000 usually short papyrus texts is a lot, though some of the excursuses do carry the reader along: for example, the use of the term ἀγορά in the modern sense of market (or at least market price, pp. 890–91).

Looking at the economy through private letters is like looking at ancient life through a keyhole: these letters are mainly exchanges between family and friends or between estate-owners and managers (Gemellus, Heroninus). The first group deals mostly with small errands when a member of the group is travelling, often short distances; the second illustrates how large estates functioned by written orders from on high to lower down. One may even wonder whether orders to Heroninus, for instance, are really private letters, though the author does not distinguish between private and managerial. It is typical of his approach that important texts for trade in Roman Egypt, such as P. Oxy. Hels. 40 (large-scale textile production in Oxyrhynchus)² or SB 18 13167 (trade with India, Mazura),³ appear neither in the index of sources nor in the bibliography.

A minor inconvenience in this enormous work is the high number of typos, especially in the Greek quotations. On pp. 1042–43, for instance, I noted: Ἀντίνου for Ἀντίου, βούλη for βούλη, ὦν for ὦν, δν'λωσον for δήλωσον, ὦν for ὦν, [ή]λω[σ]ον for δ[ή]λω[σ]ον, ἐπιστέλλε for ἐπιστελλε, παρ' ἐμοι for παρ' ἐμοι. Though most are of minor importance, they are somewhat annoying for the reader.

KU Leuven

Willy Clarysse

² P. van Minnen, 'The Volume of the Oxyrhynchite Textile Trade'. *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 5.2 (1986), 88–95.

³ D. Rathbone, 'The "Muziris" Papyrus (SB XVIII 13167): Financing Roman Trade with India'. *BSRAlex* 46 (2001), 39–50.

L. Roeten, *Chronological Developments in the Old Kingdom Tombs in the Necropoleis of Giza, Saqqara and Abusir: Toward an Economic Decline during the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom*, Archaeopress Egyptology 15, Archaeopress, Oxford 2016, xiv+144 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-460-8

Leo Roeten's monograph is dedicated to the metrical analysis of non-royal tombs built in the principal cemeteries of the Memphite necropolis – Giza, Saqqara and Abusir. He analyses the evolution of the private mortuary architecture from a diachronic perspective based on the collected metric data. Already in the introduction, R. presents the main prerequisite of the publication: during the Old Kingdom, the size of the non-royal tombs reduced gradually.

The study focuses on the most important cultic spaces of the tombs: the cult chapels, their architectural layout, decoration and their relationship to the general layout of the tomb. With this in mind, R. has created a well-established database of the individual tombs used in his discussions not only on the architectural development of tombs, but also on their dating. In a more limited manner, he has also used these conclusions for describing some of the developmental tendencies of the ancient Egyptian society of the period.

The work is divided into four major parts: Part I, the largest and also the most elaborated, is dedicated to the cemeteries in Giza. At its outset R. describes the development of the tombs and chapels of Giza necropolis in general. In the next chapters, he discusses the major aspects of tomb development he decided to use for his study: the percentage of tombs with two or more false doors built in the cult chapels, the correlations between the surface of tombs and that of cult chapels and between the width of the chapels and the length of the western walls of the chapels. R. also debates the relationship between the surface size of the tomb and the number of false doors in the chapel. The most important is the seventh chapter analysing and discussing preliminary conclusions. It also includes the author's thoughts on the chronological developments of the Giza necropolis.

Part II is devoted to the tombs in Abusir and Saqqara. R. discusses the developments in these two cemeteries via a similar approach and methods as was the case with Giza. Part III represents the conclusion of the book. Whereas Chapter 11 is dedicated to additional methods verifying the proposed tomb dates, Chapter 12 discusses the tomb development in Giza, Saqqara and Abusir. Part IV consists of a catalogue listing the metric criteria of the individual tombs under discussion.

In general, R.'s monograph is certainly not easy reading; a better organisation of the text might have helped the reader with better absorption. However, by means of numerous black-and-white photographs, illustrations, tables and graphs, R. still creates a sensible point of view. The question is whether the author was successful in his endeavour to document his basic premise (see above). To a certain extent, the answer is positive. Nevertheless, he looked at the data predominantly from a single perspective and this somewhat restricted his view. Methodologically, he follows the same statistical access to the matter as he had used in his previous study of the decoration of the cult chapels in the Old-Kingdom tombs in Giza.¹

¹ L. Roeten, *The Decoration on the Cult Chapel Walls of the Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza: A New Approach to their Interaction* (Leiden 2014).

R's conclusions thus confirm the already many-time discussed association of the shrinking of tomb size with the advancing process of overall decline of the Egyptian state during the Old Kingdom. This tendency was already mentioned by N. Kanawati in his study on the administration of the last dynasties of the Old Kingdom published in 1977.² R. is trying to demonstrate that the process had already begun at the beginning of the period, and not before its end, which is the generally accepted view in Egyptology. R.'s conclusions are possibly less stunning, especially in comparison with his relatively sophisticated access to dealing with the tombs' dimensions. Nevertheless, it is of high importance that they were documented by means of statistical methods, which is not the case of some other publications in Egyptology.

One of the main questions discussed in R.'s account is whether the size distribution of the tombs taken by the ancient Egyptians was similar to that by modern scholars. He does not discuss this question in its full complexity, however. Given that his premise is based on the size of the tombs, a section devoted to the Egyptian point of view of tomb size would have been very beneficial.

In a book so packed with data and analyses as R.'s study, it sometimes happens that some data is absent or defective. As this reviewer focuses on the excavation of minor tombs of the members of the royal family in Abusir Centre, a few comments will be given from this perspective. On p. 102, R., in connection with the double-mastaba Lepsius No. 25, states that the eastern tomb was built in a different time period from a rather small, western tomb. He argues that the discovery of several masons' inscriptions with the name of Userkaf's pyramid complex should date the construction of the eastern tomb to an earlier part of the 5th Dynasty. However, as stated in the excavation report of the tomb complex,³ the discovery of these inscriptions cannot easily be taken as a document for dating the construction to Userkaf's or Sahure's reign, but rather, especially on account of the horizontal stratigraphy, to a later period, in this case to the reign of Niuserre. This is also evidenced by the discovery of the same masons' inscriptions during the excavation of Tomb AC 31 in neighbouring Nakhtsare's cemetery. This group of tombs is securely dated by finds of sealings and pottery, and by their architectural forms to the reign of Niuserre, or somewhat later. It means that R.'s different dating of the eastern and western mastaba in Lepsius no. 25 tomb complex is not plausible. On the contrary, they were built during a short period of time, one after the other. In this perspective, it is also unfortunate that R. obviously did not use the published account on this double-tomb complex,⁴ even though he quotes on the following pages (p. 103, etc.) from that publication.

² N. Kanawati, *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom: Evidence on its Economic Decline* (Warminster 1977).

³ J. Krejčí, 'The Tomb complex Lepsius no. 25 in Abusir'. In M. Bárta *et al.* (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005* (Prague 2006), 269–70.

⁴ J. Krejčí in J. Krejčí *et al.*, *Abusir XII: Minor Tombs in the Royal Necropolis I (The Mastabas of Nebtyemneferes and Nakhtsare, Pyramid Complex Lepsius no. 24 and Tomb Complex Lepsius no. 25)* (Prague 2006), 229–32.

Despite the fact that the Initial mastaba, the first building phase of the large tomb of Vizier Ptahshepes in Abusir, is included in the catalogue and analysis, the other construction phases have not been discussed. It would very interesting to know R.'s view on the further extensions of the mastaba, which developed into a temple-like structure, including 40 spaces and covering 2376 m². It thus became one of the largest and possibly the most complex non-royal tomb of the Old Kingdom.⁵ One important tomb for our knowledge of the development of the non-royal tomb architecture is totally absent from R.'s catalogue – the tomb of the vizier's son, Ptahshepes Junior II,⁶ built in front of the magnate's tomb.

R.'s monograph is a massive piece of work on a much-discussed topic – the question of the size of the non-royal tombs, their architecture and dating from a different perspective. Using statistical analysis is a good starting point, a tool for further reflections on this matter. It does not exhaust itself, and while there are many unresolved and undecided issues, this publication adds another stone to the mosaic of our knowledge of the development of both the private tombs and the development of Egyptian society at the time of the Old Kingdom.

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Jaromir Krejčí

R. Rollinger (ed.), *Die Sicht auf die Welt zwischen Ost und West (750 v. Chr.–550 n. Chr.) / Looking at the World View, from the East and the West (750 BCE–550 CE)*, Teil A: *Der Blick auf die Welt und ihre Protagonisten (750 v. Chr.–550 n. Chr.)*; Teil B: *Herodots Blick auf die Welt – eine kartographische Projektion antiker Weltansicht*, Classica et Orientalia 12, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2017, x+231+119 pp., 2 maps in end-pocket. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10370-1/ISSN 2190-3638

The present volume is at once a collection of presentations given in June 2013 in honour of Reinhold Bichler's retirement and of maps, with guiding monograph, detailing in two dimensions Herodotus' perception of his known world. Both portions are representative of the universal nature of Bichler's inquiries into antiquity. There are two paginations: A (essays), pp. 1–231, B (maps and commentary), pp. 1–119; and pp. viii–x outline the volume contents. While all pieces are commensurate with Bichler's expectations from students and colleagues, I will comment on only a few.

Wido Sieberer (Part B) again takes up the challenge to present in two dimensions Herodotus' world, a task rendered difficult by the ancient absence of a true system of latitude and longitude (pp. 4–6). Sieberer successfully represents the whole of Herodotus' geographical data (map 1: earth; map 2: from Sicily to the Halys). He specifically eschews any comparison with our geographical realities. In Herodotus one finds a linear arrangement (such as the Royal Road, the Xerxes Advance), breadth in a two dimensional sense (triangular or quadrangular shape) and measurements given in a variety of units (*stadia*, *schoinos*). Given these vagaries, the Sieberer-Karte establishes 200 *stadia* as one day's trip or 5 mm on

⁵ J. Krejčí, *Abusir XI: The Architecture of the Ptahshepes Mastaba* (Prague 2009), 40–41, 104–88.

⁶ M. Bárta, 'The Mastaba of Ptahshepes Junior II at Abusir'. *Ägypten und Levante* 10 (2000), 45–55.

the map. Water journeys proved more problematic. Basic principles are set down on pp. 15–17; the courses of the Nile and Istros are the most noticeable orientation line (p. 33); measurements are given scantily by Herodotus for the Aegean, Greece and western Mediterranean – regions too well known to state the obvious. The accompanying commentary is clear, unburdened by the retelling of past disputes. My suggestion for Harrassowitz is to combine both maps (if possible) into one large poster offered for general sale. Such would advance the educational process further than a map of Westeros or, as I owned last century, of Middle-Earth.

Among the essays in Part A, a starting point is offered by Bruno Jacobs's discussion (pp. 143–56) of how the Achaemenids perceived their realm. The solution is not to be found in the many proposed reconciliations of Achaemenid lists of peoples with Herodotus' satrapy lists, or in assumptions made by moderns about an announced programme (*Pax Persica* or some variant), but on the Kings' own delimitation of their realm (for example p. 152): geographical extent of power, variety of resources available to them and obedience within. Extent, variety, order: are we not Kings? Josef Wiesehöfer (pp. 211–20) handles a similar problem in perception in the consideration of Xerxes' *hierosylia*. The Athenian perception, shaped by their experience in 480/79, remains the paramount view that the Achaemenids, especially Xerxes, were temple desecrators. But Herodotus' only detailed description of the abduction of a cult image (5. 82–86) assigns the deed to the Athenians. When Xerxes requests the Athenians in his company to honour the gods of Athens (8. 55), it is apparent that cult images and shrines remained extant. In the ancient Near East shrines were destroyed only once cult images were removed – no one 'lived' there. When Xerxes is tricked by Artayktes into believing the Protesilaus shrine at Elaeus was not one, the Athenian response, according to Herodotus, was a mirror image of their own assumptions about supposed Persian despotism. This treatment by Herodotus of the Athenian 'wannabe-*Weltreich*' is taken up as well in Elizabeth Irwin's detailed examination (pp. 95–141) of why Cambyses really invaded Egypt (*cf.* p. 218, n. 40 for Wiesehöfer's approval of the approach). Herodotus' reports of three *logoi* reveal a contemporary preoccupation with foreign marriage and legitimacy and his own perception of recent Athenian history in the 460–450s – a failed expansionist campaign in Egypt, then a 'citizenship law' instituted by Pericles denying the legitimacy of marriage for 'foreign' women to male Athenian citizens. All of this was to cause Herodotus' audience to have in mind the Inarus-rout and the Athenian inability to control either their own food supply ('supplemented' by an Egyptian gift) or the granting of citizenship within their own *polis* (p. 118, n. 72, Plutarch *Per.* 37. 2–5). *Die Achaimeniden halten Gericht, Athens Weltreich zerbricht.*

Julian Degen (pp. 31–80) presents a study, with a census of terms and inhabitants (pp. 34–40), of Herodotus' representation of palaces as places in which the king could seclude himself from contact with the outside world. The palaces are stages and scenery, seeming based on one perception of an ancient Near Eastern exemplar. Interesting is the suggestion that the colouration of the Deiokes-Palast may reflect a recollection of the actual colouration of older palaces (p. 63).

Two studies are more encompassing. Bichler and Rollinger (pp. 1–30) discuss the idea of two somewhat clashing views: that imperial rule was universal, but was marked by monuments littering the landscape, structures reflecting the power and accomplishments of figures real and imagined, sometimes one set of the former examining the markers of the latter

(p. 18). As more of the 'world' became known, the extent of *imperium* expanded – regardless of topographical features (p. 23). Giovanni Lanfranchi, in his treatment of competing world views in Cilicia (pp. 157–73), studies the mechanisms of cultural interaction. His statement (p. 158) that Cilicia 'represents an important example of a country, an *elite*, a population which was strongly subject to external cultures pressures for a long period' may be readily applied in the examination of other such sectors of the ancient world, for example the Upper Satrapies. Competing empires, in the Cilician case the Assyrian and Phrygian models foremost, were the producers of these influences, which the recipients could (partially) accept or reject, although the precise chronology of such is often subject to uncertainty.

Finally, two studies discuss geographical works post-Herodotus. Kai Ruffing argues that the author of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (pp. 185–95) was an educated merchant residing in the metropolitan portions of the Egyptian *chora*, well-read enough to be familiar with existing literary motifs, reflected in his writing.¹ Klauss Geus (pp. 81–93) describes the reception of Ptolemy's *Geography*, which was stripped of its dull mathematical portions, replaced instead by details about exotic animals, plants and minerals. Thus the *Chorographica* of Pappos which, along with other sources, led to the shaping of the popular 'Welt-Schau' of the Armenian Moses of Khoren. In all, a collection of studies well worth consulting.

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C.B. Rose and G. Darbyshire (eds.), *The Golden Age of King Midas: Exhibition Catalogue/Kral Midas'ın Altın Çağı: Sergi Kataloğu*. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia 2016, xx+188 pp., colour illustrations. ISBN 978-0-924171-83-3

The excavations conducted by the University of Pennsylvania at Gordion, near Ankara, Turkey, have brought to light the remains of an extensive settlement extending from the Early Bronze Age through to the Late Roman period. The site's most flourishing period came during the first half of the 1st millennium BC, when a large fortified city and a number of impressive burial tumuli, many of them filled with rich gifts, attest to the power and wealth of the Phrygians, the ethnic group that dominated Central Anatolia during that time. The Gordion excavations form the richest source of information on Phrygian history and culture, and help demonstrate the significant role that the Phrygians played in the power politics of the eastern Mediterranean during the early 1st millennium BC. Many of the most striking objects from Gordion settlement mound and burial tumuli are on public display at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara. However, Gordion and Ankara lie somewhat off the standard tourist circuit, and so the results of the Gordion excavations are not as well known as they deserve to be. Therefore the exhibition, 'The Golden Age of King Midas', on view at the University of Pennsylvania's University Museum in Philadelphia from March to November 2016, offered a special opportunity to see a selection of the some

¹ One should supplement Ruffing with the contemporaneous M.-F. Boussac *et al.* (eds.), *Autour du Périple de la mer Érythrée* (Lyons 2012).

of the finest objects produced by the Phrygians. Along with material from Gordion, the exhibit featured a cross-section of artefacts from other centres in the eastern Mediterranean, including Bayandır in Lycia, Lydian Sardis, Assyria and Greece. The exhibition reflected the ongoing collaboration between the Penn Museum and the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, along with significant contributions from the museums of Ankara, Istanbul, Antalya and Delphi. The Oriental Institute of Chicago loaned a valuable historical document, the Midas cylinder, and the exhibition included several pieces from the Penn Museum's permanent collection of ancient Near Eastern art. This catalogue was produced in conjunction with the exhibition and forms a lasting record of it. Acknowledging the important role of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Ankara Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in the Gordion excavation project, the entire volume is published with a bilingual English/Turkish text.

The first part of the volume consists of a series of ten essays that introduce the site and the burial tumuli, provide general information on Phrygian history and culture, and discuss the relationship of the Phrygians to other important states in the eastern Mediterranean. The essays are all intended to be accessible to the general visitor; thus they are clearly written and do not presume any background in the subject, but lack notes that would enable an interested reader to pursue the topics further. Brian Rose, current Director of the Gordion Project, discusses the background of the Penn excavations at Gordion and offers a history of the Gordion settlement. Special attention is given to the period of the historically attested king Midas, *ca.* 740–700 BC, which coincided with the greatest extent of Phrygian international influence. One essay explores the historical setting of Phrygia in the Iron Age, while another describes the excavation of the largest and most elaborate tumulus burial at Gordion, known as Tumulus MM (short for Midas Mound, although Midas was not buried in it). There are also discussions of some of the more noteworthy groups of objects found in the Gordion tumuli, including intricately carved wooden furniture and gold jewellery. One essay revisits the theme of Midas and his fabled golden touch and ascribes the prominence of gold in the Midas legend to the use of mineral goethite, found in the textiles in Tumulus MM. Other essays describe the use of scientific techniques in the site's exploration and problems concerning the architectural conservation of the site. Some of the essays are written by specialists in the topic, such as Elizabeth Simpson on the Gordion furniture, and Richard Liebhart on Tumulus MM, while others were written by current members of the Gordion project, including several by Penn graduate students who have worked at the site.

The remainder of the volume comprises a catalogue of the exhibition artefacts, accompanied by high-quality photographs. Pride of place is given to material from the Iron Age, 9th–6th centuries BC, the most flourishing period of Phrygian culture. The largest number of objects comes from the Gordion excavations and includes a number of well-known pieces from both burial tumuli and habitation areas. Tumulus MM, the largest and richest of the tumulus burials, is well represented. This intact burial contained one of the finest troves of archaeological artefacts ever uncovered and rightfully has a central place in the exhibition. Many of the exquisitely crafted bronze objects were displayed, including cauldrons, jugs, decorated bowls and fibulae (dress pins), along with textile fragments and a reconstruction of the head of the occupant of the tumulus. Objects found in other early tumuli, such as Tumuli W, P (a child's burial) and B, are also represented here, along with

finds from the tumuli excavated in 1900 by Gustav and Alfred Körte. Since the Körte tumuli material is now housed in Istanbul, the exhibition offered a rare opportunity to see the two groups of Gordion tumulus finds together. Finds from the early levels of the Gordion citadel are also featured, including painted pottery and a section of the intricate pebble mosaic from one of the 9th-century BC buildings. The wider reach of Phrygian culture is represented through a series of striking objects from two burial tumuli in Bayandır, near modern Elmalı, in southern Turkey, the territory of ancient Lycia; these include cauldrons and bowls, very similar in form to those from the Gordion tumuli but made of silver, along with an intriguing silver figurine that may represent a priest. The Phrygians' neighbours are also represented: there are several fine examples of jewellery and costume appliques from Lydia, intricately carved Assyrian ivory pieces from Nimrud, Iraq, a monumental alabaster relief of a winged Assyrian genius, and a few works of Persian sculpture. Phrygian contact with Greece is alluded to through images on early Greek pottery and an intriguing ivory figurine of a hero with lion; this was found in Delphi and may have been an attachment from a piece of Phrygian furniture dedicated in the Greek sanctuary. Phrygian objects from the 6th century BC and later are also present: there is a fine terracotta perfume flask in the form of a female figurine, along with gold jewellery from Tumulus A, the latest of the Gordion tumuli, and several architectural terracottas from Middle Phrygian level (6th–4th centuries BC) buildings on the Gordion citadel. One of the most enigmatic finds from this level is a series of frescoes from an underground chamber, perhaps a shrine, depicting a procession of women with elaborate head-dresses and jewellery. Gordion's continuing occupation into the Hellenistic period is represented by a marble statuette of the Phrygian Mother Goddess, the Greek Cybele, shown here in the deity's traditional Hellenic iconography. Unfortunately the detailed model of ancient Gordion and the video explaining the construction of the early tumuli, among the most informative and popular elements of the original exhibit, do not appear in the catalogue.

The volume contains a few errors that should be noted. Liebhart's essay on the burial tumuli states that Tumulus P was the grave of a young boy (p. 30), but in fact the sex of the tomb's occupant is not known. The body was badly damaged by the collapse of the tomb chamber roof and the only identifiable skeletal material consisted of five baby teeth; from these, the age of the occupant, about 4 or 5 years old, could be determined, but not the sex. The Assyrian king Sargon II corresponded with Midas, ruler of the Muški, not Midas of Phrygia (as claimed on p. 18); the ethnic name 'Phrygian' does not appear in Assyrian sources and it is not certain whether the Phrygians and the Muški were the same people. Some misleading assumptions are also perpetuated here: for example, there is no evidence from Phrygia or indeed from anywhere in western Asia to support the claim that Midas' father was named Gordios (pp. 10, 19); the name Gordios, attested only in Greek sources, is almost certainly not a genuine Phrygian name but a product of the Greek tendency to create names of eponymous founders from a city name, i.e. Gordion. The Athenians burned the Sardis temple of Kybebe (Herodotus 5. 102), not Cybele (as on p. 23). In Phrygian religious texts, Cybele is not a divine name, but one of the descriptive epithets of the Phrygian deity Matar, a different deity from Kybebe.

But apart from these points, the volume forms an excellent introduction to the current state of our knowledge of Phrygian history and cultural development, and will surely open

the eyes of many readers to the high achievements of the Phrygians in architecture and the visual arts. The curators of the exhibit and their staff, both Turkish and American, deserve our thanks for their efforts in making the exhibition possible.

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C. Schäfer (ed.), *Connecting the Ancient World: Mediterranean Shipping, Maritime Networks and their Impact*, *Pharos – Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike* 38, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2016, xi+248 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-86757-266-8/ISSN 1435-6457

‘Connectivity’ has, over the past two decades, become one of the most widely invoked characteristics of the ancient world. A generation that grew up learning how small-scale ancient societies were, now writes confidently of networks, connections and even globalisation. These terms have proved powerful heuristic tools, means of re-imagining the ancient Mediterranean in particular, but often their use has remained metaphorical.

The essays gathered in this volume, originating in a seminar series held in Trier in 2016, have a more pragmatic orientation. Julian Whitewright examines the sails and rigging of Mediterranean craft, and the circumstances in which various improvements in maritime technology were tried and adopted from the Hellenistic period to late antiquity. Schäfer’s own paper draws on experiments with reconstructed vessels to make a powerful case for the importance of the Atlantic route between southern Spain and Germany, and goes on to explore the factors influencing choices of route between that and the more laborious river routes via the Rhône and Rhine. Robert Hohlfelder discusses some of the potentials of hydraulic concrete in the Augustan age and beyond. Tyler Franconi uses dendrochronological data as a basis for assessing the likely impact of Roman period climatic change on the navigability of riverine routes in Germany. These papers contribute to a growing number of studies of the intersection of technology and economic activity in the ancient world.¹

Another group of papers examines the institutional infrastructure of connectivity. Neville Morley and Pascal Arnaud explore, in different ways, commercial systems. Arnaud explores the role cities continued to play in organising trade even under the empire. Building on the work of Alain Bresson on earlier periods, Arnaud stresses the role cities played in managing ports, ensuring security, resolving disputes, and regulating weights and measures. This very helpful paper also brings together discussion of the relations between civic authorities corpora of shippers, trade diasporas and local citizens. Morley complements this with a survey of how integration and globalization are now being deployed to produce new models of the empire’s role within and around the mercantile economy.

Perhaps the chapters that will arouse most immediate interest are two authored by Pascal Warnking whose recent research was central to the discussions held at Trier and is mentioned by other others. Warnking offers an original simulation model of long distance

¹ Notably J.P. Oleson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Engineering and Technology in the Classical World* (Oxford 2008); W.V. Harris and K. Iara (eds.), *Maritime Technology in the Ancient Economy. Ship-Design and Navigation* (Providence, RI 2011).

trade routes and also a proposed business model for long distance trade. The latter offers a persuasive account of the rational choices that led to the investment in vessels and direct routes despite the risk pooling this entailed relative to cabotage and other short-haul shipping in smaller vessels. The simulation model, based on his recent thesis,² employs modern data on wind, weather and seasonal variation to infer best routes between major centres. The project offers an alternative and response to the conclusions derived from the ORBIS project set up by Walter Scheidel at Stanford. All papers are published in English and the book is generously illustrated.

Schäfer and his collaborations do not offer a new paradigm of connectivity. What they do offer is arguably more valuable, demonstrating how much more precise our notions of connectivity may be made, and how many resources there are to put flesh on the theoretical bones. Along the way they offer a range of re-evaluations, especially of shipping routes. All those interested in progressing the debate over the workings and practicalities of Roman economic life are in their debt.

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E. Schaub, *Geschichte des römischen Ägypten: Von der Eroberung unter Octavian / Augustus bis zu Diocletian*, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2017, 244 pp., 2 maps. Cased. ISBN 978-3-86757-014-5

E. Schaub, *Studien zur Lebenssituation der Bevölkerung Ägyptens als Ursache der Revolten unter römischer Herrschaft, 30 v. Chr. bis 300 n. Chr.*, Pharos – Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike 31, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2014, 297 pp., 1 map. Cased. ISBN 978-3-86757-259-0/ISSN 1435-6457

Those competent in English have benefited recently by the publication of C. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford 2012).¹ But for the study of Roman Egypt, and antiquity in general, to advance on an international level it is necessary to acquire mastery of those languages traditionally used in modern scholarship, i.e. German, French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. One would expect introductory works in these languages to be written with a degree of clarity, highlighting the nature of the source material, the difficulties in reconstructing a narrative and resolving source problems, and presenting an apparatus which permits further investigation. The two works by Erhard Schaub reviewed here, in spite of their flaws, represent workable introductions to the study of aspects of Roman Egypt.

The more recent work (2016) is a political history of Egypt under Roman rule, here defined by S. as ending with the reign of Diocletian (pp. 12–13). As such there are no special chapters on the economy, religious life or ethnic composition, such topics placed under the *res gestae* of the emperor and his chief representative, the equestrian *Praefectus*. The

² P. Warnking, *Die Römische Seehandel in Seiner Blütezeit. Rahmenbedingungen, Seewege, Wirtschaftlichkeit* (Rahden 2015).

¹ Reviewed in *AWE* 15 (2016), 461–64.

introductory first chapter (pp. 15–42) begins outlining the major literary and non-literary, documentary, sources, these latter sometime permitting a snapshot record of a region extending through time. Here it would have been proper to provide a list which would permit the reader to map clearly the abbreviations used in the footnotes to fully expanded academic references. Geography is discussed next: the importance of the Elephantine Island Nilometer, the enumeration of flooding and growing seasons, the Fayum as a region suitable for intensive agriculture. Egypt was a land of few cities in the Roman sense; the limited urban structure left few opportunities to expand citizenship within Egypt proper, although it is possible through decrees to trace the expansion of private property. The land, primarily protected by desert tracts, was one in which stationed legions had as their chief responsibility protecting Alexandria and its environs. Lest a false Ptolemy or unruly senator arise, Augustus placed the province under an equestrian prefect.

The second chapter (pp. 43–98), the ‘long’ 1st century AD, discusses Roman rule through the era of the Flavians. For Augustus, internal order and the provision of grain to Rome were left to his prefect; the ordinary population (the oft-used *Fellachen* belongs after the Hejira) would experience more continuity than change, S. accepting Monson’s suggestion that there was an increased incentive for productivity based on tax changes (p. 49). The specifics of the Augustan prefects’ activities were sometimes a source of speculation based on preserved data (i.e. overstepping authority?). Petronius’ approved declaration that temple land become state property restricted priestly power and status. (Here a glossary of technical terms would be most useful.) The reign of Tiberius introduces the problem of how the emperor transmitted power, here the case of Germanicus, who issued a decree advising against unreasonable military requisitions from the countryside (one in a train of later prefects’ warnings). The reigns of Gaius and Claudius was marked by the Alexandrian dystopia, and S.’s *volkisch* perception (pp. 64–67) is unhelpful. Claudius’ response to all was proper: ‘know your place’. Every contending party contained the ‘usual suspects’.² Whether economic problems accompanied the time of Claudius and Nero remains undetermined.³ The prefect in the latter part of Nero’s reign, after an episode of the dystopia (with massacre?), was more successful in limiting endless legal disputes, swore allegiance to Vespasian, now in Egypt, and left the next dystopia to his successor. During the time of Domitian the prefect M. Mettius Rufus undertook a reorganisation of the property registers. Although improper to speak of Egypt as under Roman *Vormundschaft* (so S. pp. 42, 84) since 168 BC, it appears that as a province Egypt remained stable though the time of the Flavians. I view the corrections in land/property registers as normal administrative tasks; urban disturbances are recorded by sources anxious to argue a certain viewpoint, if

² It is unfortunate that in neither of his works does Schaub make reference to H. Musurillo (ed.), *Acta Alexandrinorum* (Leipzig 1961), an examination of which displays the shattered content and diverse find-spots for these documents. For an introduction to these *Acta*, see J. Climaco, *Acta Alexandrinorum. Novas Edicoes Academica* (Saarbrücken 2013). A new edition of the *Acta* is promised by C. Rodriguez at u-paris2.academia.edu/ChrisRodriguez. For now, see A. Harker, *Loyalty and Dissidence in Roman Egypt: The Case of the Acta Alexandrinorum* (Cambridge 2011).

³ For the decree from the time of Nero and prefect Babillus, see H. Heinen, ‘Ägypten im Römischen Reich. Beobachtungen zum Thema Akkulturation und Identität’. In S. Pfeiffer (ed.), *Ägypten unter fremden Herrschern zwischen persischer Satrapie und römischer Provinz* (Frankfurt 2007), 186–207.

not provide a dystopic narration of Roman rule, a narration which should be examined with greater circumspection and more detailed analysis.

In Chapter 3 (pp. 99–128), the years AD 98–192, for which literary sources diminish in quality, disorder, real or imaginatively reconstructed, political, more than economic (pp. 120–21), is more prominent. The prefect C. Viribius Maximus, with questionable efficiency, took steps to ameliorate the economy. The Jewish revolt under Trajan, uncertain in specific cause and marked by an apparent phase of Polybian *daimonoblabeia*, defies sufficient explanation, save for S.'s reliance on 'die andauernden Auseinandersetzungen' (p. 105) between 'ethnic' groups. Repeated disorder in the 120s, ended by Hadrian's letter, is similarly obscure, although not immune to attempted modern interpretation (pp. 107–10). Here S. does well in assessing the explanations for this and other disorders (pp. 111–15). The period ends with the true *baccili*, the Antonine plague (lasting sporadically into the 190s), an increase in rural banditry – to the point it was worthy of record, and the mistaken support of the prefect for a rebel spreading the lie of Marcus Aurelius' sudden death. S. is perhaps too optimistic in judging the pleasure Rome derived from the 'weitgehende Ausrottung' (p. 121) of the Jews, which broke, for all time, their influence in the province of Egypt (p. 105).

The time of the Severi (AD 193–235, pp. 129–57), the subject of Chapter 4, was a period of 'Ungeheuerlichkeit' for traditional Roman feelings (p. 129). Under Septimius Severus (pp. 130–36) the *aurum coronarium* was extended in application, local councils introduced and the tax burden began to damage the countryside. A special collection of provisions for field armies in Egypt, one which the state was to repay, the *annona militaris*, was levied until AD 235. Caracalla's reign, which included the extension of Roman citizenship to all free imperial inhabitants, attracted more attention from his visit to Alexandria, which was accompanied by putative massacres (pp. 137–44) and then a document from March 216 – three months later – praising the emperor and his family. Here a more orderly enumeration of the sparse pieces of evidence would have highlighted the frequently defective narratives upon which investigators must rely. In general, the period is stable. One should not over emphasise policing activities or fragmentary hints of threats.

The final historical chapter (pp. 159–90) covers the period of disorderly Roman central authority extending into Diocletian's time. Philippus Arabus' reforms met with uncertain success. A decade later the prefect L. Mussius Aemilianus, emboldened by the now traditional Roman inability to best the Sasanians, seized a short-lived power in Egypt, the details uncertain. The ability of Palmyrene forces to project their power into Egypt and the ensuing disorder, combined with a loss in trust in Roman currency and intrusions from the south, led to a series of rebellions under Diocletian. Here, too, the extent of the disorder is uncertain (Koptos and Busiris were involved, AD 293/4), but it was exacerbated by the 'Grosse Aufstand' of Domitianus and Aurelius Achilleus (spring 297–spring 298), the cause for which S. delineates (p. 182). Diocletian overcame the latter at Alexandria, ending this latest dystopia. I can accept that currency problems would have eaten way at confidence in any central authority, but remain unconvinced that the 'Aufstand' was great, save in the nebulous dreams within the palace of Sasanian Narses (pp. 178–82). A 'Schicksalsgestalt Ägyptens' (p. 184) other than Zenobia should be defined if evidence eventually permits.

Chapters 6 (pp. 191–208) and 7 (pp. 209–10) offer a summation of S.'s work. Rather than speculation on the feelings of 'Volksgemeinschaft' among the ordinary Egyptians

(p. 196), more useful would have been a consideration of how effectively Roman authorities could project their power on a local level, a more detailed treatment of the realities of the Egyptian landscape, apart from the Alexandrian dystopia, and detailed examination of the nature of the source material and why so many items remain indeterminate. In sum, as an introduction S. is useful and permits the student to identify which facets of Roman Egypt require more detailed inquiry.

S.'s earlier work (2014) is less successful in its stated aim; Dominic Rathbone, long-experienced in Roman Egypt, has already commented elsewhere on its major flaws.⁴ My dissatisfaction with S. lies in the work's organisation and source analysis. S. has set out to study a disease – or group of diseases as yet untwined. In so doing he should consider all the symptoms, i.e. not remove from consideration lesser manifestations (pp. 16–17). In addition to enumerating the symptoms, it is necessary to consider the context and the surviving physical state of the reporting evidence. Greater effort should have been expended in examining the evidence's accuracy (formulaic, too removed from time of events, physically fragmentary and possibly undatable). Then one may begin to make suggestions as to the possible nature of the sickness and its causes. S. offers two summaries of his work (pp. 214–21, 223–250) and rules out a 'national' uprising, in spite of the events of AD 297/8. Now if ethnic tensions played a part, how did the different groups know whom to attack? After 300 years of Ptolemaic rule, how does one define 'Graeco-Ägypter', and how then after a century or more of Roman rule? (pp. 235–38). Why does the removal of the Alexandrian *boule* remain a point of contention for centuries? (pp. 142–44 and 248). S.'s use of phrases (p. 147) such as 'dem von den griechischen Aktivisten aufgestachelten Poebel die Bahn frei für den Pogrom', spanning the 19th to 21st centuries in use, adds no clarity. S. is correct in positing multiple causes for the disease, but further study is needed.

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J. Scheid, *The Gods, the State, and the Individual: Reflections on Civic Religion in Rome*, transl. and with a foreword by C. Ando, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2016, xxiii+175 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-8122-4766-4

This trenchant manifesto in defence of the model of 'civic religion' in a Roman context ought not to have an easy future. Originally published as *Les Dieux, l'État et l'individu: Réflexions sur la religion civique à Rome* in 2013, the translator – Clifford Ando, no less – has done the field a service. But the effect should be to encourage scrutiny of the position to which John Scheid adheres, and the manner in which he does so.

To the present reviewer, who has no vested interest in the matter, S.'s sense of audience is puzzling. Seeking in his Introduction (pp. 1–4) to delineate his intellectual opposition, S. refers in part to 'the influence of British liberal thought, which tends to reduce all events to the free choice of individuals while denying any deterministic role to the social or institutional frameworks within which those choices are made' (p. 1). This is crudely put. Again, if Anglophone critique of the model of civic religion is chiefly 'an avatar of

⁴ See <http://www.sehepunkte.de/2016/11/26364.html> (extant as of 17 July 2017).

deconstructionism' (pp. 1–2, quoting 2) then why have alternative, positive approaches based on empirical research emerged? In S.'s view, to be a deconstructionist 'allows one to appear progressive and brilliant at very little cost. One deconstructs modes of analysis or the models of a science for the beauty of the gesture itself, and on this basis critiques this or that argument for its supposed ties to this or that ideology. ... It's a fun game' (p. 2). But as a description of the intellectual motives and procedures of those serious historians who have sought to place 'civic religion' in a wider context, this is manifestly unfair.

After this opening salvo, S. embarks on 11 lean chapters in which he sets out to right an array of wrongs. He is of course quite right to show respect for 'the religious alterity of the ancients' (p. 5, with 'alterity' *passim*). He is also importantly correct to emphasise that a city must be seen in conjunction with its territory – the two together forming the *civitas* (pp. 30–31).

Overall, however, S.'s construction of argument is counter-productive because it is overly rhetorical and excessively vituperative. The straw man fallacy takes on a significant role: 'The strange neglect of the term (and concept) of *civitas* and also of the Romans [that is, Roman civic religion as distinct from Greek *polis*-religion] is due to the fact that, according to conventional representation, the *polis* was dead by the third century BCE' (p. 11). Yet no such 'conventional representation' now shapes the field. The continuity of the *polis* was long ago charted by A.H.M. Jones in two major works of lasting influence,¹ while a rich body of up-to-date work exists on urban life and institutions, and urban-rural relations, across the Roman world. S.'s named targets are aware of this, yet this particular straw man is still a favourite. For example: at p. 23, 'we find once again the old theory of the decadence of the ancient city after Chaeronea'; at p. 29 we have 'the disappearance of city-states and the erasure of local customs and institutions, another myth of modern historiography'; at p. 110 'theories of civic decline'; and at p. 137 'the fact that the totality of the criticisms directed at civic religion are ultimately dependent upon a hoary theory of the rapid and final decline that struck the world of the city-states'. This type of critique is seriously misconceived.

Various interlocutors – hypothetical; or real but nameless; or identified (most often but not exclusively Stefan Krauter) – receive a drubbing for their alleged faults. A selective list includes 'methodological madness' (p. 21); being 'ridiculous' (pp. 22, 66); having 'only a very vague idea of what an ancient city-state was' (p. 23); being 'absurd' (pp. 29, 49, 61, 62, 72, 93 twice); creating a 'modern historiographical myth' (p. 34); echoing an 'antirevolutionary bourgeois ideology' (p. 43); being 'ideologically committed' (p. 50); indulging 'sectarian bias' (p. 55; *cf.* 'bias' at 91); revealing 'a certain ignorance' (p. 67); being 'antiquated' (p. 72); showing 'banality' (p. 82); being 'nonsensical' (p. 82); 'denying altogether' what is 'clearly attested by the sources' (p. 84); showing 'superficiality' (p. 85); playing 'games' (p. 89; *cf.* 'playing with the sources' at p. 93); giving 'evidence of a certain religious bad faith, so overdetermined as regards the conclusions one might reach as to disallow further scientific conversation' (p. 91); promoting 'a denial of historical method' (p. 93); 'the operation of sophistry' (p. 94); 'the twisting of the evidence' (p. 94); or showing 'prejudice' (p. 112). I exclude appearances merely of 'error', 'misunderstanding' and 'contradiction', or their

¹ *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford 1937); *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford 1940).

plurals. Nor shall I enumerate occasions when 'denounce' appears to suggest a noble duty. Suffice to say that S. (if one takes him at his word) has made a variety of serious academic allegations in a book that is too slim and too allusive to provide the requisite evidence.

S. has done fundamental work on the Arval Brethren. There are engaging pages when he draws on that expertise to discuss sacrifices (pp. 69–72) and public prayers (pp. 72–80). He is relatively serene on 'Religious Repression' (pp. 96–104) – where he disagrees with the admired figure of Georg Wissowa and is more circumspect about Krauter, who is in some degree closer to Wissowa's position here. (Note also that Krauter is, briefly, 'right to denounce hasty conclusions', at p. 90.) In general, the last third of the main text (ending at p. 141) is more productive than the first two-thirds.

Alas, these are slim pickings. The overarching positive case is familiar. In S.'s view, 'the notion of religiosity ... refers to the subjective dimension of Christian religious experience, marked by interiorization' (p. 16); 'this Lutheran or post-Tridentine conception of faith', whose relevance even to the Middle Ages he therefore doubts, 'does not work' for 'non-Christian antiquity' (p. 18); and for Romans, 'religion was the acts carried out in a given social context in order to express, as regards the divine partners in their community, courtesies indispensable for sustaining dialogue with them' (p. 49). S.'s implication that interiorisation might be a product of the 16th century verges on extreme: certainly there is no care here for the *Confessions* of St Augustine. But as regards interpretation of ritual and 'Christianising assumptions', the influential methodological statement by the late Simon Price,² is oddly unsung in S.'s book. Against that background, S.'s most innovative contribution, in the later pages of the present volume, is perhaps Chapter 9, 'Emotion and Belief' (pp. 113–24). Here is something promising, which goes beyond Price's discussion at one its weakest points, by finding a fresh place for emotion and belief in a ritual context.

In his valuable 'Translator's Foreword' (pp. xi–xvii) Ando describes this book as 'impassioned' (p. xi). One might say 'rude' or 'supercilious'. It would have been more rewarding had the author spent less energy heaping opprobrium on others and done more to advance an uncluttered view of ancient thought, belief, emotion and narrative in relation to ritual acts.

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J.M. Schlude and B.B. Rubin (eds.), *Arsacids, Romans, and Local Elites: Cross-Cultural Interactions of the Parthian Empire*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2017, xvi+158 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-178570-592-2

Iranian Studies' recent renaissance has already elicited two anthologies on border kingdoms between the Roman and Parthian empires. The present volume, a product of panels at the annual meetings of the American Schools of Oriental Research 2012–14, adds a third.¹

² S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1984), 7–15.

¹ T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds.), *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East* (Stuttgart 2010); cf. J. Aliquot, *Syria* 91 (2014), 493–96; and the more stimulating E. Baltrush and J. Wilker (eds.), *Amici – socii – clientes? Abhängige Herrschaft im Imperium Romanum* (Berlin 2015).

Here the emphasis lies with ‘intercultural communications’, jargon for coin types, hostages, war, diplomatic embassies, slippery local rulers and art. A Judaeon/Josephus orientation can be discerned – not surprising, as the editors are co-directors of the Omrit excavations (Israel), an Herodian site, with which J.A. Overman, another contributor, has also been active. Yet the promise of high-quality papers from scholarly meetings soon disappoints. A better example of the futility of the current proliferation of anthologies would be difficult to find. The contributors, largely young scholars in the guise of ‘Parthian experts’, remarkably offer unconvincing speculations, exaggerated claims, rehearsals of the known, bibliographical myopia and numerous factual errors. Even the correct numbers for homonymous Parthian kings are unknown.² Only the clear illustrations of coin types can be lauded.

In probably the volume’s best paper, Jeffrey Lerner (pp. 1–24) seeks to explain change on the reverse of Parthian drachmas between Arsaces I (ca. 247–217 BC) and Mithradates I (ca. 171–138 BC): the stool (*diphros*) of a nomadic archer later becomes an *omphalos*. An archer on a *diphros* recalls a reverse type on staters of the Achaemenid satrap Datames (386–362 BC) and the archer, identified as Ārash, a famous archer and Parthian ancestor in the late Zoroastrian tradition, could be assimilated under the Seleucids with Apollo and Mithra. The *omphalos*, Apollo’s universal symbol, alludes to Mithradates I’s eastern conquests in western Bactria, Areia and Margiana. Hence a reverse type with Achaemenid roots became culturally ambiguous for Greeks and Iranians. Although speculative, as such numismatic arguments often are – and the identification of Ārash cannot be conclusively proved – the paper exploits a methodology common among some Iranianists that elements of the fully developed Zoroastrian tradition found in mediaeval Persian and Arabic sources circulated among the early Parthians.

Four papers treating aspects of Roman-Parthians relations between Mark Antony and Nero form the bulk of the volume. Jake Nabel (pp. 25–50) examines ‘lessons’ that both Romans and Parthians learned from experiences with Seleucid hostages. Kenneth Jones (pp. 51–63) pleads both that Antony’s campaign in Media Atropatene (36 BC) was a success obscured in Octavian’s Actium propaganda and that Antony’s aims foreshadowed those of Augustus. Schlude and Rubin (pp. 65–91) find a mechanism for peace and cultural exchange in diplomatic embassies and gifts, such as Phraates IV’s four sons entrusted to Augustus and the Italian slave girl Musa sent to the same Phraates. Schlude and Overman (pp. 93–110) posit Herod’s ‘playing’ both Parthians and Rome in his rise to power besides his major role in the return of the *signa* (20 BC).

Some dubious views recur in this section, such as a naive belief in Roman-Parthian treaties (pp. 55, 68, 99), when no real *foedera* can be proved, and attempts to expand the agreement of 20 BC to include Augustus’ naming kings in Armenia and Media Atropatene, Phraates IV’s dispatch of his four sons and Augustus’ gift of Musa (pp. 36, 60, 69). But Tiberius’ installation of Tigranes III on the Armenian throne *at the Armenians’* request was not part of the Parthian agreement, which traded the *signa* for Augustus’ recognition of Phraates’ legitimacy against the pretender Tiridates. Ariobarzanes I/II’s appointment to

² Read Artabanus IV, not V (p. 28), Artabanus II, not III (pp. 104, n. 52, 105), Artabanus IV, not V, and Vologaes VI, not V (p. 128).

Atropatene (*RGDA* 33) may belong to 10 BC. Musa's dispatch is undateable, but could be in 23 BC.³

Nabel's discussion of hostages (a dissertation chapter?) hardly breaks new ground, omits significant bibliography and invites a more detailed critique not possible here.⁴ Phraates IV's sons, *pignora amicitiae*, were not 'hostages' in a legal sense and may reflect the Near Eastern (and especially Iranian) practice of foster-fatherage, although undoubtedly a domestic political motive also intervened. Similarly, Jones on Antony's Atropatenean campaign, after a useful brief update on Q. Dellius, the *Urquelle* of Strabo and Plutarch, is otherwise too simplistic, ignores non-Anglophone scholarship and retraces paths (as he concedes: p. 60, n. 2) laid in a 1979 paper, where a broader strategic perspective is appreciated.⁵ More could be said, but not here. Schlude and Rubin's fluffy emphasis on theatrical aspects of Roman-Parthian relations scarcely advances the known. Their uncritical acceptance of Josephus' account of Musa ignores the more rigorous treatment of Bigwood, who demonstrated the proper understanding of Musa as a *basilissa* and the absence of real proof that Phraates V married his mother Musa. Josephus reports a rumour.⁶ Schlude and Rubin's conversion of Musa into an expert in numismatic propaganda is hardly convincing. Even more wild speculation follows in Schlude and Overman's treatment of Herod's rise to power and their self-delusional fantasy about Herod's role in the Parthian agreement of 20 BC. A brief review precludes exposition of the conjectures and special pleadings. If excavators often tend to exaggerate the significance their sites, the attempt here to connect Herod's temple at Omrit with a major role for the Judean king in the events of 20 BC without the slightest trace of literary or epigraphical evidence grossly surpasses the norm.

The volume's quality does not substantially improve in the final two papers. Peter Edwell's survey of Osroene and northern Mesopotamia from Trajan to Severus Alexander (pp. 111–35) is an incredible disappointment. Neither are major problems addressed nor is the pertinent bibliography cited. The numerous incorrect dates and factual errors cannot be

³ On the illusion of numerous Parthian treaties and the agreement of 20 BC, see E. Wheeler, 'Roman Treaties with Parthia: *Völkerrecht* or Power Politics?'. In P. Freeman *et al.* (eds.), *Limes XVIII*, vol. 1 (Oxford 2002), 287–92; the date of the dispatch of Phraates' sons is tied to the Syrian governorship of M. Titius beginning in 11 or 10 BC; Suetonius (*Aug.* 21. 3; *cf. Tib.* 9. 1) is erroneous; on Musa, see J. Bigwood, 'Queen Mousa, Mother and Wife (?) of King Phraatakes of Parthia: A Re-evaluation of the Evidence'. *Mouseion* ser. 3, 4.1 (2004), 39–40.

⁴ J. Allen, *Hostages and Hostage-Taking in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge 2006) (*cf.* E. Wheeler, *BMCR*, 2007.02.04), cited at p. 41, n.26, is omitted in the bibliography; unknown: C. Ricci, 'Principes et reges externi (e loro schiavi e liberti) a Roma e in Italia: Testimonianze epigrafiche di età imperiale'. *RendLinc* ser. 9, 7.3 (1996), 561–92; for a fresh look at Parthian and other trans-Euphrates hostages at Rome, see E. Wheeler, 'Parthian *Auxilia* in the Roman Army, Part I: From the Late Republic to c. 70 A.D.'. In C. Wolff and P. Faure (eds.), *Les auxiliaires de l'armée romaine. Des alliés aux fédérés* (Lyons 2016), 193–98.

⁵ A. Schieber, 'Antony and Parthia'. *Rivista Storica dell'Antichità* 9 (1979), 105–24; unknown: for example, H. Buchheim, *Die Orientpolitik des Triumvirn M. Antonius* (Heidelberg 1960); H. Bengtson, *Zum Partherfeldzug des Antonius*, *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte*, vol. 1 (Munich 1974); G. Traina, *Marco Antonio* (Rome 2003).

⁶ See Bigwood (as in n. 3) 40, 43–44.

listed in a short review. An argument that civic coinage at major cities began with L. Verus' Parthian war overlooks that the Seleucid Antiochus IV struck bronze coins at both Edessa and Nisibis. Finally, appended to a lament on ISIS's destruction at Hatra, Björn Anderson (pp. 137–58) addresses the vexed question of Parthian art. He re-asserts views that Hatra should be understood as a *Parthian* city (not an independent, indigenous site) and that the amalgamations of different traditions in its art reflect conscious choices. Readers are mercifully spared a conclusion from the editors.

As the torch is being passed to a new generation of scholars, this volume gives ample cause for concern. The paucity of sources for Roman-Parthian relations demands greater rigour and caution in interpretation rather than opening the floodgates to speculation and exaggeration. Except for Lerner's paper, few of these essays would pass muster for publication in a refereed scholarly journal, but the same could be said about other recent anthologies. Some of the 'Parthian experts' in this tome will reappear in a forthcoming *Companion to Rome and Persia*. Should that one be awaited with anticipation or dread?

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J. Schneider, *Ländliche Siedlungsstrukturen im römischen Spanien: Das Becken von Vera und das Camp de Tarragona – zwei Mikroregionen im Vergleich*, Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 22, Archaeopress, Oxford 2017, vi+214 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-554-4

Jan Schneider presents a comparative analysis of settlements dynamics in two micro-regions of the southern coast of Roman Spain (the basin of the River Vera and the hinterland of the city of Tarragona/Tarraco) during an extensive timespan stretching from the 3rd century BC to the 5th century AD (and partially to the 7th century AD). It is a revised from a dissertation and largely follows the structure of the original. The text is clear and synoptic, but it also features unnecessarily repetitive or simply redundant information, an outcome of insufficient restructuring of the primary work.

The introduction offers an overview of the development of landscape and settlement archaeology. At first this seems to be a general description but S.'s actual focus is solely the Iberian Peninsula. This part is, therefore, rather confusing and without a foreknowledge of the subject largely misleading.

The methodology is well defined and offers an insight into a number of the common problems that appear during analyses of datasets arising from different regions and from diverse surveys. S. points out in particular the difficulties emerging when assessing chronology and types of settlements and offers some elegant solutions. Concerning chronology, S. converts all the descriptive labels of periods into numbers, allowing a comprehensive comparison of durations of occupations. Furthermore, he unifies the categories of settlements, redefining their types using uniform criteria. Status is determined based on the appearance of specific finds in each assemblage (represented by *dolia*, *tegulae*, *opus signinum*, mosaics, sculptures and fragments of columns). Functionality, where available, is also specified pursuant to the finds: agriculture (*dolia*, oil presses, silos, mills); ceramic production (pottery kilns, ceramic forms); metalworking (smelting furnaces, slags); production of garum (stone basins for garum); stone quarry (traces of quarrying).

A separate chapter presents the basic characteristics of the regions examined, including an overview of the state of research, their geographical settings, climate, vegetation and livestock, and an historical background.

Results of the analyses are provided in a single rather complex chapter which forms the main body of the study. All the vital parameters are examined and presented for each of the regions separately, followed by a comparative analysis of pertinent outcomes. The individual parameters of each settlement include: chronology (the development of habitation is presented in ten periods within broad timespans between the 2nd century BC and the 7th century AD); extent (in hectares); duration of habitation; subsoils (suitability for habitation); soils (suitability for agriculture); elevation (in metres above the sea level); size in relation to elevation; directions of winds and degrees of slopes (where applicable). Aspects of the traffic and economy in general are also analysed. The availability of traffic is represented by the distance of settlements from three features; main roads, navigable rivers and the coast. Economic aspects include distances from deposits of metals, stone quarries, pottery kilns and cities. Soils are examined within radii of 500 m around each settlement, showing the amount of soil potentially usable for the cultivations of grains, olives and vine. For a better overview, the author summarises the results in the final sub-chapter, this time presenting all the outcomes divided by period, allowing for a direct comparison of both territories.

In order to extend the study and test the universal applicability of the methodology, the last analytical chapter briefly examines the region of Upper Almanzora. It lists results of the analyses and essays a comparative study of the development of settlements in all the three regions. Although Upper Almanzora has a considerably lower strategic position, the settlements follow the same vector of development as in the other two regions.

In the conclusion, provided in German as well as English, S. not only sums up the principal results, he also points out three pre-conditions necessary for successful comparative analysis, as performed in the monograph: the areas should be geographically delimited and relatively closed; settlement dynamics can be followed only if the duration of habitation is long enough; and, finally, a large part of the area needs to be surveyed in order to provide a solid base of data.

The study is accompanied by numerous maps, tables and diagrams, inserted directly into the text. I would like to commend the quality of the maps: colourful, well arranged, provided with clear legends and omitting unnecessary data. In particular, the use of contour lines for rendering the terrain was a fine choice, contributing significantly to the clarity of the final output. The charts are in diverse forms, always chosen to fit the particular case, including histograms, line graphs, box plots and pie charts.

The book contains elaborate addenda. The regions are presented on three large colourful maps (one region on two A4 formats). In this case, the elevation model is visualised through a colour range, offering a more traditional view of the areas. The maps depict all the settlements, numbered according to the system used in the following catalogue of find-spots. The catalogue is well structured and it includes the type of the record, its name, precise geographical position (coordinates), elevation, chronology and source of data. The next addendum presents a synoptic catalogue of the dated pottery and its forms. Noteworthy are the next two, supporting the economic analysis in the study: a catalogue of Roman streets and deposits of metals. The last two include statistical tests (enabling us to follow the applied methodology) and an overview of chronological time-spans of the settlements.

M. Simonton, *Classical Greek Oligarchy: A Political History*, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2017, xviii+355 pp., 1 map. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-17497-6

This engaging monograph provides thoughtful and persuasive treatment of oligarchic government in the Greek world *ca.* 500–300 BC. The topic has been much neglected,¹ but it constitutes a significant aspect of Classical Greece and possesses especial relevance to the current crisis of democratic governments. Looking in depth at this subject and deploying a wide range of epigraphic and literary texts, Matthew Simonton offers readers the missing ‘other half’ of the image of democratic Athens that is so often the focus of modern studies. This is a carefully written and cogently argued corrective to the standard view.

This monograph is divided into six chapters that proceed systematically from the definition of the problem to be examined to abstract analysis of the historical data that can be recovered for the operation of oligarchic governments in the Classical period. Chapter 1 (‘Problem, Background, Method’, pp. 1–74) sets the stage with a thorough discussion of the object of study, its context and the approach to be employed here. Far longer than any of the following chapters, this introductory chapter elegantly unites analysis of ancient political theory with modern historiographical debates and New Institutionalism. Chapter 2 (‘Oligarchic Power-Sharing’, pp. 75–106) examines the ways in which a city’s oligarchy kept its own members in check and shared power amongst themselves. Communal involvement in an individual’s punishment, for instance, might help to keep impersonal what could otherwise become a violent, uncontrollable exercise of force and counter-force (p. 101, for example). Chapter 3 (‘Balancing Coercion and Co-optation’, pp. 107–47) looks at how the oligarchs kept the *demos* in line by use of violence (such as extralegal violence or clandestine killing) and offering possible avenues of advancement for a select few (for example, whip-bearers in Athens under the Thirty) as well as complicity in the crimes of the regime (for instance informers). Chapter 4 (‘The Politics of Public Space’, pp. 148–85) investigates the ways in which oligarchies asserted control over civic spaces. For instance, the mob was commonly excluded from the city (*polis* or *astu*) and relegated to the countryside, and clientelistic organisation might serve to keep close control over the behaviour of the masses. Chapter 5 (‘The Manipulation of Information’, pp. 186–223) examines the means whereby oligarchies formed public opinion (choral performances, public banquets, the destruction of potentially subversive monuments or symbols). Chapter 6 (‘Processes of Regime Breakdown’, pp. 224–73) offers by way of conclusion a comparative historical analysis of the causes for the fall of oligarchies and the circumstances (for example, festivals, military assemblies and *stasis*) in which such an event might be expected to occur. Appropriately enough, the Afterword (‘The Eclipse of *Oligarchia*’, pp. 275–86) discusses the statistics for oligarchic governments over time and highlights the intriguing fact of a gradual, discernible increase in the number of democracies. Only the coming of Rome would enable a modified version of oligarchy to become prevalent once again.

S. provides readers with a bracing, rigorous application of contemporary methodology to the ancient evidence, providing a compelling interpretation of evidence that has often languished in neglect or misunderstanding despite its significance for a proper understanding of Classical Greece. Game theory and other conceptual instruments have been taken from the Political Sciences and applied with sensitivity and insight. To cite the most

¹ The last monographic treatment was L. Whibley, *Greek Oligarchies, their Characteristics and Organisation* (London 1896).

significant, the concept of the 'Prisoner's Dilemma' (pp. 66–68, fig. 1) is based on the work Olson and Hardin,² and that of the 'Stag Hunt' (pp. 255–60, fig. 2) is based on the work of Skyrms.³ The first helps to explain why the masses consistently (but not forever) fail to revolt against the oligarchs, whereas the second offers an explanation for why oligarchs eventually tend to break ranks. Informing the application of these models to the historical evidence are certain basic concepts: 'methodological individualism', 'common knowledge', 'coordination' and 'collective action'. Finally, in making sense of the whole, S. situates himself within the school (or scholarly approach) that may properly be designated as the New Institutionalism and that variety which is labelled Historical Institutionalism (p. 69). Analysis of individual behaviour *vis-à-vis* institutions through attention to structures such as power asymmetries enables the ancient historian to explain the paradox that oligarchic regimes in Classical Greece enjoyed relative stability despite the fact that the sources normally depict them as being decidedly unpopular.

One of the pleasures of this book is the fact that S. manages to offer radically new and highly persuasive readings of well-known texts, in addition to offering to readers a wide *gamma* of texts (mainly epigraphic) that have been consistently overlooked in modern discussions. For instance, S. (pp. 29–32) provides an attractive and plausible re-reading of the so-called 'Constitutional Debate' (Herodotus 3. 81). The problems of this literary text that purports to relate what was debated by three leaders of the palace coup in Persia in 522 BC are well known, as is the fact that this text offers students a convenient introduction to the political theory of Classical Greece. Less known is the fact that this text is the oldest witness to the use of the term *oligarchia*. Arguing that Herodotus is retrojecting to the 6th century a debate that was current in the latter half of the 5th century, S. goes on to highlight the fact the conspirator Megabyzus does not describe oligarchy as a traditional form of government. That is a false note, which has not hitherto been appreciated. Rather than being the normal state preceding the establishment of democracy, as is normally asserted, oligarchy was in fact a dialectical response to democracy. This reading of the evidence in the manner of Bourdieu's series of *doxa*, heterodoxy and orthodoxy (i.e. behaviour, a revolutionary break with past behaviour, and a counter-revolutionary attempt to restore the past) is brilliant and highly persuasive.

Statistics are always, at least theoretically, welcome and useful. Those presented in the Appendix (pp. 287–90) build upon the Copenhagen Polis Centre's *Inventory*⁴ and conveniently provide readers with a synthetic listing and analysis of those oligarchies attested for the period 500–300 BC. The attempt to list oligarchies and indicate their temporal progression is highly significant and useful. It also, paradoxically, highlights just how much work with the statistics remains to be done. Perhaps a few questions can illustrate this. What do we not know about the constitutional arrangements of *poleis* in this period? Like the captain of a frigate navigating the by-ways of the northern Atlantic and seeking not to run afoul of glaciers, the ancient historian must have a sense not only of what is visible

² M. Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* (Cambridge, MA 1965); R. Hardin, *Collective Action* (Baltimore 1982).

³ B. Skyrms, *The Stag Hunt and the Evolution of Social Structure* (Cambridge 2004).

⁴ M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen (eds.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Oxford 2004).

thanks to the accident of survival, but also an awareness of just how much may no longer be available for investigation. S. lists 113 instances of attested oligarchy involving 78 *poleis* in the Classical Greek world. How many *poleis* existed in that world? How many of those were tyrannies or democracies, and how many are unclassified because of an absence of evidence? Since there are many repeat offenders, interesting perspectives regarding *stasis* and its perpetuation are also opened up by this mass of material. An atlas responding to these and other questions suggested by this statistical data would be a most welcome sequel to the present volume.

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P. Steinkeller, *History, Texts and Art in Early Babylonia: Three Essays*, Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 15, Walter de Gruyter, Boston/Berlin 2017, viii+263 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-5015-1330-5/ISSN 2161-4415

The volume under review contains three essays originating in conference presentations by the author over the course of the last 15 years, two of which are followed by appendices treating ancillary aspects in greater detail. The joint publication of these papers is perfectly sensible, as central themes resurface at different points throughout the volume.

The first and longest essay is entitled 'Writing, Kingship and Political Discourse in early Babylonia: Reflections on the Nature and Function of Third Millennium Historical Sources'. Piotr Steinkeller opens by pointing out the curious absence of inscriptions that can be classified as 'historical' prior to the mid-3rd millennium BC, which he explains with the unique role of the king as a steward of the city-god and the concomitant lack of a dynastic principle in southern Babylonia during the Early Dynastic period. As a corollary of this peculiar constellation, the 'Managerial Class', i.e. the literate elites consisting of highest local (temple) officials, who strongly opposed any attempt at centralisation and hence had no incentive to write compositions glorifying strong rulers, came to play a key role in shaping the nature of much of the written documentation concerning the earliest Babylonian history at our disposal. Their account, then, was one of sages-kings, modelled on the Managerial Class's ideal conception of a king, ruling over Babylonia in the period before the flood (and hence before dynastic history commenced). Another related tradition, influential until deep into the 1st millennium, ascribed the benefits of civilisation to mythical sages designated by the ancient priestly title of ABGAL (Akk. *apkallu*). For S., these texts were supposed to convey the message 'that it was wise men like them (*scil.* the Managerial Class) that were the ultimate source of political power in Babylonia' (p. 77). The appendix to this chapter focuses on the priest-king of Uruk and his relationship to the goddess Inana, as well as on the title (then) borne by this official and its development over time.

'The Divine Rulers of Akkade and Ur: Toward a Definition of the Deification of Kings in Babylonia', the second essay, sets out by refuting recent scholarship that either aimed to disprove the phenomenon of deified kings in Mesopotamia, or to interpret it as a logical extension of the king's particular proximity to the realm of the divine already during the Uruk period. Based on the premise that deification is ontologically on a different level than 'sacrality', and cautiously hypothesising a foreign, Egyptian, origin of the

concept, S. emphasises the crucial role played by the historical circumstances, and particularly the unification of Babylonia under the dynasty of Akkade and later under the Ur III dynasty; for the former, he identifies Naram-Suen's victory over southern rebels early in his reign as important catalyst. In this interpretation, the deification of the king served the purpose of facilitating the integration of formerly equal and independent city-states of Sumer into territorial empires. He then goes on to elucidate differences between Akkadian and Ur III period actualisations of the divine king and provides an in-depth discussion of royal titles associated with divine kingship, such as (maybe surprisingly) *šarrum dannum*, 'strong king'. The appendix discusses the iconography of a unique piece of art, a fragment of a limestone mould used to fabricate golden roundlet, which can be attributed to Naram-Suen.

The third and final essay, 'Mythical Realities of the Early Babylonian History (or the Modern Historian and the Native Uses of the Past)', re-assesses the debate whether – or rather, how and in what sense – the so-called 'historical-literary texts' can be used to shed light on aspects of Mesopotamian history in the second half of the 3rd millennium. Contrary to much current scholarly practice, which mines these texts mainly for factual information for the time during which they were written down (rather than for the time they purport to describe), S. focuses again on the Managerial Class who produced these accounts under the moniker of mythical history, i.e. 'the native vision of history' (p. 178), which explicitly harkens back to concepts such as J. Assman's 'cultural memory'. He does not aim at invalidating attempts to find genuinely historical data in these narratives, but rather advocates an *geistesgeschichtlichen* approach which stresses the literary nature of these texts and conceives of them as 'symbolic negotiations of historical events' (p. 196). His main example is the afterlife in literature of the dynasty of Akkade, and in particular of Sargon and Naram-Suen. The range of sources employed throughout S.'s analyses is admirable; in addition to a wide array of written output (mainly 'historical-literary texts' but also, for example, lexical lists), he does not shy away from a thorough, and rewarding, engagement with the visual arts of the period. Throughout the volume, there are in-depth investigations of relevant source material, for example: the story of Sargon and Ur-Zababa (pp. 181–86), the Warka vase (pp. 83–87) or the Sumerian King List (pp. 40–45 and 192–96). Despite the complexity of the arguments and the high level of his scholarship, S.'s presentation is clear, engaging and accessible also to non-specialists (and he certainly does not mince words when in disagreement with contentious interpretations, see especially Essay 2). This volume deserves to be read widely.

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S. Stevens, *City Boundaries and Urban Development in Roman Italy*, Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 16, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT 2017, xii+323 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-90-429-3305-7

Boundaries instantiate a host of political, social, cultural and economic hierarchies. With border-based polemics growing ever louder and omnipresent – from anxiety over the intra-Ireland border to demands of a wall along the United States–Mexico frontier – a deeper historical understanding of how such boundaries have been conceived and operated in the

past is welcome.¹ In this monograph, stemming from her 2010 Oxford doctorate, Saskia Stevens works to show how archaeological remains, alongside critical readings of textual and epigraphic sources, help to ‘understand the Roman attitude towards the symbolic value of civic boundaries’ (pp. 5–6).

The scope of the book is limited to familiar topics: the *pomerium*, the foundation rite involving ploughing the limits of a city (*sulcus primigenius*), city walls. The plethora of other geographical boundaries operative in Roman cities – neighbourhoods, administrative districts (*regiones*), property lines – are largely ignored (except when they coincide with the edges of the city itself), as is the impact of the surveying practices that demarcated such boundaries. Yet with her rigorously empirical approach, S. demonstrates that new analysis and attention to the interface between conceptual and material boundaries can generate exciting new ideas. If past work on Roman walls and boundaries has often assumed that material boundaries are straightforward instantiations of legal and ritual concepts like the *pomerium*, S. demonstrates that there was not one, monolithic city boundary in the Roman world, but a range of demarcations. Such variegated boundaries were signaled to different groups at different moments for different reasons and by different means. S. thus brings far greater analytical nuance to the study of the multiplicity of these fluid urban borders.

Embracing a wide range of topics and themes related to urban boundaries, S. makes several key arguments. First, she reinterprets the relationships among *pomerium*, *sulcus primigenius* and city walls. At a city’s foundation, the *pomerium* was a continuous, imagined boundary marked at intervals by posts that guided the ploughman whose furrow set the course of the city wall (pp. 13–30). In practice, the three boundaries thus largely overlapped, but were not identical. Their initially close relationship could be stretched by strategic needs (extending the ‘Servian’ Wall around the extra-pomerial Aventine), by ‘refounding’ a city and ploughing a new *sulcus primigenius* outside pre-existing walls (Capua), or by extending the *pomerium* (as Claudius, Vespasian and Hadrian do at Rome). Keeping these three boundaries analytically separate from one another, and from other boundaries (like customs borders or the wide strip of public land on the outside of city walls) that could run atop each other without being identical, allows better understanding of the margins of Roman cities.

Once S. clarifies the nature of the *pomerium*, a range of other long-accepted hypotheses can be discarded. For example, extramural arches do not mark pomerial boundaries, but serve primarily as billboards on the approach to the city and occasionally (as at Aosta) administrative markers inside of which burial cannot take place (pp. 92–96). Burials, in fact, are kept extramural not because of the ritual *pomerium*, but rather due to the sanctity of the line ploughed during the *sulcus primigenius* and the strip of publicly owned land on either side of the wall; this is clearly seen where burials continue at Rome in the *Via Salaria* area outside the Servian Wall but within the Imperial *pomerium* extensions (pp. 176–95).

S. also argues that changing conceptual frameworks and historical circumstances create common trajectories in city-wall development in Italy (Chapter 3), an argument supported by the useful tables relating foundation dates and evidence for the building/dismantling of walls in Italy (pp. 315–23). Once dismantling began after the Third Punic War, it sped up

¹ A call for such perspectives: L. O’Dowd, ‘From a “Borderless World” to a “World of Borders”’: “Bringing History Back in”. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 28 (2010), 1031–50.

after the Social War. Emphasising the conceptual taboos around walls, S. compares this to breaking the sanctity of an *eruv*, a ritual border around Jewish communities that extends the domestic sphere beyond the household (p. 138); once the sanctity is breached, the earlier boundary no longer matters. Civic promotion, colonial foundation and civic pride led both to a boom in Augustan wall-building and older wall demolition to make way for urban amenities like amphitheatres, which S. also connects to conceptual redefinitions of a city and general Augustan urbanisation.

Yet the greatest value of the volume lies in the carefully extracted nuggets of Roman social history woven throughout. What emerges indirectly across the work, and especially from the three case studies in Chapter 5 (the areas around the Porta Romana at Ostia, the Porta Collina at Rome and the Porta di Ercolano at Pompeii), is the inability of the conceptual, religious and legal categories of Roman boundaries to corral the messiness of human behaviour at these boundaries. Law – one of the major foundations of S.'s arguments – is just one way of establishing hierarchies and mediating power relationships; but instead of mapping well onto the wall boundaries she studies, her examples repeatedly show the chasm between these two means of social structuration. For example, believing in the primacy of law, she notes that the people of Herculaneum could have brought legal action against the elite homeowners whose domiciles invaded the space of city walls and gates (p. 149). Instead, both here and in her other examples of properties encroaching on walls and the *locus publicus*, we may either catch a glimpse of the club-like inner workings of the city council that had the ability to award such building permits to their own members, or the inability of cities to enforce laws broken by wealthy landowners. Legal categories ceased to apply: that was the point. Articulating status meant transgressing boundaries applicable to others, as many of S.'s examples show: whether incorporating a city wall into one's private residence; receiving a burial plot within the public land just beyond a city wall; or crossing Rome's *pomerium* in arms as a triumphant general.

Likewise, the scattered discussion of the agency of boundary-setters sheds significant light on operative social hierarchies. S. builds on previous work arguing that the pomerial extensions under Claudius, Vespasian and Hadrian – marked with propagandistic inscribed *cippi* – primarily make an emperor's expansion of Roman territory concrete to the denizens of Rome. She also notes that Suedius Clemens, sent to Pompeii *ex auctoritate Vespasiani* to establish the boundaries of private and public lands, advertises this Imperial restitution of civic space with elaborate inscriptions near the city gates and high-traffic areas; simpler boundary stones were set up at disputed points and less visible areas (pp. 110–14). Boundary marking has a workaday function (establishing property lines and where the city can collect rents), but also creates a clear hierarchy, redefining Imperial *auctoritas* while promulgating the Flavian claim of returning public land to the people (a leitmotif of Vespasian's urban building projects at Rome).

S.'s meticulous analysis is sometimes undermined by the book itself. Typographical errors are not infrequent, and the figures often obfuscate rather than illuminate. Many plans lack scales and directional indicators. Where key features are flagged on the plans with letters, understanding what those letters denote frustratingly requires turning to the list of the figures at the front of the volume for a key, as there are no captions.

Yet in its nuanced approach to a wide array of legal, epigraphic and archaeological evidence, this is a key work for the study of Roman urbanism. It will also be an important

work for those interested in the wider social history of the Roman world and willing to engage thoughtfully with the rich material that S. presents.

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R. Strootman, *The Birdcage of the Muses: Patronage of the Arts and Sciences at the Ptolemaic Imperial Court, 305–222 BCE*, Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 17, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT 2017, vii+189 pp. ISBN 978-90-429-3350-7

After a long hiatus, study of the institutional history of the Hellenistic kingdoms has resumed with great vigour. Rolf Strootman, associate professor of Ancient History at the University of Utrecht, has made important contributions to this new Hellenistic scholarship. In a steady stream of articles, monographs and edited volumes, he has revised our understanding of the royal court as the centre of the political and social life of the Seleucid kingdom. *The Birdcage of the Muses* marks the extension of his studies to the court of the Ptolemies with similarly important results.

His choice of ‘patronage of the arts and sciences’ as the focus of his monograph is at first sight a surprising entry into the study of Ptolemaic court. The poets and scholars of the Museum traditionally have been viewed as essentially paid dependents of the Ptolemies, ‘who are feeding, many scribblers on papyrus...in the birdcage of the Muses’ in the famous characterisation of the poet Timon. Their works likewise have been dismissed as the ‘decadent’ products of an ‘art for art’s sake’ aesthetic. S. contests this view, arguing that the standard interpretation cannot account for the creativity and originality that characterises Hellenistic poetry and science on the one hand and the relatively limited amount of that poetry that deals with themes directly connected to the Ptolemaic crown. It is the thesis of *The Birdcage of the Muses* that a more rewarding interpretation of the social role of Ptolemaic and other Hellenistic intellectuals is that they were actually courtiers, *philoi* of the king, and as such full members of the royal court. Like other courtiers, they participated in the life of the court, competing with each other and other *philoi* for access to the king and the rewards it brought by attracting his attention with works that were new and innovative and thought provoking.

The Birdcage of the Muses originated as a chapter in S.’s 2007 dissertation, *The Hellenistic Royal Courts: Court Culture, Ceremonial and Ideology in Greece, Egypt and the Near East, 336–30 BCE* (University of Utrecht), and it reveals clear traces of its origin. Of the monograph’s nine chapters the first five are introductory, providing background for the last three that form the real core of the book.

After a chapter outlining the current state of scholarship on Ptolemaic patronage and the argument of the book, the next two introduce the royal court as an institution. The second chapter traces the origin of the Hellenistic royal courts to the Argead court, explains the transformation of courtiers from royal *hetairoi* to *philoi*, and describes the nature of cultural patronage in the 3rd century BC. The third analyses the court as a social institution and identifies its members and their functions in the society of the court, with particular emphasis on the important role played by queens as both patrons and subjects of poetry. In the fourth chapter S. explains how *philia*, *xenia* and gift-exchange connected the courtiers to each other and determined their places in the hierarchical organisation of the courts.

The introductory chapters conclude in the fifth with an analysis of the importance of royal patronage of culture in the role of the court as a stage for the performance of the cult of the king and the competition for prestige with other dynasties. Having established the basic framework for his argument, S. demonstrates in the sixth chapter through a meticulous analysis of Theokritos' Sixteenth Idyll that poets and scientists were courtiers like other royal *philoi*, competing with each other for *xenia* from the king by offering him as gifts their poems and technical novelties such as Ktesibios' hydraulic organ and Hero's steam engine. Chapters 7 and 8 closely examine the content of court literature, the former identifying the theme of universal empire as central to Ptolemaic poetry and the latter demonstrating that the same theme is characteristic of the other major genres of court literature. In the final chapter the author summarises the principal arguments and conclusions of the study.

The Birdcage of the Muses is a valuable introduction to current scholarship on Hellenistic royal courts and to the contribution that scholarship can make to the understanding of Hellenistic culture. By demonstrating that Ptolemaic intellectuals were *philoi* of the Ptolemies and members of their court and not just hired writers, S. has clarified both the social context in which they wrote and worked and the rationale for the learned character of their poetry that has so puzzled critics. Like all good books, however, his work also raises new questions for future research. Three stand out. First, how did the place of intellectuals in the hierarchy of the Ptolemaic court compare with that of other *philoi*? Second, did the precariousness of their position at court, dependent as it was on unpredictable grants of royal *xenia*, encourage the tendency of intellectuals to move from court to court in search of new patrons? Third, does the absence from the Ptolemaic court after the early 3rd century BC of certain categories of intellectuals such as prominent philosophers reflect the fragmentary character of our sources or decisions by the Ptolemies concerning the type of activity they would patronise? Still, these are questions for the future. The fact remains that *The Birdcage of the Muses* is a significant contribution to the social and cultural history of Ptolemaic Egypt.

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A. Tomas, *Inter Moesos et Thraces: The Rural Hinterland of Novae in Lower Moesia (1st–6th Centuries AD)*, Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 14, Archaeopress, Oxford 2016, x+234 pp., illustrations (a few in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-369-4

Agnieszka Tomas of the Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw, has written and published on Novae and on the Roman army and prosopography. This book contains the results of several previous studies on the rural hinterland of Novae. A lot of boundary stones contain the expression *inter Moesos et Thraces*, which suggests the limit of the province of Moesia Inferior and the territory of the Greek-speaking city of Nicopolis ad Istrum, which belonged to the province of Thracia until the end of the 2nd century AD.

The book is structured in seven chapters. The first one discusses the geography of the region, the second the history and the periodisation of the region, while the third puts out the methodology used especially in the archaeological investigations of the area. The fourth chapter, the longest, presents the settlement structures, separating the military presence of

the civilian one, and considers the location of the sites, the results of the archaeological investigations carried out in the neighbourhood of Novae, including the finds, as well as historical considerations on the economy, religion and infrastructure. The fifth chapter proposes a discussion on the local administration. In the sixth, T. treats the ethnic, linguistic and social structures of the area, and in the last chapter she examines military and civilian interaction in the hinterland of Novae. Then come a catalogue of settlements, five appendices of epigraphic evidence and an index of place names.

The hinterland of Novae is located between the Osăm and Jantra rivers. In the pre-Roman period, the Celtic influence is visible east of the Jantra, while Thracian settlements were found in the Middle Osăm. The role of the military fortress in Novae, the camp of *legio VIII Augusta* and foremost of *legio I Italica*, is well known. The foundation of Nicopolis ca. 60 km south of Novae created a complex geographical, political and ethnic situation: the hinterland of the legionary fortress was bordered at the south by the territory of the Greek-speaking city belonging to the province of Thrace.

Some results of T.'s investigation are worthy of particular mention. First of all, she shows that the foundation of Nicopolis ad Istrum had a significant impact on the development of the local economy (the exploitation of clay and stone, and trade). Beginning with this period, local crafts replaced imports to a large extent. The boundary stones between Moesians and Thracians represent, as T. points out, an expression of administrative regulation. This shows, in her opinion, an uneven level of Romanisation of the territories respectively east and west of the Jantra, on account of their former different statuses and populations. Another important issue is that the epigraphic habit was also adopted by Thracians, who lived in the rural hinterland of Novae and Nicopolis. The impact on cultural change and economy starting with the Antonines' rule is shown by the presence of *regionarii* and of customs clerks in the area. T. notices the low density of veterans in the rural area of Novae compared with in the rest of the province. From a strict epigraphic point of view, she is right. But we must not forget the civil settlements next to the camp of the legion (which also had a rural status) and the possibility that other monuments or *villae* erected by veterans have not yet been confirmed epigraphically. Another pertinent observation is that the military-civilian relationship was essential in the history of the area, and influenced the decisions of the Roman administration. This is important because, in my opinion, it confirms a phenomenon present across the entire province. The soldiers seem to have been landowners during their military service. Unlike in Novae's territory (according to the epigraphic evidence), the veterans settled in the rural area of the provinces, both individually and in *conventus* of *veterani*. I think it is also possible that they received land just individually, but they have not left epigraphic proof of this. The number of local veterans coming home (in rural areas) after their discharge must have been rather large (judging from the military diplomas from the territory of Nicopolis), but no other sources are preserved.

T. has accomplished valuable work. Novae was known as a military camp and later as a *municipium*, but its rural hinterland has until now been less discussed from both the epigraphic and archaeological point of view. The work's main strength is that it brings together, in a well-organised way, all types of sources in order to provide us with a wider picture of the rural life in the territory of Novae.

S.V. Tracy, *Athenian Lettering of the Fifth Century B.C.: The Rise of the Professional Letter Cutter*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2016, xvi+239 pp., illustrations Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-040142-4

The volume under review is the continuation and culmination of decades-long work by Stephen Tracy, one of the most accomplished American epigraphists. It comes at the end of a long line of important studies on Athenian inscriptions and the artisans that created them. Apart from T.'s doctoral thesis, the earliest predecessor of the current book his *The Lettering of an Athenian Mason* (Princeton 1975), with three more concerning Athenian letter-cutters between (overall) 300 and 86 BC published between 1990 and 2003.¹ The latest addition is a very interesting and valuable work, but also one with a rather narrow focus and highly technical in nature. It is not the kind of text that will be read from cover to cover by many people, even if they are specialists in the field of Greek epigraphy.

As with the most publications by T., the main subject of this book are the workmen who inscribed Athenian inscriptions, in this case the early professional letter-cutters of the 5th century BC. In the Introduction, T. gives an exposition of his basic principles and methodology. The fundamental idea, already explained and defended in many previous papers, is that every ancient professional letter-cutter had a distinct personal 'handwriting' that, once identified, can be reliably recognised in further inscriptions. This idea, once highly controversial, is nowadays widely accepted by many, though not all, scholars. One needs time, patience and dedication to obtain the ability to distinguish an individual 'handwriting'. A large (at least several hundreds of letters), securely dated and well-preserved sample of the work of a specific letter-cutter is a necessity. There are other requirements of this method: T. argues that epigraphists should work on the stones themselves, if possible. If not, the squeezes of the inscriptions should always be preferred to photographs and scans. The method employed is termed 'descriptive' and the same can be said for the much of the book.

The volume is divided in two parts. Part I ('General Studies of the Writing of the Fifth Century B.C.', pp. 15–73) is a general discussion of the lettering of the major public monuments of the 5th century BC. Public inscriptions appear much latter than epitaphs or private dedications. The earliest one (*IG I³ 230*) is dated *ca.* 515 BC and there are only a handful of examples prior to 450 BC. According to T., there are no unique examples of individual writing before 450 BC because there were no dedicated letter-cutters: previously the task of inscribing was handled by a more general type of stonemason. While clearly competent, these artisans could not afford to specialise but handled a variety of tasks: 'These workmen must have shaped blocks, fluted columns, sculpted reliefs and so on' (p. 195). The appearance of specialised professionals in this field was a slow and gradual process. Contrary to the claims of many previous scholars, T. asserts that inscriptions of this era were inscribed without letters being painted on the surface in advance. Some of the errors committed by inscribers on public inscriptions are simply incompatible with such a preparatory procedure.

The second part ('Attic Letter Cutters of *ca.* 450 to *ca.* 390', pp. 75–197) is a serious attempt to identify individual 'handwritings' and to attribute public inscriptions to individual

¹ *Attic Letter-Cutters of 229 to 86 BC* (Berkeley 1990); *Athenian Democracy in Transition. Attic Letter-Cutters of 340 to 290 BC* (Berkeley 1995); *Athens and Macedon: Attic Letter-Cutters of 300 to 229 BC* (Berkeley 2003).

cutters. This section is exceedingly well documented: everything stated is based on a meticulous study of nearly 200 inscriptions. The section has a uniform, even rigid structure. The features of any specific 'handwriting' are summarised, after which we are given a short overview of the distinctive letters, followed by the list of inscriptions that are attributed to that particular letter-cutter. The questions of dates, supplements and restoration of various inscriptions and fragments are usually discussed in the final segment. In total, we are presented with 12 recognisable craftsmen who worked in the second half of the 5th century BC, most of whom were probably narrowly specialised in letter-cutting. Some of them are attributed with a surprisingly large output: the cutter of *IG II² 17*, active between 414 and 385 BC, is responsible for no fewer than 73 public inscriptions *that we know of*. The cutter of *IG II² 1386* inscribed at least 47 inscription, dating between 423 and 393 BC. All this is supported by an abundance of illustrations, mostly photographs of squeezes. The quality and the resolution of these are not exceptionally high, but they are readable and adequate for the purpose.

Three appendices reprint papers by T., two of which are quite recent.² They are often referred to in the main text and are so intimately connected with the subject that perhaps they should have been integrated somehow into the main text.

Athenian Lettering of the 5th Century BC is a forward-looking book. Although highly respectful of the work of the earlier epigraphists, T. points out their mistakes and clearly states the need for various revisions. He offers further arguments against the infamous dogma of the three-bar *sigma*, which persists in spite of all the evidence against it. Strong reasons are given for the revised dating of numerous inscriptions, especially for the lower dates of many public documents that have so far been placed in the middle of the 5th century. The restoration and supplements of many public monuments, some of which were published decades ago, are also in need of adjustment. This is especially so with the two exceptionally large monuments, originally placed on the Acropolis, traditionally referred to as the *Lapis Primus* and the *Lapis Secundus*. Containing the early tribute-lists of the Athenian empire, they were pieced together from a multitude of individual fragments (184 in the case of the *Lapis Primus*), and the published texts are heavily restored. Although the general order of the fragments is probably accurate, there is much room for correction in individual cases. In addition, the standard edition contains many dubious and overbold restorations which require re-examination. In T.'s words, 'the edition presented in the *IG* is a maximalist one ... over restored' and 'provides no adequate account of the blank spaces' (p. 53). It is to be expected that some (perhaps most?) of T.'s suggestions will be taken up in the near future. By necessity, the interpretation of various public documents will also change and this will in turn affect many essential questions of the history of Classical Athens. These are indeed exciting times for Attic epigraphy.

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² 'Hands in Fifth-Century B.C. Attic Inscriptions'. In A.L. Boegehold *et al.* (eds.), *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on his Eightieth Birthday* (Durham, NC 1984), 277–82; 'The Wrongful Execution of the *Hellenotamiai* (Antiphon 5.69–71) and the *Lapis Primus*'. *Classical Philology* 109 (2014), 1–10; 'Down Dating Some Athenian Decrees with Three-Bar Sigma: A Paleographic Approach'. *ZPE* 190 (2014), 105–15.

S. van der Vaart-Verschoof, *Fragmenting the Chieftain: A Practice-Based Study of Early Iron Age Hallstatt C Elites Burials in the Low Countries*, Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museums of Antiquity (PALMA) 15(A), Sidestone Press, Leiden 2017, 233 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-90-8890-511-7/ISSN 2034-550X

Attempts to study the social structures of Early Iron Age elite tombs with chariots and horse harnesses by deeper analyses and using larger data of specific elements are in fashion in large parts of Europe nowadays, and the PhD thesis under review has compiled useful data concerning the descriptions of the rituals performed, the grave-goods, the specific meaning for the deceased and his family and *oikos*, the economic unit.

In the chapter on chronology, the earliest Gündlingen phase by C. Pare is confirmed as preceding Ha C 1 with Mündlingen swords, which is well compared with the Central European development with horse equipment and chariots. The dataset of grave offerings shows a rather smooth picture than clear separation into well-defined groups; this seriation is even more fluent for female graves. A number of sketches visualise the supposed process of putting grave-goods into grave chambers and the *placement* within, particularly the position of horse harnesses, refining the ideas on their arrangement by Peter Wells; results of C 14 dating compared with typological seriation cause only small problems. There are many links with the Central European Ha C–D 1 development of grave chambers under tumuli surrounded with much more numerous urns, apparently graves of lower members of the *oikos*. The precise position of the slaves, clients, personally free domestics, those of level of the *ktes*, is again difficult to separate out into close groups with different position in the households.

The best clue to answers in the field of social structure and roles of members of the farm unit/*oikos* unit remains Moses Finley's *The World of Odysseus* (New York 1954 etc.). His attitude enables even nowadays reasonable attempts to identify the chief, the clients, servants and home slaves, and among females, too, in the importance of position: the main aristocratic wife, important for succession where matrilinearity of descent from aristocratic ancestors had priority, and some less dignified women in secondary positions. The large grave was in a way a dwelling of the deceased where he continued his customs of life at least for some time. The size of the tumulus, its shape and position were visible at all times and they gave the sign of identity of the group, a symbol of place of memory. With many large constructions, new large settlements, the places of memory and landscape known from Dutch paintings largely disappeared, and the profound study of their remains restores the lost memory. The volume brings much information on graves of the Ha C elites of the Low Countries and some paths towards their understanding, so it should be welcomed.

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R. Varga and V. Rusu-Bolindeț (eds.), *Official Power and Local Elites in the Roman Provinces*, Routledge, London/New York 2017, xix+193 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-4724-5731-8

In the Preface to this collection of essays, the editors state that their 'main objective is to create as complex an image as possible of the provincial leaderships and their positions

when faced with official state structures' (p. xvii). That is an ambitious goal, which some contributors struggle to meet.

The editors observe that most of the contributors are in the early stages of their careers. The two chapters from scholarly veterans are predictably solid. Drawing upon a wide range of archaeological and epigraphic sources, Palli, Riginos and Lamprou (Chapter 1) highlight the very gradual nature of the adaptation of the Epirote population and, particularly, the surviving aristocratic families to the presence of Roman settlers and Roman modes of organisation and self-display after the defeat of Perseus in 168 BC. The emphasis on gradualness, however, cannot fully support the conclusion that the members of the Greek and Roman elites 'handled with ease' the resulting 'dual Greco-Roman identity' (p. 16). For Iberia in the Republican period, Lowe (Chapter 3) reviews the various forms of patronage relationships into which generals, governors and other Romans entered with communities and individuals of the region. He argues that high ranking Romans tended to avoid 'coercive measures', using instead benefactions as a form of 'persuasion' (p. 33). While Lowe's conclusion that patronage was an 'important mechanism facilitating the incorporation of the indigenous communities into the Roman world' (p. 43) is hardly new, the precision of his account and his emphasis on the flexibility of patronage are.

Many of the contributions from less established scholars were just as solid. Magnani and Mior (Chapter 6) study the Greek, Latin and Semitic epigraphy of Palmyra, as well as the city's funerary and urban archaeology to track changes in how the Palmyran elite presented themselves. Their major contribution is the establishment of a visit by Hadrian as the major impetus for these changes. Collins (Chapter 8) similarly demonstrates a reduction in the space and quality of *praetoria* in the forts along Hadrian's Wall in the late 4th century and a concomitant change in their usage, from the relatively luxurious *domus*-like home of the *praepositus* and his family to more practical activities, such as furniture construction. His explanation is plausible, for he uses the low frequency of coin finds and the high proportion of serving vessels amongst the artefacts to create a picture of the *praepositi* no longer maintaining their position through a Mediterranean model of social superiority and turning to a more personal model of social patronage that included regular feasting with their men. It would have been more convincing though, if Collins had produce some form of parallel evidence showing this new model in action. Furthermore, Dodd (Chapter 10) studies how aristocratic Roman families in post-Roman Gaul, fractured by the borders of the small barbarian kingdoms and weakened by the lack of opportunity for advancement, latched onto local bishoprics as their best source for status, because of the opportunities for patronage the position provided. Dodd vividly highlights the cut and thrust of local church-*civitas* politics, but he may be overly insistent on a break with the Roman past, since the family allegiance and nepotism he observes operating in post-Roman Gaul had also existed in the Roman Imperial period. He implies that Roman Imperial society had been more meritocratic than it was.

Cornwell's contribution (Chapter 4) is the most successful at creating the 'puzzle-like overview' (p. xvii) promised by the editors. She studies how king M. Julius Cottius integrated himself and his family into the Imperial administration under Augustus, in order to maintain his control over two passes through the Alps. Cornwell focuses on Cottius and his successors' cunning use of Latin and other symbols not only to solidify their new place within the empire, but also to enhance the idea of dynastic continuity locally. These

symbols largely took the form of traditional Roman acts of euergetism that effectively monumentalised the roads connecting the region to the rest of the empire. The most notable example is the Arch of Augustus at Segusio with its inscription juxtaposing Cottius' title of *praefectus civitatum* to his father's title of *rex* and with its narrative frieze of togate figures engaging in a Roman ceremony likely representing the 14 *civitates* of Cottius' prefecture.

Other chapters were less successful, however. Langerwerf's (Chapter 5) fails to demonstrate that Pausanias had followed a consistent philosophy of Greek history in the writing of his *Περὶ ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας*. While she certainly shows that Pausanias blamed the quarrelsomeness of the Greeks for their loss of freedom to the Romans, the vocabulary and situations of Books 4 and 7 are not close enough to prove her main point that Pausanias intended the Messenian account of Book 4 to reinforce his narrative of the defeat of the Achaean League in Book 7. Zaccaro (Chapter 2), meanwhile, presents a section of her dissertation illuminating the transition – as described by Paul Veyne – of the aristocratic model of behaviour from 'competitive' in the Republican period to 'service' in the imperial period (p. 22). Her method is to track the change in the value of *πράτης* in eastern Greek communities from neutral and even negative in the Classical period to an 'indispensable' (p. 27) virtue under the Romans. Zaccaro argues that this linguistic shift is based on a broader merger of the ethics of familial and public life towards the common goal of creating order through harmony. But, while she shows the shift in usage well enough in literature, she only discusses five inscriptions from two cities. The objective of the page-long epigraphic analysis is to show that the inscriptions employ *πράτης* as a virtue in both familial and political contexts as Plutarch does in his writings. To establish that such a fundamental shift in aristocratic values did occur, however, her discourse analysis needs to be more detailed and it needs to be supplemented by quantitative analyses tracking all epigraphic usages of *πράτης* from the Classical to Roman eras. The hope is that Zaccaro develops this interesting line of inquiry into a fuller study.

The most problematic paper, unfortunately, is that of the editors (Chapter 7). From what I can gather from the introduction, this paper is one step in a larger project 'to underline certain aspects of the self-representation of power at the provincial level' (p. 115). It analyses 41 votive dedications and seven funerary monuments found in the *praetorium consularis* of Apulum, Dacia. The authors observe that officials of the governor's staff dedicated the former and that military officials predominate in the latter, but, beyond picking off some tangential points based on onomastics and the location of the finds, the authors do not go any further in their analysis, partly because of the limited number of inscriptions and partly because they limit comparison to the governor's seat at Aquincum in Pannonia Inferior. It is a shame that these two ancient historians made their study so narrow. Moreover, there is poor grammar and vague language, which is a recurrent problem throughout the whole book. To give just one example, they conclude that 'the artifacts suggest a rather impressive power centre here, where imperial and local power was displayed' (p. 122). Normally, such a juxtaposition would imply that 'imperial' refers to the governor, his staff and the army and 'local' to the indigenous leadership and population of the region, but that cannot be the case here, since the authors are so focused on the *praetorium*. 'Local' in the chapter almost seems to be an artefact from another part of their larger project.

In the end, the quality of the contributions is less consistent than is typical even for edited volumes. What this volume does well is demonstrate potential, the potential of studying Roman provincial histories and the potential of the early-career scholars working in this field.

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A. Verlinde, *The Roman Sanctuary Site at Pessinus from Phrygian to Byzantine Times*, Monographs on Antiquity 7, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT 2015, xx+436 pp., illustrations, 4 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-3056-8

This book is an updated version of the doctoral thesis presented by Angelo Verlinde at the University of Ghent in 2012. It is based on the excavations at Pessinus conducted by that university in two stages, first of all from 1967 to 1973 under the direction of Pieter Lambrechts, and then a second series from 1987 to 2008 by John Devreker. The present volume follows after the conclusion of the second phase. It is concerned with the remains at the centre of the ancient settlement, where there is a forward projecting 'promontory' which overlooks the River Gallos that runs through the ancient town and commands a strategic view up and down the river valley. It discusses the remains on the top of this area (sector B) and immediately to the west (sector H).

The first chapter gives an account of the history and geography of Pessinus, its association with the cult of Cybele as mother goddess, its incorporation into the Lydian kingdom and then the Persian empire, the establishment, in the 3rd century BC, of the Galatians immediately to the east, and the strange incident of the Sibylline prophecy which predicted victory for the Romans over Hannibal if the *baetylus* of Cybele was taken to Rome and her cult established there. Then Pessinus came under the influence of Pergamum, leading eventually to the establishment of a local dynasty, to the incorporation of Pessinus into the Roman empire and its subsequent history.

The second chapter discusses the original remains on the 'promontory' site, Chapter 3 the colonnaded square in sector H. Chapter 4 is concerned with the foundations of the Roman temple constructed at the top of sector B, Chapter 5 with the temple's superstructure. Chapter 6 is concerned with the stairway approach and adjacent theatre-like seating area west of the temple (after the destruction of the colonnaded square). Chapter 7 considers the cult and dedication of the temple, Chapter 8 its subsequent renovation, Chapter 9 the decline of the sanctuary. The final chapter is devoted to an interesting account of the stone used in the sanctuary, both limestone and marble. An appendix gives a catalogue list of the surviving architectural elements.

This cannot have been an easy site to excavate. A general view (fig. 5) of the temple area, a view taken from the minaret of the neighbouring mosque, gives a fair idea of its complexity. Structures succeed each other over a long period of time and were then subject to extensive removal of the more portable and reusable stonework.

The earliest period comprised a fortress, a circuit of walls dating back to the 4th century BC. These were built in the usual technique of an outer and inner face of worked stone with a rubble fill. V. calls this *emplekton*, but that term seems to imply a more unusual form of structure, and I still prefer the explanation I proposed for this some 60 years ago in *JHS* 81 (1961, 133–40).

V. argues that by the 2nd century BC the citadel was occupied by the palace residence of a local dynasty. To this also belongs the courtyard square below the citadel on its west side, its northerly edge supported by a terrace wall above the Gallos. The remains of this were not well preserved and its full dimensions were not clear. The courtyard itself measured 24.14 m wide on the eastern side, where the stylobate of its colonnade was fully preserved. The northern side was 'at least' 16.04 m. It was flanked by Ionic columns to the east, west and south, while the north side had taller Doric columns. There is no actual trace of an entrance which would have been on the south side, possibly at its centre, though the reconstructed plan and view (figs. 53 and 54) show entrances at either end of this side.

The original excavators called this the Agora. V. rightly rejects this: it is too small and has none of the auxiliary features which would have existed in an agora. Its purpose is therefore uncertain, possibly a *palaistra*/exercise ground attached to the dynastic residence in the citadel above. It probably dated to the mid-2nd century BC and was destroyed by fire in the 1st.

The temple replaced the earlier structures on the citadel and can be dated to the end of the 1st century BC/beginning of the 1st century AD. Its limestone foundations are relatively well preserved thanks to their construction in the most part of large blocks of stone, too heavy to be robbed. On the other hand, the marble superstructure has gone completely and only scattered fragments of it were found. The foundations comprise three separate rectangles: the outer, formed from relatively irregular stonework, measures 35 × 21.7 m. Within this is the foundation for the peripteral colonnade, 24.1 × 13.7 m, the spacing from the outer rectangle being 4 m to north, east and south and 7 m to the west. Within this is the foundation for the cella and porch, 17.2 × 9.1 m. The cella was originally nearly square with a deep porch, but this was altered by removing the doorway wall and replacing it with another wall to the west, reducing the depth of the porch. The stylobate foundation comprises substantial square piers, which would have supported the columns, the spaces between them being filled with less substantial masonry. The surviving fragments of marble suggest an outer series of steps, which extend inwards from the surviving outer foundation. There is no evidence for the form – especially any paving – of the resulting platform up to the stylobate. On the stylobate, V. argues convincingly for a plan of 6 × 11 Corinthian columns, the central intercolumniation at either end being wider than the normal one.

There are two candidates for the cult of the temple. It could have been a temple of Cybele, though there is no evidence to support this, and it derives simply from the known importance of Cybele and her worshippers at Pessinus, including the request for the cult symbol by the Romans during the second Punic War. That the 'promontory' site of the temple forms a defining point of the ancient city is clear enough, but that is all – there is no evidence for the practice of the cult there, and Cybele's sanctuary could be anywhere within the city limits.

The second is that the temple was a Sebasteion, in honour of Augustus. Again, there is no evidence for the cult itself, but this interpretation is more plausible and is strongly supported by V. First of all, the promontory as the site of the stronghold/residence of the Hellenistic ruling dynasty of Pessinus makes the substitution in Roman times of the cult of the emperor a natural development, while, secondly, its architecture may also support this. V. gives a full and convincing account of the temple's form, based on the foundation plan

and the (admittedly scanty) elements of the superstructure. The temple is clearly set on a significantly larger platform, stepped, with the lowest step resting on the outermost rectangle of substructure, and any further steps (nothing of which is preserved) on the rubble fill between this outer rectangle and the foundations of the peripteral colonnade (V. restores four further steps). Within this the actual temple foundation appears to belong to a single phase, apart from the change in the position of the back wall of the porch. Pensabene suggested that the peristasis belonged to a second construction phase,¹ but this is (rightly) rejected by V. Looking at V.'s plan of the foundations (fig. 67 and pl. 1) I wondered whether the cella, with its original west wall, was at first a free-standing square structure, but V. states that this wall was firmly bonded into the north and south side walls which would prove a single phase of construction for the cella and its original porch. It would have been helpful to have had a drawing of all the courses of these foundation walls, which would also have helped illustrate the distinctive form of their construction. We must therefore accept that platform, peristasis and cella/porch foundations represent a single phase of construction (modified only for the porch) and reveal the original plan. This plan, a fully peripteral temple standing on a significantly larger platform is similar to the Sebasteion at Ancyra/Ankara, and this, it seems to me, supports the identification of the Pessinus temple also as a Sebasteion, influenced by its neighbour.

For the reconstruction of the temple as well as the colonnaded square V. makes frequent reference to the design concepts and proportions recommended by Vitruvius. At times it might seem that the architects at Pessinus worked with copies of the *De Architectura* in the pockets of their togas. V. most usefully gives details of monuments and plans of other temples in Asia Minor built and designed under the Roman empire. He lists, in table 4. 3, 39 examples, one of which is the Pessinus temple re-imagined in conformance with the precepts of Vitruvius 4. 4. 1. However, it seems to me that this is not so much a series of temples influenced by Vitruvius as evidence for the continuation in Asia Minor of a distinctive Hellenistic tradition, and that Vitruvius' theories come rather from the ideas promoted by the authors of Hellenistic handbooks on architecture written in Greek – Hermogenes in particular – and which architects in Roman Asia Minor would have followed rather than the Latin texts of Vitruvius.

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K. Waldner, R. Gordon and W. Spickermann (eds.), *Burial Rituals, Ideas of Afterlife, and The Individual in the Hellenistic World and the Roman Empire*, Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 57, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016, 264 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11546-9

Throughout history, individuals as well as (religious) communities have time and again tried to come to terms with and respond to the momentous situation of dying as well as concepts of an afterlife. Reflecting upon these topics from a wide variety of different angles, this has over time resulted in a plethora of approaches on a cultic and ritual level (burial

¹ P. Pensabene, 'Non stelle ma il sole. Il contributo della planimetria e della decorazione architettonica alla definizione del santuario di Cibele a Pessinunte'. *ArchCl* 55 (2004), 83–143.

rites and funerary rituals, cults of the dead, etc.) that form a fertile ground for in-depth and wide-ranging research by diverse scholarly disciplines.

This volume, dedicated to the late Professor of Ancient History at Erfurt University, Veit Rosenberger (1963–2016), contains 11 studies presented at an international conference on this topic in September 2012 in Erfurt. The scholarly background of the contributors (archaeology, ancient history, religious studies, Greek studies and Egyptology) is as diverse as the many and various ways in which both individual and societies on the shores of the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic and Roman era tried to understand the process of dying, subsequent burial, and what might lie beyond.¹ Despite the great diversity of subject-matter and approaches, the individual and his particular choices in response to life's ending, placed within the larger context of relations with other individuals and (religious) groups as well as the local cultural environment, lie at the core of each study.

The volume contains three sections. Opening with 'From Homer to Lucian – Poetics of the Afterlife', the first four articles focus on the use of poetics to reflect on ideas and concepts of death and the afterlife in ancient Greece and Rome. Ordered chronologically, I cannot help but feel that the very last article in this section – W. Spickermann, 'Tod und Jenseits bei Lukian von Samosata und Tatian' (pp. 67–81) – should have featured as the opening essay to the entire volume. In his contribution Spickermann provides an overview of references to concepts of death and the afterlife in the works of Lucian of Samosata, with a focus on his cynical diatribe *De luctu*. Lucian takes the traditional ideas and beliefs of death and the underworld *ad absurdum* and clearly pinpoints the discrepancy between what individuals and societies believe and what one actually knows of the afterlife – in essence, nothing at all. Nevertheless, mankind has always tried to deal with this (lack of) information. The remaining ten studies in the volume provide an indication of the various approaches undertaken in Hellenistic and Roman times by the individual and/or communities in order to bring some understanding to this enigma.

The three other articles in the first section consist of specific case studies of poetic texts that express ideas of death and the afterlife, whether in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and its relation to the development of afterlife concepts in Archaic Greece (K. Matijević, pp. 15–29), the high degree of individualism present in the description of the netherworld on the Orphic gold leaves from Sicily and Magna Graecia in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods (J.N. Bremmer, pp. 31–51), or remarkable metrical grave inscriptions from the 1st–3rd centuries AD that provide an insight into the beyond by focusing on what it is not – i.e. *per negationem* (M. Obryk, pp. 53–66).

The four studies that comprise the second section – 'Individual Elaborations in the Roman Empire' – provide case studies of individuals (but also small communities) making personal choices within existing conventions, by selectively appropriating, adapting and/or (partly) ignoring existing traditions related to death, burial and the afterlife. Evidence of this practice can be traced in the archaeological record (for example, the rather uncommon practice of burying young male and female adults upside down detected in the vicinity of the St Gereon church in Cologne during the first four centuries AD; C. Höpken, pp. 83–108),

¹ For a similar approach (but excluding Egypt and the ancient Near East), see now also F.S. Tappenden and C. Daniel-Hughes (eds.), *Coming Back to Life: The Permeability of Past and Present, Mortality and Immortality, Death and Life in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Montreal 2017).

but also in funerary inscriptions. This can, for instance, be observed in the limited number of occurrences of the private deification of almost exclusively freedwomen in Latin grave inscriptions found only in Rome and immediate environs during the 1st and 2nd centuries AD (V. Rosenberger, pp. 109–23). Similarly, funerary inscriptions of followers of the Isis cult deriving from all corners of the Roman empire indicate the personal and selective manner in which each individual adopted Egyptian ideas and concepts regarding the afterlife (V. Gasparini, pp. 125–50). In contrast, the final contribution of this section makes the important observation that the great diversity and even apparent contradictions found in Egyptian afterlife concepts from Ptolemaic and Roman times can still be retraced to a coherent system that predates the Hellenistic age (M.A. Stadler, pp. 151–66).

The three studies in the final section – ‘Making a Difference: Groups and Their Claims’ – focus on some specific aspects of funerary practices and afterlife beliefs of three major religious communities in the empire: Judaism, Christianity and Mithraism. While the early Jewish apocalyptic texts refer to an imaginary common meal in the beyond with the aim to strengthen community bonds and create a group identity (C.D. Bergmann, pp. 167–88), one observes concomitantly an ongoing process of individualisation hand-in-hand with a growing importance of group identity (instead of the family) in the funerary culture and afterlife beliefs in early Christian times (A. Merkt, pp. 189–206). Finally, as the cult of Mithras never provided followers with clear-cut information on the beyond, it was ultimately up to the individual to draw his own conclusions and to the family of the deceased to take on the responsibility for and decide the exact nature of the burial – often bound to local customs and traditions as well as social status (R. Gordon, pp. 207–40).

Overall, the varied approaches to death and the afterlife considered in this volume represent, as stated by the editors in their Introduction, but a mere glimpse of the manifold strategies in existence throughout the Mediterranean region in Hellenistic and Roman times. The volume does not claim to offer an overall or in-depth view of these strategies and approaches – a feat that lies far beyond the scope of a single book – but the 11 essays nevertheless provide a thought-provoking insight into the multiple and diverse manners by which individuals and religious communities dealt with questions that are as old as mankind itself. At the same time it forces the reader to confront these issues too – both as a scholar of (ancient) society, but also as an individual in the present day.

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M.W. Waters, *Ctesias' Persica and Its Near Eastern Context*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison/London 2017, xii+159 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-299-31090-5

During the past decade and a half research into Ctesias and the *Persica* has been conducted, with few exceptions, in a careful and sober fashion: two editions accompanied by precise translations and detailed introductory matter/notes (Lenfant; Stronk), and detailed examination of aspects of the Ctesian corpus in the Harrassowitz series *Classica et Orientalia*. Now Matt Waters, familiar with the Classical tradition, and long experienced in the language, literature and archaeological records for the ancient Near East, supplements the study of Ctesias by placing the *Persica* in a Near Eastern context, so doing with rational

suggestions, ever-aware of the many difficulties and uncertainties in the transmission and reconstruction of the Ctesian text. The 'Herodots Korrektor' takes his proper 'place as an innovator in the genre of romance writing' (p. 104), his composition a 'Hellenized rendering of Mesopotamian and Iranian traditions' (p. 103).

W.'s Introduction (pp. 3–19) presents the hybrid author and his hybrid work, fed by many traditions. With the exception of P.Oxy 2330, which may reflect a manuscript, Ctesias is transmitted by later authorities, who may have shaped the narrative to reflect their own interests in writing. Ctesias, present at the Achaemenid court in some capacity, may have had some facility for the language(s) used at court (I call to mind the *Datis-Lied*), but his putative consultation of official records holds value at most for its embarrassing Herodotus. The oral traditions to which Ctesias was exposed shaped his content and W. sets out to examine four 'case studies' placing Ctesias in that Near Eastern context.

Ctesias' presentation of the eunuch (pp. 20–44) is the first case study. Ctesias introduced the 'employment of eunuchs as liminal figures' into prose (p. 20). They complemented Greek perceptions of the alien and Ctesias' own interest in 'opposites and inversion', an interest heavily emphasised in Byzantine Photius' epitome. Present for literary purposes, the eunuch's precise physical and administrative qualities cannot be defined with certainty. W. provides a synthesis of previous investigations (now accessible to the more general reader) and makes the welcome suggestion that untrustworthy eunuch-like entities can be found in the court of Assurbanipal's enemy. A census of eunuchs, named and unnamed, is provided and then divided into 'thematic registers' (influence, access/interceder, treacherous, faithful, none of the above). Although the eunuch's status remains intractable, I suggest drawing some insight from Hephaestus' workshop: The eunuch can be seen as a sort of robot, its construction beyond the capabilities of the *polis*, always present in a realm of luxury and decay, and subject to malfunctioning to various degrees and for various amounts of time.

Semiramis (pp. 45–57), the second case study, is Ctesias filtered through Diodorus (here Jan Stronk's work on Diodorus will have value).¹ Ctesias' version was his own creation, a model warrior queen based in part on the legends surrounding Sargon of Akkad, his qualities a model for kings who followed (or to be expected). To the Sargon core Ctesias adds 'gender opposition and inversion', Semiramis becoming a figure enveloping both Sargon and Ishtar (pp. 58–59). W. provides a succinct account of the Sargon and Semiramis stories (chart, pp. 52–53), proceeding to a comparison of the two traditions, representing Near Eastern parallels and precedents.

The figure of Cyrus (pp. 60–77) was the subject of many traditions, which Waters sets into order. The Ctesian, reworked to an unknown degree by Nicolaus of Damascus, is marked by a desire to correct Herodotus. Cyrus himself was king of Anshan – unconnected with Median nobility (pp. 61–63). Nabonidus' Sippar Cylinder (pp. 65–67) refers to Cyrus as Marduk's young servant. Again, no tie to Median nobility (*cf.* p. 122, nn. 19, 20). And without the Herodotean use of miraculous elements, the Cyrus story is one tracing a young man's 'ambition and perseverance' (p. 65) to rise from pavement to penthouse (*cf.* *Suda s.v.* Basileia: deeds, not descent). Cyrus is later joined by Oibaras, possessing the

¹ J.P. Stronk, *Semiramis' Legacy: The History of Persia according to Diodorus of Sicily* (Edinburgh 2016).

Cyrus-like qualities of bravery and discernment, encouraging him as Enkidu did Gilgamesh, and sharing in his victory over Media. The remaining portions of the Cyrus story are given in the Photius epitome, including a curious suicide by Oibaras, Cyrus' Median bride (Amytis prefiguring relentless Parysatis?).

The fourth set of case studies (pp. 78–100) are Ctesias' adaptations of Near Eastern traditions, all of which dovetail with his perception of the Achaemenid empire: snobbery, decay, moral turpitude. The deterioration began with Ninyas, whose rotation of military forces increased the illusory grandeur of the monarchy, but not his visibility to all. Waters makes reasonable suggestions about the role the warrior goddesses Ishtar and Anahita (with whom Ishtar was syncretised) played in Assurbanipal's and later the Achaemenid court, one deserving further investigation (in the 2nd century AD, Nana – syncretised with Ishtar/Anahita – was the source of Kushan kingship). The destruction of Assyria during the time of useless Sardanapalus is brought about by the hero-helper pair Arbakes and Belesys, whose discussion beneath the walls of Nineveh find their parallel in Mesopotamian literature (as does the Cyrus-Oibaras exchange). The tale of the Herculean (or Ninurta) Parsondes, known for virtue and intelligence, suffering at the hands of Nanaros reflects again Ctesias' interest in gender reversal (with parallels from both Greek and Near Eastern legend). Parsondes may have served as a literary precursor to Cyrus in royal heroic qualities – quite reasonable (pp. 86–91). The story of Zarinaia and Stryangaia is notable for the strong emotions assigned by Ctesias to the lovelorn hero, and may have a Near Eastern parallel in weeping Assurbanipal approaching Ishtar (pp. 91–94). The tale of Megabyzus, a near contemporary, was rendered by Ctesias heroic to the Greek world. A descendant from the Seven, who played a key political/military role over 50 years, his deeds and nobility of character were counterbalanced by the potential threat his status posed to the existing royal family, even beyond his own lifetime.

When Ctesias goes on to recount contemporary events, the qualities of his narrative are repeated: inversion, excess, the feminine and exotic. Unlike Ctesias', W.'s study has much to recommend it for those investigating the history and literatures of the Near Eastern and Hellenic worlds, different worlds but not always worlds apart.

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B.D. Wescoat, with contributions by C. Arnold-Biucchi, S.L. Bevins, S. Dillon *et al.*, *The Monuments of the Eastern Hill*, Samothrace 9: Excavations Conducted by the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton 2017, 2 vols. Text: xli+478 pp.; Plates: ix+108 pp. of plates inc. fold-outs. Cased. ISBN 978-0-87661-850-9

In this volume Bonna Wescoat, the present director of the Samothrace excavations, studies and publishes the results of excavations conducted by her predecessor, James McCredie. The Eastern Hill with its monuments lies between the Propylon erected by Ptolemy II and the valley which is the location for the main part of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods. It is traversed by the road, the Sacred Way, that leads through the Propylon into the Sanctuary from the ancient town of Samothrace itself. Its buildings and other elements are therefore the first part of the sacred area encountered by worshippers as they made their way into the Sanctuary. It begins with a flat area, the 'Theatral Circle' which seems to have originated as

a widening of the road. It was then, at the end of the 5th or early in the 4th century BC, surrounded by three concentric circular rows of steps from which spectators could stand and view whatever activities took place within the circle itself. Originally the Sacred Way led through these steps but with a major remodelling in the first part of the 4th century the gap between the sections of steps was blocked and the road diverted outside to the north. At this point two extra rows of steps were created above the original third row.

Above this a rectangular building was erected on top of the hill and the now abandoned course of the Sacred Way. It was constructed from trachyte field stones rather than quarried blocks, but was important enough to be given painted decoration inside on its plastered walls, fragments of which were found, showing that the decorative system was in an architectural style.

This building was shortly replaced by a far more magnificent rectangular hall with a hexastyle Doric porch. Two blocks of its architrave are perfectly preserved which carry the first part of its dedicatory inscription, indicating that it was the gift of 'The kings Philip...'. Though only a few small fragments of the remainder of the architrave are preserved it is clear, and argued cogently by W. that the kings in the plural could only be Philip Arrhidaios and the young Alexander IV, the successors of Alexander the Great, and the building therefore dated to the brief period of their dual reign, 323 to 317 BC.

Architecturally this is the most important, and in many ways the most interesting of the structures on the Eastern Hill. Its purpose and function, presumably as a direct successor of the field stone building, is not clear. With its hexastyle prostyle porch, together with the dedicatory inscription, it is essentially similar to the Treasuries erected by individual communities in the major sanctuaries of the Greek world and certainly by the time it was erected the Sanctuary of the Great Gods of Samothrace was aspiring to that status. However, W. points out that there is no sign of sculpture or anything else requiring a substantial base within the building. Moreover, it is situated away from the main area of the Sanctuary, and is clearly placed to look over the theatral area, and its function presumably the same as the field stone building it replaced in an offering of good will by, or at least in the names of the joint Macedonian kings. W. considers the various actual successors of Alexander the Great who might have been behind it, from Antipater onwards but this must remain uncertain.

This building was destroyed in a major earthquake in the late 1st or early 2nd century AD. The south-east corner of its façade fell into the theatral circle, where many of the blocks were left, though others were salvaged for further use. The excavators collected the fallen and displaced stones, and from them the original form could be described. One curious element of the design is immediately apparent: while the prostyle porch and steps, with the return to the antae, and including the antae themselves were in Pentelic marble the walls behind this façade were of Thasian marble. W. gives a careful analysis of the techniques employed in the erection of all this, from which she was able to discover that the two parts show distinct variations in the technology of manipulating and placing the individual blocks in their required positions, and from this she deduces that not only was there the difference of material but that there were two distinct groups of workmen involved for each part separately, presumably Athenians working the Pentelic marble while masons from Thasos worked the Thasian stone. Even so, there must have been a single designing architect, presumably Athenian, though Bonna Wescoat notes the suggestion I made at the third Macedonian Symposium of possible Peloponnesian architectural influences on Macedonian construction.

There were subsequent additions to the architecture and arrangement of the area. Most noticeable would have been the construction on the immediate approach of the Sacred Way of the Propylon of Ptolemy II, published by Alfred Frasier in a previous volume of the Samothrace series. This afforded a revelatory view of the theatral circle and its steps and, dominating it, the Dedication of Philip and Alexander, with a wide stairway leading down to them. Also additional and discussed in the present study is an Ionic tetrastyle porch, added to the back of the Dedication but with no actual doorway, it would seem, leading into it. Far less of its remains survive and some details of it are obscure. It was built mainly of Thasian marble, though the (fragmentary) Ionic capitals are Proconnesian. It had a particularly elaborately decorated coffered ceiling. Other details are less certain, particularly the form of its roof, whether the façade was capped with a pediment or not, alternatives being a hipped or a pent (shed) roof. Wescoat gives possible parallels, the Stoa of the Athenians below the terrace wall of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, and my restoration of the pent roof on the Perachora fountain house which, as the probable work of Demetrius Poliorcetes, may have a Macedonian connection, but neither of these is really similar to the small porch structure at Samothrace. A pedimental roof seems more likely. Its purpose is even more obscure than that of the Dedication Building, for it turns its back, as it were, on the theatral area and would be visible rather to people returning to the city from the main sanctuary. As with the Dedication Building there is no evidence to suggest what it contained or housed, though the elaborate ceiling indicates some importance.

A second addition to the complex consists of a line of platforms above the steps of the theatral area and following the same curved form. These begin with separate segments which are gradually extended to join up to form a single curved rim. These are not steps but served as support for a series of individual statue bases of Thasian marble on which bronze statues were erected. From the marks on the tops of the bases for the feet it is clear the statues were of males. The statues themselves probably fell in the earthquake and were then taken for scrap – only the slightest fragments of the statues themselves were found, patches and eyelid plates. The earliest platform was constructed shortly after the Dedication of Philip and Alexander was built, the last one before the end of the 2nd century BC. The bases do not carry names or dedications for the statues, which do not seem to have been commemorative. From the final completed appearance of them in their circular lines above the viewing steps they seem to constitute a series of a perennial and perpetual audience for whatever ritual was transacted in the theatral area itself.

Altogether, this book presents a very full and thorough study of the remains found in this area. Along with the catalogues of finds – pottery, terracotta figurines, coins, metal objects, inscriptions on stone, stone objects and glass, compiled by her collaborators – W. supplies detailed listed and numbered descriptions of all the individual architectural fragments collected to form the basis of her account.

This is an important account of a distinct part of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods. The area obviously played a specific role in the functioning of the Sanctuary and its Mysteries, presumably an essential preliminary before passing over the Eastern Hill into the main area, and also, to judge from the Ionic porch, on leaving. What that ritual comprised cannot be reconstructed on the available evidence, but even so, thanks to W.'s convincing study of the remains we now have a full understanding of what the area comprised.

C. Whately, *Exercitus Moesiae: The Roman Army in Moesia from Augustus to Severus Alexander*, BAR International Series 2825, BAR Publishing, Oxford 2016, vii+124 pp., 5 maps. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1475-4

This revised MA thesis (McMaster University, 2005) argues that long-term planning seen in a provincial army's composition and deployment of units can explain strategy on the Lower Danube. Readers pressed for time will find the work's essence (parts recycled verbatim) in five pages of a 2015 *acta*.¹ Independent calls for examination of provincial armies from M.P. Speidel and S. James² prompt using Moesia as a case study for the Roman strategy debate, limited here largely to the views of E. Luttwak, K. Kagan, J. Wilkes, R. Batty and this reviewer.³ Unsurprising conclusions assert (pp. 85–87): the composition of provincial armies was not static; provincial armies had to respond to low-intensity warfare and provide internal security, thus more *auxilia* rather than legions on frontiers; fortifications indicate concern for external threats; and troops deployments can inform about strategy. Of the scholars named only Wilkes's contention of static provincial garrisons is rebutted. This problematic monograph would have benefited from observing the old adage to let the sleeping dogs (of past work) lie.

First, conceptual issues. For specialists the title designating a single Moesian army for a province divided into Superior and Inferior *ca.* AD 85/86 immediately raises eyebrows. Conor Whately views Moesia Superior as part of the Lower Danube frontier. Geography suggests otherwise. That southern spur of the Carpathians extending across the Danube into modern Serbia and Bulgaria, dramatically emphasised by the Iron Gates Gorge, separates the Middle from the Lower Danube. A superficial discussion of the area's physical geography (pp. 2–3) ignores the elephant in the room. Móscy's classic study of the Middle Danubian Moesia Superior and Pannonia rightly excludes Moesia Inferior.⁴ Moesia Superior naturally fits with Pannonia and the mountainous portions of Dacia rather than

¹ 'Dispositions and Strategy in the Moesias from Trajan to Commodus'. In L. Vagalinski and N. Sharankov (eds.), *Limes XXII* (Sofia 2015), 137–43.

² M.P. Speidel, 'Work to be done on the Organization of the Roman Army'. *BullLondon* 26 (1989), 102 (= *Roman Army Studies* II [Stuttgart 1992], 16); S. James, 'Writing the Legions: The Development and Future of Roman Military Studies in Britain'. *Antf* 159 (2002), 38–39: James's manifesto of the value of the 'new archaeology' for Roman army studies – views scarcely shared by all Roman army historians.

³ E. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from the First Century CE to the Third* (Baltimore 1976); K. Kagan, 'Redefining Roman Grand Strategy'. *Journal of Military History* 70 (2006), 333–62; J. Wilkes, 'The Roman Danube: An Archaeological Survey'. *JRS* 95 (2005), 124–225; R. Batty, *Rome and the Nomads: The Pontic-Danubian Realm in Antiquity* (Oxford 2007); E. Wheeler: 'Methodological Limits and the Mirage of Roman Strategy, Parts I–II'. *Journal of Military History* 57 (1993), 7–41, 214–40; 'Rome's Dacian Wars: Domitian, Trajan, and Strategy on the Danube, Part I'. *Journal of Military History* 74 (2010), 1185–1227; 'Part II'. 75 (2011), 191–219, 614–16 (corrections to nn. 114, 181, 183, 184, unknown to Whately); 'Roman Fleets in the Black Sea: Mysteries of the *classis Pontica*'. *Acta Classica* 55 (2012), 119–54. On the banality of Kagan's views, which Whately takes seriously, see Wheeler 2011, 614–15 n. 114. Luttwak's revised edition (2016) of the 1976 work rebuts many criticisms, although some of his problematic views (especially on Late Roman frontiers) remain based on now outdated scholarship.

⁴ A. Móscy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (London 1974).

the plains of Oltenia and Wallachia opposite Moesia Inferior. Such misconceptions extend to W.'s overlooking fluctuations in the borders of the two Moesias in areas north of the Danube under Trajan and Hadrian and encampments of legions and *auxilia* accordingly. His rigid 'snapshots' of troop locations for specific periods ignore the fluidity of troop movements in major wars.

Indeed W. misses basic points: for military and administrative purposes Rome created 'Moesia', originally a vague geographical designation and not a major ethnic term. The original Moesia, a *provincia* in the sense of a military command in AD 6, was improvised for strategic needs. A regular consular province of that name began only under Tiberius or Claudius. But W., fixated on army units, has no interest in governors, formal provincial boundaries or the thorny question of why Rome chose the term 'Moesia' (pp. 11–12). The change in Rome's strategic orientation to the Danube from the south, where under the Republic Macedonia provided the operational base, to Illyricum and the west from Augustus on is omitted, besides the expected role of the client-kingdom Thrace to help guard the Lower Danube and the Greek cities of the Black Sea coast.

Further, the concept of provincial armies as distinct entities, if initially enticing, may be more scholarly construct than reality. Splintering the Roman army into provincial armies and denying its unity reflect the primitivising agenda of some theoretically inspired archaeologists, preferring local fragmentation to any sort of centralised control. Space precludes detailed discussion. Terms like *exercitus Moesicus* or *exercitus Syriacus*, conveniently used in literary sources like Tacitus to reflect the geographical or administrative origin of a particular army, find little support in inscriptions, where specific units, not provincial armies are named. Even in texts of *vexillationes*, a possible exception, specific units or the geographical location of the *vexillatio* predominate.⁵ A late Hadrianic '*exercitus*' coin series includes an *exercitus Moesicus*, but excludes the two Pannonian armies and does not distinguish the two Germanies and two Mauretaniae.⁶ So far as known, provincial armies, not regularly assembled as a whole for joint exercises, only concentrated for actual operations. A *miles'* loyalty and identity lay with his unit rather than the more abstract provincial army. Only bids for the purple (for example Septimius Severus and the Pannonian legions) created a broader provincial identity and positing any regional identity has its problems.⁷ W., uninterested in these issues, assumes rather than justifies the validity of his title's *exercitus Moesiae*. Thus comparison of the two Moesian armies to draw conclusions about a common Moesian army (p. 82) is dubious: they faced different opponents under distinct geographical circumstances. A broader perspective including the Pannonias and Dacia would have been more

⁵ *Exercitus Moesicus*: Tac. *Hist.* 2. 86. 3; 3. 2. 3 (plural), 5. 1, 9. 2; a brickstamp from Balaklava (*L'Année Épigraphique* 1998.1163b, late 2nd/3rd century) reads *V(exillatio) E(xercitus) M(oesiae) I(nferioris)*: see T. Sarnowski and V. Zubar, 'Römische Besatzungstruppen auf der Südkrim und eine Bauinschrift aus dem Kastell Charax'. *ZPE* 112 (1996), 234 n. 35; *exercitus Syriacus*: Tac. *Hist.* 2. 8. 2; e.g. *ILS* 9168: *ex vexill(atione) sagitt(ariorum) exer(citus) Syriaci*.

⁶ References and brief discussion at E. Wheeler, 'The Occasion of Arrian's *Tactica*'. *GRBS* 19 (1978), 352 with nn. 7–8.

⁷ Cf. J. Eadie, 'One Hundred Years of Rebellion: The Eastern Army in Politics, A.D. 175–272'. In D. Kennedy (ed.), *The Roman Army in the East* (Ann Arbor 1996), 135–51.

profitable, although W.'s concern for defending Batty's emphasis on internal security permits little attention to the factor of external threats.

The perfunctory Introduction treats geography, sources, scholarship on the Roman army and the author's purpose (pp. 1–8). For a monograph series like BAR, one expects work pitched at scholars, but the jejune discussion informs the general public, not specialists. Throughout, W. fails to distinguish scholarly from popular publications and grants authority to numerous contributions to recent encyclopaedias and dictionaries for non-scholars, as if *RE* articles. They are not.

'Part I: The Data', the bulk of the work (pp. 11–74), divides into five chapters, of which Chapters 1–3 discuss the legions and *auxilia* in Moesia/Moesia Superior/Inferior for the periods 27 BC–AD 81, AD 81–161 and 161–235. Chapter 4 treats Moesian *vexillationes* at Black Sea sites and Chapter 5 seeks (in vain) to say something new about the location of legions and *auxilia* in the Moesias. Part II, essentially only Chapter 6, presents supposed results of the study. A superfluous Conclusion (pp. 86–87) is unremarkable. Six appendices follow: first, tables of legions and *auxilia* units from his three periods repeated from Chapters 1–3; second, a list of all legions and *auxilia* in Moesia/the Moesias, including their original location, date of arrival on the Danube, the year of their departure and final location. Much here is disputable or inaccurate. Appendices 3–4 list all Moesian *diplomata* (perhaps the most useful part of the book) and all epigraphical, documentary and literary sources. Appendix 5, a banal discussion of *numeri*, omits Reuter.⁸ Adequate maps constitute Appendix 6.

Chapters 1–3 follow a common model. A skeletal summary of military activity on the Moesian frontiers (often muddled and confused), essentially W.'s only engagement with external threats, prefaces treatment of legions and *auxilia* in the area under individual emperors. These chapters partially overlap with a very useful 2009 University of Bucharest dissertation.⁹ Epigraphical evidence for legions and *auxilia* is not the author's forte. Readers will delight in an extensive, tedious commentary, repeating the known, largely borrowing from others, or arguing the obvious with little new to add, apart from unconvincing speculations. Factual errors and endorsement of antiquated or long-refuted views further discredit the discussion. Space denies detailed exposition.¹⁰ Chapter 4 on *vexillationes* in the Black Sea, thoroughly garbled, cannot be recommended. W. scarcely understands the complexities of the area or even the Roman lines of command. Nor does the reader fare better with the supposed conclusions. A case for internal security over external threats hardly convinces, when the opposing side of the question is not examined and no new evidence for justifying the preference for internal security is offered.

In sum, it astounds me that the once-distinguished BAR series would accept this work, which very much remains the MA thesis of a student good at collecting original sources and reading *some* of the relevant bibliography, but still lacking a deeper understanding of the topic and the 'big picture' of the theme's context. As W. remarks (p. 66), 'Indeed, a great

⁸ M. Reuter, 'Studien zu den *numeri* des Römischen Heeres in der Mittleren Kaiserzeit'. *Berichte der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 80 (1999 [2001]), 357–569.

⁹ F. Matei-Popescu, *The Roman Army in Moesia Inferior* (Bucharest 2010).

¹⁰ For example, Frau Dr Gabriele Wesch-Klein (and her husband) will be surprised to learn of her change of sex (14, n. 147) – unfortunately typical of other 'howlers' and poor proof-reading.

deal of the discussion will be speculative, though in the absence of additional evidence, it is better to say something than nothing.’ For this monograph, however, the opposite could be justifiably argued. Certainly the current *Zeitgeist* of the publication explosion encourages profusion rather than restraint among young scholars and the author’s industry can be lauded. But quantity is not quality and sometimes the sleeping dog should be left alone.

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Everett L. Wheeler

U. Wicenciak, *Porphyreon: Hellenistic and Roman Pottery Production in the Sidon Hinterland*, PAM Monograph 7, Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw, Warsaw 2016, 320 pp., illustrations (a few in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-83-942288-4-2

It is always welcome, when someone undertakes the demanding task of publishing and analysing the pottery coming down to us by various excavations and surveys. Especially with regard to the Phoenician Levant we face the problem that much of the ceramic material still is unpublished. One of the sites with considerable gaps in this respect is Sidon/Saida, whereas, for example, Hellenistic and Roman pottery from Berytus/Beirut has been experiencing a number of studies.

Located between these two centres is the Phoenician coastal town of Porphyreon, now Lebanese Jiyeh. As Urszula Wicenciak sketches in her introductory chapter, Jiyeh suffered from extensive destruction during the Lebanese civil war 1975–1990, which also interrupted the Lebanese excavations led by Roger Saidah (1930–1979); the documentation largely got lost. Archaeological research at Porphyreon as well as at the nearby inland village of Chhîm has been resumed by a Lebanese-Polish-French mission since 1997.¹

W. participated in surveys at both places. The book under review is an updated English translation based on her doctoral dissertation, Warsaw University (2013). It has, in effect, two parts: text and an extensive catalogue. The text itself is supplemented by diagrams, pictures, tables and maps, all of which are of very good quality (only in the case of two maps, figs. 1-1 and 1-2, some may need reading glasses). The topic of the book is the local pottery of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, mainly from the 2nd century BC to the 3rd century AD. Against the background of major gaps in the analysis and interpretation of Levantine ceramics W. aims at establishing a typology and chronology, which she has mastered impressively.

The volume opens with an introductory chapter on geography, the scarce written evidence, an outline of Porphyreon’s archaeological topography and finally the history of research. Unfortunately, there are just four written sources mentioning Porphyreon, three of them rather lists with no further details. According to W., the identification of *Gi-*’ from an inscription of Asarhaddon (Nin. A III 1, on the campaign of 677 BC) with the Porphyreon of the three classical sources and hence with the site itself seems undebated. The only written source to reveal some information appears slightly imprecise: in the context of Antiochus III’s campaigns in Koile Syria, Polybius (5. 68–69) records that in 218 BC the

¹ See also T. Waliszewski, ‘Chhîm et Jiyeh de la prospérité au déclin’. *Les Dossiers d’Archéologie* 350 (2012), 64–69.

Ptolemaic general Nikolaos occupied Porphyreon's hinterland to resist the Seleucid king, but was overcome by him in the same year. The battle mentioned by W. (p. 16) under the direct commands of Ptolemy IV and Antiochus III was not just any battle, but the famous battle of Raphia, fought one year after the events described by Polybius.

The second chapter outlines the 'context, stratigraphy and classification criteria' and hence functions, together with Chapter 1.4.1 on 'site topography', as the background for the following analyses of the ceramic material. Topographically, there are two main areas of evidence, the first being the 'residential quarter' from the Late Roman period (sector D). The second one lies to the north, where a Late Roman necropolis partly overlays a Hellenistic and Early Roman level, identified as a pottery production site (sector B). Apparently, the building of a modern holiday resort was good for the town's economy, but bad for archaeology, as ancient constructions have been destroyed without being properly documented. It is on pottery from this site that the book concentrates. The evidence for the Hellenistic and Roman pottery appears to be very uneven: whereas Hellenistic ceramics seem to have been found in a couple of test pits, Roman pottery is only attested as rubbish from a Roman-period well. Furthermore, as W. notes later in a footnote (p. 97), it may be doubted, whether the site under the later Roman cemetery is indeed a pottery production zone, since most of the sherds found here seem to be waste. She also points to the fact that it is mostly sherds that have been found, hardly any intact pieces. Against this background, the arrangement of the material and the establishment of a typology is a great achievement. The classification criteria, outlined in Chapter 2.2, are both chronological and by category. Broadly, W. distinguishes Late Hellenistic and Early Roman ware, and differentiates between amphorae and kitchen vessels, the latter being subdivided into a couple of 'functional groups' such as cooking vessels, closed vessels for storing liquids, etc.

The core of the book certainly is the typology itself in the subsequent Chapters 3 (Late Hellenistic) and 4 (Early Roman). Following the outline in Chapter 2.3, each chapter starts with a general description, including tables of the percentages of forms, and ends with a summary. Each type is accompanied by a drawing, and throughout there are references to the plates in the second part of the book.² The analysis of each type is subdivided into a detailed description, a dating based on parallels from other sites – reaching as far as to the western Mediterranean – and a reference to finds from the residential quarter (sector D). The catalogue contains additional information on the fabric of each piece such as colour, grain size and hardness. Generally, the presentation greatly benefits from the authors's acquaintance with published and especially hitherto unpublished material from other sites, notably from Saida and Chhîm. Throughout the two chapters W. emphasises that some attributions may become modified or developed by further evidence, and occasionally she points to open questions – certainly one of the strengths of the book. In her conclusion to Chapter 4 she notices a break, marked by a standardisation, however alongside with the continuity of previously attested forms.

² Running the danger to appear hypercritical, there are (just!) three inconsistent references: in Chapter 3.3.1.1. (p. 44), JY2008/319 (Jiyeh sector D 37; 14) is not to be found on pl. 90 – is JY2008/592 meant?; Chapter 3.3.2.1.4. (p. 51) and pl. 82: JY2009/207 or JY2009/2017?; Chapter 4.3.2.3.1. (p. 95): the illustration for bowl subtype 5.1 is pl. 77, not pl. 57.

The final chapter is devoted to 'Porphyreon's place in the Phoenician hinterland'. Whereas in the Hellenistic period many forms show interdependencies with Sidonian pottery, in Early Roman times Berytus seems to function as the economic centre of the region. The second sub-chapter outlines 'regional connections' with southern Phoenicia. It might be debatable whether it is reasonable to speak of distinct cultural zones, or whether differences of ceramic forms rather attest to different economic and administrative areas. Finally, in Chapter 5.4, W. states the probability of the specialisation of pottery production. Further research on Porphyreon seems to support that view.³ In a concluding chapter W. mainly gives a summary – stating that the economic and administrative dependencies of Porphyreon are still to be analysed.⁴

To repeat it: the presentation and interpretation of the material in this book is a great achievement, and further ceramic analyses from other Phoenician sites will surely gain much profit from W.'s accuracy.

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J. Wiesehöfer and S. Müller (eds.), *Parthika: Greek and Roman Authors' Views of the Arsacid Empire*, *Classica et Orientalia* 15, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2017, xiii+312 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10764-8/ISSN 2190-3638¹

The second volume of the 2012 Kiel Conference to be published, *Parthika*, depicts on its cover the ancestral Pugachenkovan reconstruction of the interior of Old Nisa's Round Hall, its lofty majesty at present diminished by the publication of stress-tests carried out on the material from which it was constructed.² The work itself, which considers the treatment by some Graeco-Roman authorities concerning Parthian matters, does not diminish Arsacid majesty, but rather the imaginative reconstructions of some modern scholars who collapsed evidence and offered suggestions for which there was scant textual data.

³ M. Badura *et al.*, 'Plant remains from Jiyeh/Porphyreon, Lebanon (seasons 2009–2014): preliminary results of archaeobotanical analysis and implications for future research'. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 25 (2016), 487–510.

⁴ See M. Gwiazda, 'Economy of Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Settlement in Jiyeh (Porphyreon), Lebanon'. *Archeologia* 62–63 (2011–12), 31–44; K. Domžalski, 'Terra Sigillata, Red Slip and Glazed Wares from Jiyeh (Porphyreon) and Chhim in Lebanon. Similarities and Differences in Supplying Coastal and Mountain Customers'. *Archeologia* 64 (2013), 23–51.

¹ Contents at https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/title_1464.shtml?NKLN=243_B.

² Summary published on pp. 65, 81 in A. Invernizzi and C. Lippolis (eds.), *Nisa Partica. Ricerche nel complesso monumentale arsacide, 1990–2006* (Florence 2008). There are two recent works which should be present in the bibliography: Strabon *Geographie Livre XV*. ed. and trans. P.O. Leroy (Paris 2016); and even though the *Parthika* deals with only Graeco-Roman sources, the Russian translation of Debevoise's Parthian work, with a complete multi-lingual bibliography on Parthia and its environs (516 pp. as of 2008): N.C. Debevoise, *Politicheskaja Istorija Parfii*, transl. and ed. V.P. Nikonorov (St. Petersburg 2008). See review by R.S. Wojcikowski in *Anabasis* 3 (2012), 347–50.

The first two contributions, Josef Wiesehöfer and Sabine Müller (pp. vii–xiii) and Marek Olbrycht (pp. 3–27), provide an introduction to the problems of inquiry. Wiesehöfer and Müller point to the transfer of western Achaemenid-era stereotypes onto the Arsacids, plus the absence of data concerning regional perceptions of the dynasty. Olbrycht discusses the Greek presence in Parthia, one characterised by a spectrum of problems in defining both ethnic and social status. Of excellent value are his suggestions for the multiple perceptions of the supposed ‘Philhellenism’ among the Arsacids. It is unfortunate that that he reuses (p. 13) the term ‘apartheid-based’ system, a term applicable to the Union/Republic of South Africa and which, based upon Dr Verwoerd’s proposals, did not go into effect until the late 1940s. His conclusion, though, is on the mark: Parthian preservation of the major components of their culture combined with political pragmatism in dealing with subject peoples.

Apollodorus of Artemita (pp. 29–69) is the subject of three investigations. Johannes Engels (pp. 29–45) notes Strabo’s high praise for Apollodorus’ works, although he (Strabo) remained grounded in Augustan-era perception. There exists the possibility that Apollodorus’ content was quite detailed (*FGH* 779 fr. 1 = Athen. 15.29 p. 682 C–D), and its focus on the sectors east of Mesopotamia, not on the detailing of Parthian interactions with the Seleucids and Romans (p. 41). Krzysztof Nawotka examines the existing fragments, which reveal no data on Apollodorus’ life or his sources (p. 48): 130 BC, which is the putative modern date assigned to Menander’s Indian expedition, is thus assigned by moderns as the *terminus post quem* for the work’s composition. On pp. 50–52 Nawotka discusses the possibility of additional fragments (two, on Eastern material, are attributed to an Apollodorus; two, Strabo 11. 10. 2 and Pliny *NH* 6. 46, may preserve a Hellenistic-era account of Merv). Müller’s discussion (pp. 59–69) unravels the web of speculations which have marked the past study of the author. ‘The man without the shadow promises you the world ...’, but moderns constructed it.

Four scholars undertake a journey along the Parthian Stations of Isidore of Charax (pp. 71–220). Monika Schuol discusses the definition of *stathmos* and the term’s use in sources. She suggests an Augustan-era origin for the *Stations*, with the possibilities of its military use and its existence as an excerpt from a larger whole. Udo Hartmann (pp. 87–125) regards the two Parthian works, the *Stations* and the *Periegesis*, as the product of Hellenistic geographical and ethnographical learning (p. 116). There may have existed a third work, a seemingly ‘world-geography’, *per* Pliny’s citations. In any case, the *Stations*, whether or not an excerpt, was unsuitable for use in any long distance travel.

Stefan Hauser’s extensive examination (with satellite photographs and chart indicating region, specific location and possible modern identification) is also the most circumspect. Pliny *NH* 6. 141, as evidenced by the manuscript tradition, refers to a Dionysius of Spasinou Charax, not to be identified with Isidore, whose specific ‘Charax’ is unknown. While Pliny cites Isidore’s ‘world-geography’, he displays no knowledge of the *Stations*. There remains uncertainty whether that work was a defectively prepared excerpt or a careless third party epitome simply assigned to Isidore’s name. After considering ancient measurements of distance Hauser suggests the *schoinos* used by Isidore fell in a range of 5.328–5.55 km

(pp. 134–43). As he traces the route from Zeugma to Seleuceia (pp. 143–56) he notes the distances are realistic, and the first part of document should be understood as an itinerary (p. 156). Once one proceeds from Seleuceia (*FGH* 781 fr. 2 sect. 2 ff., pp. 157–60) descriptions diminish into a mere listing of distances between points, thus a pretend itinerary. As it exists now the *Stations* is not a document for military use, nor even for any travel planning, in spite of the detail given initially. Isidore uses no explicit political terminology (p. 163; cf. Hartmann pp. 100–03), but instead presents a less than precise recollection (p. 164) of a route he may have partially travelled in reality. Rüdiger Schmitt's well-documented and well-argued study of Isidore in the context of Persian toponymy fails to enhance the majesty of the *Stations* data. A 1st-century AD composition date is acceptable, but there is little reason to assign Isidore Aramaic knowledge, only his ability to consult older, more detailed sources. Comparison with other material is an exercise yielding disappointment; Schmitt, after a location by location examination, especially sections 4–19, concludes the value of Isidore's evidence must remain questionable.

Now follow four studies on other sources. Josephus earns a black mark in his copy book from Erich Gruen (pp. 223–40). Geopolitical considerations (cf. p. 230) are put aside in exchange for 'moral pronouncement[s]' (p. 231) on the 'slippery by nature' Parthians (p. 232), an accurate assessment as indicated in Marciak's study of Adiabene's royalty.³ Müller (pp. 241–57) discusses Trogus-Justin. What survives describes a *translatio imperii* in which energetic founders fashion an empire in which decadence eventually takes hold. According to Matthäus Heil (pp. 259–78), Tacitus devotes time to Parthia as a break from Roman bad news. His information, although second-hand, is valuable, but focuses on the western portion of the empire, and no deep insight into the Parthian character emerges. In the final essay Charlotte Lerouge-Cohen (pp. 279–305) examines Roos's Arrian fragments (1, 18, 19, 20). To the foundation narrative in fr. 1 (Photius, Ioannes Lydus, Georgius Syncellus) can be tied the accounts of Malalas and Jordanes. Roos's emendation of fr. 18 is rejected (p. 292). The Arsaces who appears in fr. 19 should not be seen as the Founder (pp. 293–94). The two *Suda* citations which make up fragment 20 in Roos reflect the confusions which came to exist in Western sources about the various Persian peoples (p. 304), a not unreasonable suggestion given the inaccurate data in Strabo 15. 2. 8 C 724 on Persian languages.⁴

It is regrettable that so little of Apollodorus and Isidore are extant; at least this volume has cleared away much earlier speculation. Hauser and Schmitt have done the most here to advance the study of western literary data on the Arsacids in conjunction with an ever increasing archaeological record.

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³ M. Marciak, *Izates, Helena, and Monobazos of Adiabene. A Study on Literary Traditions and History* (Wiesbaden 2014).

⁴ A. Panaino, '[Homoglottoi para micron]'. *Electrum* 22 (2015), 87–106.

- A. Wissing, with an appendix by K. Zipp, *Die Bestattungen der Frühen und Mittleren Bronzezeit in der zentralen Oberstadt von Tall Mozan/Urkeš: Eine vergleichende Analyse zu den Bestattungssitten des Oberen Habürgebietes*, Studien zur Urbanisierung Nordmesopotamiens [SUN] A 5, Ausgrabungen in der zentralen Oberstadt von Tall Mozan/Urkeš, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2017, xlvi+549 pp., illustrations, 80 colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10797-6

The volume by Anne Wissing is a revision of her doctoral dissertation undertaken at the University of Tübingen (2013) under the supervision of Prof. Peter Pfälzner. Its focus is the publication of 69 graves excavated on the Acropolis of Mozan (areas C2 and B6) between 1998 and 2001, which, though not representing the main cemetery of the town, as rightly noted by Pfälzner in the preface, are certainly a relevant sample of funerary practices at the site spanning the period *ca.* 2500–1700 BC. The book is the fifth in the series of final excavation reports concerning Mozan and is particularly welcome, not only because of its topic and its intrinsic value but also for the relevance at this particular time of any publication on Syrian archaeological heritage, now for so long under threat.

The whole is introduced by a summary which is meant to provide an account of the work in a synthetic way, translated into Arabic too, offering a diachronic view of what is a general outline of funerary practices at the site in each period under study.

The book itself is subdivided in seven main chapters plus a substantial catalogue, articulated in two parts, the first focusing on evidence from Mozan itself, the second on that of a number of surrounding sites (Tell Chagar Bazar, Tell Arbid, Tell Beydar, Tell Brak, Tell Barri, Tell Mohammed Diyab). An important part of the volume is represented by the appendix contributed by Katja Zipp concerning the anthropological analyses carried out on human remains (expected in any serious excavation report of graves such as this one).

Chapter 1, the introduction, gives an overview of all phases of occupation, for which the Syrian Jazirah terminology (Early Jazirah II–V, Old Jazirah I–III and Middle Jazirah I) is employed, as explained on pp. 1–2; then the scope and goal of the work are described providing also the theoretical framework in which the research has been conceived and carried out, i.e. as a contextual archaeological study of funerary evidence, in which interpretation is only attempted if strongly supported by data. Finally, the variables taken into consideration in the grave analysis are described: position; type of structure; type of deposition (considering also if primary or secondary); number of individuals per grave; funerary equipment.

Chapter 2 provides a detailed analysis of the 69 graves under examination, all but one of them in area C2 at the site; while Chapter 3 offers the consequent general picture of funerary practices through time, making specific reference to the number of aspects deemed relevant in the analysis listed above. Particular attention has been devoted to the placement of graves in relation to the settlement (not only whether in built-up or disused environments, but also type of location). Grave inventories are treated in the following distinct categories: pottery vessels; jewels; weapons; figurines; other artefacts; animal bones. Empty graves are also taken into consideration as well as differences in funerary equipment. The general development of funerary practices through time is then provided by subdividing the sample by five age groups: newborn and small babies; children of 1–7 years; juveniles; subadults; adults.

In Chapter 4 examination is included of the graves brought to light in the Lower Town by the other expedition operating at the site, led by Giorgio Buccellati of the International Institute for Mesopotamian Area Studies: interestingly, here too empty graves are found along with deposition of single bones. The analysis continues, extending the focus to the evidence of surrounding sites: Chagar Bazar (from Max Mallowan's to more recent excavations); Tell Arbid; Tell Beydar; Tell Brak; Tell Barri; Tell Leilan; Tell Mohammed Diyab. Graves from each site are presented in a very detailed form, discussed at local level and then compared with the Mozan evidence.

The gist of the research at a regional level is presented in Chapters 5 and 6, the former underlying similarities and differences of the funerary practices in each period according to the above-mentioned variables, the latter focusing instead on specific elements of the overall pattern which may shed light on some aspects of the funerary behaviour, also in terms of belief and ritual. Here, the low number of burials within houses is explained as being exceptional *vis-à-vis* extramural cemeteries, of which however the existence can only be presumed. Offerings outside collective grave chambers in the early 2nd millennium are seen as part of the posthumous cult and put in relation to textual attestations (especially on the *kispu*m ritual).¹ Questions like empty graves and secondary depositions are also discussed in the light of the possibility of transfer of corpses ('Umbettung').

In Chapter 7 the funerary practices of the Upper Khabur region are viewed against the reconstructed socio-political background by phase: important questions are probed, such as the composition of the households and the status of the inhabitants of the centres examined, as well as the role of graves within the establishment and negotiation of social competition. On the basis of the evidence encountered, W. suggests that in the earliest period under consideration (EJIIIb) only those individuals, including children, who had attained a certain rank within society were eligible for burial in non-domestic locations, while most of the intramural burials encountered contained children and few adults, of lower rank. This is said considering that graves in general were rarely attested and offering the reasonable explanation of the nature of archaeological explorations which, especially at larger sites, concentrated on conspicuous, public buildings on the Acropolis and very little on private architecture. In the following period, EJIV, when most of the region was probably under the political control of the Akkadian kingdom (with the possible exception of Mozan itself), funerary customs do not undergo significant change, apart from the presence of elite graves hitherto unparalleled (like the two on the Beydar Acropolis). In the EJIV period, changes affecting the settlement pattern – the abandonment of a number of sites especially in the Leilan area – do not seem to have had any influence on funerary behaviour. One thing noticeable, however, is the increase of metal objects in some grave inventories, which may be explained in the high status burials now placed on the Acropolis of sites (Arbid, Mozan, Mohammed Diyab and Barri). At the turn of the millennium, in OJI, in the face of some changes both in the settlement system, with a reduction in extension of urban centres and proliferation of smaller sites, and in fields such as private architecture and pottery production, and of much continuity, funerary practices likewise show some change, in the higher

¹ On this question, see A. Wissing, 'Ritual Aspects of Middle Bronze Age Burial Practices in the Hurrian City of Urkesh'. In P. Pfälzner *et al.* (eds.), *(Re-)Constructing Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East* (Wiesbaden 2012), 111–22.

number of graves within houses, often in a cluster, and in a new type of collective grave, the tomb chamber accessible via a pit, notwithstanding a general picture of continuity. A change attested locally at Mozan is represented by the location of the graves of babies and small children, now in courtyards and no longer in the inner rooms of the house.

Bibliography is extensive and updated as far as the archaeology of the Khabur area is concerned, although rather limited to German-language material. The book is well and fully illustrated – by drawings and black-and-white photographs within the text, and by colour plates at the end.

In sum, the volume not only provides a wealth of thoroughly processed data from well-excavated funerary contexts at one of the most important sites in the Khabur region, but also represents an important tool towards the reconstruction of life (and death) in a crucial period of the long history of human communities in that area.

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A.-M. Wittke (ed.), *Frühgeschichte der Mittelmeerkulturen: Historisch-archäologisches Handbuch*, Der Neue Pauly Suppl. 10, Verlag J.B. Metzler, Stuttgart/Weimar 2015, xiv+1275 pp., 11 maps. Cased. ISBN 978-3-476-02470-1

A.-M. Wittke (ed.), *The Early Mediterranean World, 1200–600 BC*, Brill's New Pauly Suppl. 9, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2018, xxiii+593 pp., maps and tables. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-33932-3

In Anglo-Saxon scholarship and publishing there is competition to produce companions, handbooks, etc. (and not just on facets of antiquity). Wiley Blackwell is at the head of the queue, publishing hefty volumes every few months, or so it seems. Oxford University Press comes next, while Cambridge produces smaller publications, much easier to use, indeed they might actually fit the hand (the forthcoming Wiley Blackwell companion to the Achaemenid empire is not alone in running to two volumes). The Routledge 'Worlds' are another competitor, and Brill is in the business as well.¹ It remains difficult to be certain of the readership targeted by these volumes: for students they can be too complicated, relying on background knowledge yet to be gained – that possessed by the educated general reader; for scholars they may appear too lightweight in their inevitable synthetic quality. I have contributed to several such endeavours and the instructions are to write for the general public as well as students – something not always achieved. It takes a lot of time to produce these volumes: it is laborious to assemble the right team of authors, make them produce and edit their work. Translation of foreign contributions adds to the timescale, though most authors are (intentionally) drawn from the Anglo-Saxon world and their approach to the particular theme(s) and that of the volumes reflects this. The bibliographies are, by design, short and mainly in English. Like a convoy, the slowest vessel determines the pace

¹ See, for instance, general reviews in *AWE* 13 (2014), 221–23, *AWE* 15 (2016), 303–05 and *AWE* 16 (2017), 325–26; and several reviews of individual handbook-companions elsewhere in *AWE* over the years.

of the whole. Thus, the final volume can verge on appearing out of date by the time it reaches the bookshop.

Other countries/scholarly traditions also have handbooks (see the German title of the volume[s] reviewed here), but they are far less obsessed with producing them. The *Neue Pauly* aims to bring together a more eclectic mixture of authors, approaches and traditions, though (broadly) Germanic scholarship is uppermost. This breadth carries through to more comprehensive bibliographies in all languages.

Under review is one of the latest supplementary volumes to those Siamese twins, *Der Neue Pauly* and Brill's *New Pauly*. The German original appeared a few years before the English-language version. In all essentials they are the same, though the Brill version is to a slightly larger (less-convenient) format, and the internal arrangements (but not content) of the front- and end-matter differ. There has been no other handbook/companion presenting the whole Archaic Mediterranean, demonstrating the commonalities and differences across it and within and between its different areas. This volume does so admirably. The chapters are not just geographical; some are devoted to major themes in Mediterranean history.

The 75 contributors (based in 16 countries) are predominantly, but by no means exclusively, Austro-German in background or affiliation, spread from Beirut and Beersheba to Helsinki and Montreal (five area editors are to be found in Tübingen, two in Bonn, one in Vienna). Many will be familiar to our readers, not least the editor, Anne-Maria Wittke, who has seen this hefty work to a welcome conclusion.

An Introduction/Einführung, explaining the themes and goals, structure, etc. of the work, leads on to the main body of the work, three sections entitled (1) 'The Mediterranean region ca. 1200–600 BC', (2) 'Regions of the Mediterranean world' and (3) 'Aspects of cultural contact'. Thus, 1.1 is Landscape (Constance von Rüden), 1.2 Chronological contexts (Beat Schweizer and Barbara Patzek), 1.3 Culture and cultural contexts (Christoph Ulf). 1.4 is Sources, divided into: 1.4.1 Written sources (Patzek); 1.4.2 Material sources and Archaeology (Erich Kistler); and 1.4.3 Aspects of the history of research and scholarship (again Patzek).

Section 2 is divided between 2.1 Iberian Peninsula (15 sub-sections: Martin Bartelheim providing many, including Tartessus and Huelva; Dirce Marzoli, Dirk Brandherm, Adolfo Domínguez, Marta Santos, and others), 2.2 Southern France and Central Europe (9: Karin Mansel – several, including Massilia; Bartelheim, Brandherm, etc.), 2.3 Italy with Sardinia and Sicily (24: Martin Bentz providing many; Erich Kistler – Sicily and Greeks on Sicily; Joachim Weidig, Massimo Osanna, and many others), 2.4 Continental Southeastern Europe (4: Bernhard Hänsel, etc.), 2.5 Greece and the Greek Islands (16: many by Birgitta Eder, Stefanos Gimatzidis and Florian Ruppenstein; also Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier, Hartmut Matthäus, and others), 2.6 Asia Minor (14: Hilmar Klinkott on Lydia and Caria; Wittke on Lycia, the Cimmerians, jointly with Sanna Aro on the Luwian cultural sphere and on 'Eastern central Asia Minor', etc.; Erik van Dongen on Phrygia; Michael Kerschner on the Greeks in Asia Minor; Herbert Niehr, Aro, and others), 2.7 Eastern Mediterranean world... (15: Niehr and Dagmar Kühn; Alexander Vacek on Al Mina; Matthäus, and others), and 2.8 North Africa and Canary Islands (12: several by David Mattingly; Mansel, Astrid Möller on Naucratis, and others).

The third section offers 3.1 Settlement and mobility (Schweizer and Schön), 3.2 Society and authority (Ulf), 3.3 Religion (divided, Rüpke, Niehr *et al.*, Schweizer), 3.4 War and

warfare (Irene Madreiter), 3.5 Economy and raw materials (Sitta von Reden; Stöllner and Bartelheim), 3.6 the History of Law in the eastern Mediterranean world (Lang and Harter-Uibopuu), and 3.7 Cultural technologies and knowledge (Gerhard Meizer, Patzek).

If Caria, Lydia and Phrygia are to be included in a Mediterranean world, it makes as much (more) sense to include here the Black Sea, linked to that world through shared exposure to Greek colonisation.

A lengthy appendix, 'Chronological Systems of the Mediterranean World', provides in tabular form an 'Overview' as well as a 'Comparative chronological overview of Iberian Bronze and Iron Ages' and a 'Synopsis of relative chronologies and stratigraphies for Asia Minor', complete with its own bibliography. This is very useful since for different regions we tend to use different dating methods and chronologies – North Italian antiquities are connected to Europe and dated by radiocarbon or dendrochronology; South Italy uses traditional dating based on Greek pottery. Eleven detailed and extremely useful regional maps – other maps and charts are appropriately placed in the main text. The volumes are furnished with place, name and subject indexes – places are linked to present-day political divisions, the principal Mediterranean islands separated; a single entry for Bosnia-Herzegovina would have been appropriate, not, as here, its sub-units.

This book has everything. It is very useful for academics, especially for ones just setting out: it points to where to start and where to find bibliography. The editor must be applauded for producing such an exciting volume and for the selection of her collaborators and contributors, leading figures in their field. Brill too must be congratulated for taking up the huge task of translation and making the work available to a wider audience (with final thanks to the translators themselves for work very well done).

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Gocha R. Tsetskhladze

S. Yamada and D. Shibata (eds.), *Cultures and Societies in the Middle Euphrates and Habur Areas in the Second Millennium BC – 1: Scribal Education and Scribal Traditions*, Studia Chaburensia 5, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2016, xiii+191 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-447-10583-5/ISSN 1869-845X

Das vorliegende Buch entstammt einer 2013 in Tsukuba (Japan) veranstalteten gleichnamigen Tagung, deren Vorträge nach einem Vorwort und Abkürzungsverzeichnis in drei thematisch zusammenhängenden Kapiteln geordnet („Babylonia“; „Habur and Middle Euphrates / North East Syria“; „Great Bent [sic] of Euphrates and Beyond / North West Syria“) veröffentlicht wurden.

Das Kapitel „Babylonia“ öffnet mit dem Thema des altbabylonischen Schreibercurriculums, das bisher anhand der Textfunde aus Nippur aus der Mitte des 18. Jh. rekonstruiert wurde. Niek Veldhuis weist in seinem Aufsatz „Old Babylonian School Curricula“ (S. 1–12) darauf hin, dass, einerseits, man diesen Befund offenbar nicht extrapolieren darf, und, andererseits, neuere Forschungen anhand vom Befund anderer Fundorte nachgewiesen haben, dass dieses Curriculum nicht einheitlich war. Dennoch argumentiert der Autor mithilfe des Vergleichs der Curricula von Nippur, Uruk, und Sippar-Amnānum dafür, dass es dennoch Zeichen der Standardisierung gibt, weil Sippar-Amnānum den Vorläufer des mittelbabylonischen Curriculums darstellt (obwohl dies offenbar kein

Argument für die Standardisierung schon zur altbabylonischen Zeit darstellt). Daneben betont der Autor, dass Nippur ein Extremfall ist und die weiteren Fundorte (aus den Randgebieten) die Emulation der Elite zeigen (was im Falle von Uruk kaum zutreffen kann). Das Wichtigste sei nämlich nicht die Identität der Lehrinhalte, sondern der Habitus, die Teilnahme an der Bildung und die Kenntnis der sumerischen Erbe – dadurch gibt er implizit zu, dass die neueren Forschungen zutreffend sind (obwohl der Autor im Bereich der diakritischen Zeichen präzise ist, zitiert er die türkischen Autoren und Titel fehlerhaft: *Çig* [S. 5, 9] statt *Çiğ*; *zamanına* statt *zamanına*, *menseli* statt *menşeli*, *kitabı* statt *kitabı* [alle auf S. 9]).

Der nächste Autor dieses Kapitels, Grégory Chambon, argumentiert anhand von drei Fallstudien (altbabylonischen Schultexten, Mari-Korrespondenz, und administrativen Texten aus Emar), dass bei metrologischen Fragestellungen nicht nur die materielle Kultur und Wirtschaftstheorie, sondern auch die Schreiberpraxis in Betracht gezogen werden muss („Metrology and Scribal Traditions in the Ancient Near East“, S. 13–24).

Die schon von Veldhuis angesprochene Frage der Kontinuität wird von der letzten Autorin dieses Kapitels, Alexa Bartelmus, kontextualisiert, die anhand von spätkassitischen Schultexten aus dem Haus M6 in Babylon dafür argumentiert, dass die nordbabylonische und nicht die südbabylonische Tradition weiterlebte („The Role of Babylon in Babylonian Scribal Education“, S. 25–43, der Aufsatz beruht auf bestimmten Kapiteln der Doktorarbeit der Autorin, die jetzt in überarbeiteter Form als *Fragmente einer großen Sprache. Sumerisch im Kontext der Schreiberausbildung* (Berlin/Boston, 2016) zugänglich ist). Nur in Klammern ist der Lapsus der Autorin zu erwähnen, die den Plural von *curriculum* als *curriculae* (S. 26) angibt.

Die nächste Gruppe der Aufsätze („Habur and Middle Euphrates / North East Syria“) besteht wiederum aus drei Beiträgen. Shigeo Yamada veröffentlichte zwei altbabylonische Texte aus Tall Tābān (Tābatum), eine Schülerübung und eine metrologische Liste und fasste mithilfe dieser Texte die heutigen Kenntnisse über die Ausbildung der Schreiber in Tābatum zusammen („Old Babylonian School Exercises from Tell Taban“, S. 45–68).

Amanda H. Podany bespricht mithilfe des aktualisierten Corpus der Hana-Texte den Konservatismus und den feinen Wandel der juristischen Formeln und argumentiert dafür, dass der Ursprung dieses Konservatismus darin besteht, dass die Schreiber Zugang zu den mit Jahrhunderten älteren Texten hatten, weil sie aufbewahrt wurden („The Conservatism of Hana Scribal Tradition“, S. 69–98).

Der Abschlussbeitrag dieses Kapitels stammt von Daisuke Shibata, der anhand der Nebenformen der Zeichen ŠA und LI, die zwar von den mittellassyrischen Formen abweichen, aber in Ugarit und Hana gut belegt sind, dafür argumentiert, dass es auch eine lokale Schreibertradition vor der assyrischen Eroberung existierte, die nur allmählich durch die assyrische Schreibertradition abgelöst wurde („The Local Scribal Tradition in the Land of Māri and Assyrian State Scribal Practice. Palaeographical Characteristics of Middle Assyrian Documents from Tell Tābān“, S. 99–118).

Die letzte Gruppe der Beiträge öffnet mit dem ähnlichen, aber philologisch viel besser dokumentierten Fall von Emar, wo die lokale, sog. „syrische“ Schreibertradition nach einer Übergangsperiode durch die sog. „syro-hethitische“ Tradition abgelöst wurde. Yoram Cohen beschreibt in seinem Aufsatz die zahlreichen formalen, sprachlichen, und inhaltlichen Kriterien, nach denen die beiden Traditionen unterschieden werden können und

bespricht die möglichen Szenarios des bisher ungeklärten historischen Hintergrunds der Ablösung („The Scribal Traditions of Late Bronze Age Emar“, S. 119–31).

Einen Gegenpunkt und eine Ergänzung bildet der Beitrag von Masamichi Yamada, der seine Argumente gegen die gerade erwähnte Cohensche Chronologie aktualisiert und plädiert für die parallele Existenz beider Traditionen. Im zweiten Teil seines Aufsatzes untersucht er einen Sonderfall der juristischen Terminologie (und zwar die Situationen, wenn Frauen den Haushalt übernehmen bzw. zu Erbin werden), mit dem er nicht nur die Trennung der beiden Traditionen unterstützt, sondern auch die interne Entwicklung der syrischen Traditionen nachweist („How to Designate Women as Having Both Genders. A Note on the Scribal Traditions in the Land of Aštata“, S. 133–43).

Der nächste Beitrag stammt aus der Feder von Wilfred H. van Soldt, der die ugaritische Schreiberausbildung (Archive, Schultexte, die Schüler, die Lehrer, und das alphabetische Curriculum) darstellt („School and Scribal Tradition in Ugarit“, S. 145–55).

Dieses Kapitel und das Buch schließen mit dem Beitrag von Mark Weeden, „Hittite Scribal Culture and Syria. Palaeography and Cuneiform Transmission“ (S. 157–91). Er stellt zwei Probleme vor: einerseits paläographische Spuren von wandernden Schreibern und andererseits die Verbreitung der hethitischen Zeichenformen der paläographischen Stufe IIIc, die denen des Mittelassyrischen sehr nah stehen (man beachte, dass die Abkürzung „sjh.“ nicht „s(ehr)j(ung)h(ethitisch)“, sondern „s(pät)j(ung)h(ethitisch)“ bedeutet, *contra* Weeden, S. 165 Anm. 35). Anhand der paläographischen Analyse von ausgewählten akkadischen Texten aus Boğazköy plädiert er dafür, dass das Kopieren fremdsprachiger Texte eine wichtige, aber nicht ausschließliche Rolle in der Verbreitung spielte. Der Aufsatz ist reich an Argumenten und Beispielen, weshalb es nicht klar ist, warum auch eine lange Bibliographie zu den Quellen und der historischen Geographie Westkleinasiens, die mit diesem Thema nichts zu tun haben, angegeben wurde. Dieser Beitrag enthält, im Gegenteil zu den übrigen Beiträgen, auch relativ viele Tippfehler (*Ilī-tukultī* statt *Ilī-tukultī* [S. 160]; *Boğazkoy* statt *Boğazköy* [S. 166]; die Fußnotennummer 53–57 wurden auf S. 169 nicht hochgestellt).

Diese spannenden Beiträge, die mit ihren Fragestellungen und Überblicken nicht nur den Kennern, sondern auch den Interessierenden und Studierenden lehrreiche Lektüre bieten, illustrieren beispielhaft, wie weiterführend und nützlich kleinere, auf ein bestimmtes Thema fokussierende Workshops sind. Den Herausgebern gebührt unser Dank.

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K.L. Younger jr, *A Political History of the Arameans: From Their Origins to the End of Their Politics*, Archaeology and Biblical Studies 13, SBL Press, Atlanta 2016, xxviii+857 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-58983-128-5

Lawson Younger's monograph on the Arameans provides a detailed discussion of this group of ancient Near Eastern peoples. As the title indicates, the focus is on the political, and the considerations start from the time of their attested origins and continue until the Aramean polities that form somewhat later on are destroyed by the Neo-Assyrian empire in the late 8th century BC. The first chapter makes a very helpful geographical survey of the main regions associated with the Arameans. A number of maps are included in the chapter and

there are further maps throughout the rest of the book. The first chapter moreover includes a short discussion of the relevant languages that pertain to the overall area. In the second and third chapters, Y. considers the origins of the Arameans, with most of the discussion revolving around the 12th–11th centuries BC that coincide with the latter part of the Middle Assyrian empire, and with Middle Assyrian sources providing the main sources for historical reconstruction. Chapters 4–9, the main bulk of the book in terms of volume, discuss in detail the various Aramean polities that can be seen to have emerged from about 1000 BC onward. These consist of a number of smaller entities of the Jezirah (Chapter 4), Bit Adini (Chapter 5), Sam'al (Chapter 6), Hamath and Lugath (Chapter 7), Arpad (Chapter 8) and Aram-Damascus (Chapter 9). The coverage of the polities typically starts with introductory considerations, followed by an explication of what can be known about the territory of the polity in question and then an historical analysis. Again, Assyrian, and in this case Neo-Assyrian, sources provide the backbone for historical reconstruction, but there are also important contributions from Luwian and Aramean sources, mostly but not exclusively inscriptions. The tenth chapter discusses Arameans in southern Mesopotamia, with a strong focus on detecting migration in this area where the Arameans were hardly able to establish their own polities. A short conclusion finishes off the volume. In terms of the overall organisation of the book, it more or less seems to reflect some other well-known previous volumes on the Arameans.¹

The relevant historical sources are discussed extensively, if not comprehensively, together with implications for politico-historical reconstruction. The coverage includes quotations from primary sources and incorporates many footnotes, and the discussion often digs deeper in terms of detailed interpretative options that accompany the individual pieces of textual evidence. Y. includes biblical sources in the analysis, cautiously favouring the possibility that these can be of historical value. The discussion does incorporate considerations of a number of aspects of relevant texts in their original languages. The detail offered is a clear strength of the book, providing a very useful platform for reflecting on how textual (and at times pictorial) evidence relating to the Arameans should be interpreted. At the same time, the detail offered often comes at the cost of a smooth and continuous narrative, at least in my opinion. That not all of the texts quoted in their original languages have been translated does reduce the accessibility of the volume, even when such occasions are generally restricted to the footnotes. All in all, the book is clearly more suitable for an academic than a general audience.

The volume includes some archaeological considerations. However, the balance is clearly on the side of the textual. This seems to reflect the fact that the Arameans are, at least in the current state of knowledge, not identifiable from the archaeological record, even if there are hints otherwise that the Arameans in southern Mesopotamia seemed to resist a number of features of prevailing Babylonian culture (*cf.* p. 687). As regards the perspective of the social sciences, Y. includes a discussion of the main aspects of the tribal structure of the Arameans based on attested terminology in historical sources (Chapter 2.3, pp. 43–63), together with a discussion of main aspects that relate to nomadism, subsistence and mobility, and migration (Chapter 2.4, pp. 63–80). One important issue to highlight in the author's approach is that he is favourable, and indeed argues for, migration as part of

¹ Such as E. Lipiński, *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion* (Leuven 2000).

Aramean history. This can be contrasted with a number of previous approaches that have minimised its role. Such a shift seems to be in line with wider scholarly approaches to migration in the recent half a century or so, as also intimated by Y. (p. 67). Overall, it appears that his comments in favour of migration are very plausible, with some interesting considerations included. For example, in Chapter 10, Y. draws attention to the phenomenon of so-called 'mirror toponyms' as they relate to Arameans in southern Mesopotamia (pp. 684–85, for instance). In this, names of settlements in eastern Babylonia are paralleled in western Babylonia, suggesting that people associated with one place migrated to another and renamed it based on the place of origin. The reoccurrence of place names in the westward settlement of North America provides an analogous comparison for the author (p. 735, n. 471).

One matter to highlight in relation to the book is that it quite clearly divides into two parts in terms of the historical periods it covers, with a gap in between that remains more or less unbridged. By and large, once Y. has finished a description of the origins of the Arameans in the late 2nd millennium BC, where he more or less treats them as a single group, he next jumps ahead in time to when the distinct Aramean polities have been formed in the 1st millennium. Of course, that there is a gap does reflect a dearth of literary remains at the time in question when the Middle Assyrian empire waned and before extant sources become more plentiful again with the emergence of Neo-Assyria. Only a rather limited number of potentially relevant Luvian hieroglyphic inscriptions are available from that time as well, with a natural concentration on the western side of northern Mesopotamia; and, of course, Aramaic inscriptions themselves only really come on line from the 9th century BC at the earliest. But, all in all, it seems that Y. has not really ventured into suggesting a potential way to bridge somehow the gap. A similar tendency can be seen in his discussion of the origins of the Arameans. While he certainly does consider such issues as migration in general terms and how the Arameans might broadly relate to the *ahlamu* and the *sutu*, he does not really offer a more detailed hypothesis of how the Aramean ethnogenesis and their initial spread might have happened.

In sum, Y. has produced a very useful volume that incorporates a lot of detail and a number of interesting considerations. At the same time, the book is not always entirely lucid and accessible. He could also have tried to be a bit more adventurous when explicating about Aramean origins and the rise of the Iron Age Aramean polities.

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